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January, 1904.

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Lynching of Negroes: Its Cause and Prevention,
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The President's Message and the Isthmian Canal,
FRANCISCO ESCOBAR

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.—I.

A Novel by

W. D. HOWELLS

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JANUARY, 1904.

HERBERT SPENCER: A CHARACTER STUDY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON.

THE oft-quoted aphorism of Sir Henry Taylor, that "the world knows nothing of its greatest men," was very literally true in the case of the illustrious English philosopher who, the last of the splendid race of intellectual giants who gave glory to the Victorian Era, has just passed away at a ripe old age. Life moves rapidly in these days; and it is safe to say that, for the present generation, Herbert Spencer has been little more than a name. It is probable, indeed, that there will be many readers to whom the news of his death will cause surprise, mainly by bringing to them a sudden realization of the fact that till just now he was still alive.

Nor is it altogether astonishing that this should be so. Since the completion of his life-work, "The System of Synthetic Philosophy," some years ago, Spencer had dropped very largely out of sight, an occasional utterance through the newspapers, a brief paragraph here and there, alone reminding the world at large of his existence. His closing years were spent in an isolation almost monastic, and in the practical inactivity of slowly failing physical powers. All his life long, his constant ill-health, the enormous demands of the tremendous task which he had set

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himself to accomplish, and to which he gave his whole energy with single-hearted devotion, and his pronounced horror of publicity had combined to keep him, as few men of his transcendent power and influence have been kept, out of the highways of existence; and his complete nervous collapse, a number of years since, with the removal of his home from London to Brighton which followed this, meant his almost total obliteration in the public mind. Hence the curious mystery in which, whatever may be said of the writer, the man himself has always remained enshrouded. There has been a little gossip now and then about his struggles, his invalidism, his various real or supposed eccentricities; but few have known anything really worth knowing about the personality and character of one who has impressed himself so deeply upon the life and thought of his age.

Better qualified than most men still living, through the privilege of long and intimate association with him, to speak of Herbert Spencer, the man, I had always been restrained, during his lifetime, from giving publicity to anything that might seem to him to imply even the slightest breach of confidence, by my knowledge of his extreme sensitiveness in this respect. But now that the embargo has been, to some extent, removed by his death, I feel that I can write more freely than I have ever done hitherto about him; though what I write will still be in the spirit of utter reverence towards the memory of the great teacher, whose friendship was an incalculable blessing to me, and whose influence has entered as a powerful formative factor into my own character and life.

From the photographs with which every reader is doubtless familiar, it will be seen that Spencer's face was a strikingly expressive one, with its strong frontal ridge, deep-set eyes, prominent nose and firmly cut mouth and jaw—the face, as you instantly saw, of a man marked out for intellectual leadership. The features which, however, arrested attention in particular (as again the portraits show) were the magnificent broad brow and high-domed head, which led many qualified observers to assert that Spencer's cranial development was the finest they had ever seen. In his case there was no such incongruity as sometimes exists between the man's appearance and his work. The one seemed to harmonize wholly with the other. One thing, however, would perhaps astonish you, as it astonished George Eliot. The forehead

of a great thinker is generally ploughed deep with the lines of thought. Spencer's was, to the end, as smooth as a child's, bearing no traces of his long years of intense intellectual strain. This was probably due, as he once suggested to me, to the fact that, instead of setting himself to puzzle out problems, he allowed his thoughts to evolve themselves naturally. It was also a little surprising that his long-continued ill-health appeared to have had so slight an effect outwardly upon him. His tall and rather gaunt figure was, almost to the last, wonderfully erect; his cheeks were always ruddy; his splendid voice, which would have been a fortune to an orator, retained its richness and resonance; his rather rare laugh, its deep-chested, musical quality. Few men in the eighties are as well preserved as he was; and it was difficult, in looking at him or listening to him, to believe that for half a century he had been, to a considerable extent, an invalid.

I well remember my first meeting with him at the Athenæum Club; and I refer to this now because the impression which he then made upon me (a very youthful and ardent student of his writings) was, I believe, the impression which he habitually made upon strangers. Devoted as was my admiration for him, I had to confess that he repelled me just a little. I found him a trifle cold, remote, difficult of access. Until you got to know him well, indeed, you were always burdened by the feeling that you were in the presence of a very great man; he seemed to stand on a plane altogether above and beyond you; you hardly knew how to get into touch with him. This was not in the least the result of any sort of assumption on his part of greatness or oracularity. No man could be more simple, more modest, more absolutely unassuming; and affectations of any kind were wholly alien to the complete clarity of his nature. But, somehow, the feeling was there all the same. He was by temperament exceedingly reserved in ordinary intercourse—I might almost say, shy. This lent his manner a certain suggestion of restraint, and I can well understand that those who met him only casually must have thought him rather chilly and unsympathetic. It was hard, at first, too, to feel quite at ease with him, because he seemed to compel one to be more cautious in one's utterances than one quite likes to be. I have seen it stated that his own talk was "like a book." This is scarcely true, for there was nothing bookish—nothing set, formal or pedantic—about his conversation. But you saw that he was

scrupulous about every detail; that he measured his speech to the exact fit of his meaning, and never indulged in our common habit of reckless and haphazard assertion; while his diction was marvellously chaste and accurate, his sentences finished and correct. I suppose all this challenged one, and made one rather uncomfortably solicitous about one's own intellectual and grammatical responsibilities. But you had only to get thoroughly accustomed to these peculiarities, and you realized that they were simply upon the surface. The seeming aloofness of the man disappeared, and you found beneath the reticence and the coldness which first troubled you a large, simple and eminently sympathetic nature.

That Spencer was always easy to get on with, I do not say. He was often irritable and sometimes quick of temper and of tongue. His judgment of men was occasionally severe; and he had so little tolerance of the foibles, prejudices and petty absurdities of every-day life that he now and then struck one as hard and even censorious. He set up an extremely high standard of conduct, and was outspoken in his condemnation of meanness, untruthfulness and trickery, of sordid ambitions and weak subserviency to the dictates of the social code. But it must be remembered that, unlike many moralists who make rigorous demands upon the integrity of others, he made demands equally rigorous upon himself. The severe standard by which he tested the conduct of his neighbors was the standard by which he governed his own life. I have met many morally great and noble men, but Herbert Spencer was, morally, the greatest and noblest man I have ever known. It is true that he lacked the warmth and expansiveness of more impulsive natures; and this deficiency might easily lead one to underestimate the depth, earnestness and sincerity of his character. But the better one knew him, the more one grew to understand and admire his quiet strength, his steadiness of ethical purpose and unflinching courage, the purity of his motives, his rigid adherence to righteousness and truth, and his exquisite sense of justice in all things. It was, perhaps, the principle of justice which was the ultimate rule of conduct with him. But, though he believed and taught that justice should take precedence of generosity and that reckless generosity is an unmixed evil, the claims of generosity were by no means overlooked by him. This was shown again and again, in my knowledge of him, by acts of practical sympathy with deserving people and worthy causes.

I return to what I have said about Spencer's frequent irritability, to remark that, as every one was aware who was much with him, this had its root directly in his physical condition. Overwork on his epoch-making "Principles of Psychology" (published in its original form in 1855) brought about a severe attack of nervous prostration, from which he never entirely recovered. He was, from that time on, a martyr to dyspepsia and insomnia in their most obstinate forms. I remember his once telling me that, from the period of his breakdown in middle life, he had never known what it was to enjoy a full, natural night's rest. Joining him for work in the morning, during the time of my constant association with him, I would commonly ask him how he had slept, and the best answer he ever had to give me was: "I had a very good night, for me. I slept four hours." The fearful wear and tear of such a condition of chronic indigestion and sleeplessness may be realized even by the robust; and the matter was made worse in his case, I am convinced, by his constant recourse to all sorts of soporifics, to which he had in the first instance been driven by sheer despair, and which he long employed in quantities which frequently caused his friends alarm. These drugs, while of course they did nothing towards the permanent alleviation of the insomnia, undoubtedly aggravated the digestive troubles, while the reaction following their use just as certainly increased the nervous depression and irritability. Another feature of the case, and a very distressing one, was the hypochondria which grew out of these conditions, and which, during the later years of his life, added to the invalid's actual sufferings a variety of imaginary ills. Again and again, physicians assured him that the great organs were all sound. He was never fully convinced, and he ultimately got into the habit of watching himself and his symptoms with a morbid curiosity and a minuteness the mental results of which may be readily conceived. Any discussion of Spencer's occasional petulance—and my special reason for dwelling on the subject now is, that reference is certain to be made to it—must properly be accompanied by the strongest emphasis upon the state of things I have described.

Here it may, perhaps, be well to speak of the famous Spencerian ear-stoppers, a more or less accurate account of which has from time to time found its way into the public press. The simple facts of the matter are these. Years ago, Spencer found that the effect

of following ordinary conversation became frequently too much for him; but he liked to have people about him, to watch the play of expression on their faces, to feel that, though he could not himself share much in the merriment, he was, as it were, a part of the normal and healthy social world. For this reason, he objected to withdrawal into solitude, and evolved a plan by which he might secure the partial isolation which he required. He had a circular spring made to go round the back of his head, and this carried pads which fitted firmly upon the ears, effectively deadening the noise about him, and reducing the surrounding chatter to a mere hum. I have often seen him, stretched at length upon his couch, follow with apparent interest the gossip over the afternoon tea-cups up to a certain point, and then, reaching under his pillow, draw forth and adjust his instrument, thus suddenly detaching himself from his environment. The effect of this movement with comparative strangers was always to cause an instant cessation of the conversation. But this was precisely what Spencer did not wish. "Go on talking," he would exclaim, with a quizzical look; "I can't hear what you are saying, you know!" I have known him, too, occasionally interrupt in this way a current of conversation directed immediately to him, and I have seen it stated that when he did this it was done and taken as a rebuff. My own experience was that it was always done good-humoredly; though I can quite appreciate the embarrassment of those who were thus unexpectedly checked in their efforts for the great philosopher's entertainment.

What I have just implied about Spencer's fondness for social intercourse may itself, perhaps, suffice to correct an apparently common misapprehension—that he was naturally somewhat of an ascetic or recluse. He was not so in the least, and the seclusion of so much of his life was a matter of necessity and not at all of choice. He was really of a sociable disposition, a thoroughly "clubbable" man, as Johnson would say; fond, when health permitted, of dining out; an admirable conversationalist and *raconteur,* with a capital sense of humor and a keen eye for the fun of even little things. I believe I am right in saying that, in earlier life, like his friend G. H. Lewes, he was a good hand at a comic song; but I got to know him too late to hear any of his performances in this line myself. He always scouted the notion that, because a man devoted his life to serious subjects, he should, there-

fore, be deemed superior to the ordinary pleasures of humanity. Nor was there anything puritanic about his general conception of existence. Though dyspepsia imposed restraints upon his own diet, he was a firm believer in the good things of the table, including those of potable character. And while he did not himself smoke, or did so only on the rarest occasions, he had not the slightest objection to the moderate use of the weed. As readers of his "Ethics" will remember, one of his main principles was a true temperance in all things, and this, like all his theories, was a matter of practice with him as well.

For many years, his main social outlet was at the Athenæum Club, where he was a very familiar figure. Cards he cared nothing about. He told me once that he had tried to learn whist, but had desisted on finding that he could never remember the plays, a consolation to some of us who have to confess the same inability. But he was very fond of billiards, which he played well; and he has more than once amused me by his accounts of spirited contests between himself and—of all people in the world—staid bishops of the English Church. His principal outdoor recreations in earlier life had been fishing in Scotland and quoits; but both of these he had been obliged to give up for many years before his death. It may surprise many to learn that he went but little to books for the purposes of relaxation. Ordinary works of imagination did not much interest him. Poetry of the highest class—Shakespeare, Keats and the finest parts of Tennyson, for example—he thoroughly enjoyed; but, save in the line of his work, he was not a reading man. While engaged on my book on Rousseau, I wrote asking him whether or not it were true, as has been so constantly alleged, that he was indebted to "*Émile*" for many of his own educational ideas. His reply was that at the time his "Education" was produced he had never even heard of "*Émile*," and that he had never read it since. General literature was for him an interest on the margin of life only. I remember, one winter at Brighton, reading some novels aloud to him in the long evenings, and how greatly he enjoyed "Humphrey Clinker," though on the whole Thackeray was clearly his favorite novelist. At another time, I read him several of Mr. W. D. Howells's stories, and he appreciated the delicate art of these, especially in the dialogue. But he was always very impatient of "padding," and when we came to long descriptions or analyses he would exclaim:

"Skip, skip!" One point especially to be remarked is that he did not take at all kindly to the admixture of philosophy with poetry and fiction. He thought Browning's method altogether wrong; and, while he deeply admired the earlier work of his intimate friend George Eliot, he considered her later writings far too scientific and didactic. But, while the lighter forms of literature thus yielded him only moderate pleasure, music was a never-failing source of satisfaction. He would listen hour after hour while one played to him from the compositions of the great masters, valuing expression, as might be anticipated, far above virtuosity. He had knowledge of music enough to make him a critical as well as responsive auditor; and, while his taste was fairly catholic, he returned habitually to the standard writers of the older school, like Handel and Bach, Beethoven and Gluck. Wagner he enjoyed in parts, but most of the modern composers he was accustomed to dismiss as clever technicians merely, lacking in true inspiration; and he was wholly indifferent to any music, no matter how brilliant, which seemed to him to want the note of genius —which, in a favorite phrase of his, struck him as simply "manufactured."

Spencer's habit was to work about three hours each morning. This represented, at best, the extreme limit of his power, and his labors were often interrupted by the enforced idleness of days or weeks. To economize his strength, he dictated everything, even his letters; and, save for corrections and interlineations, there is little of his manuscript which is written in his own hand. He himself believed that the employment of an amanuensis was a very real help to him, and he again and again advised friends to adopt his plan. How painfully slow, in such circumstances, the progress of his great work must have been will be evident, and the patience, courage and perseverance exhibited in the production of many thousand closely packed pages, in face of the difficulties imposed by chronic ill-health, financial losses and much personal discouragement, give a moral grandeur to his vast achievement upon which it is a pleasure and an inspiration to dwell.

It is, therefore, with sincere regret that I have to add that the completion of the "Synthetic Philosophy" in 1896 did not bring to him the keen satisfaction he might fairly have expected. The closing years of his life were, indeed, clouded with much sadness

and disappointment. Unmarried, without a single relative in the world, and with nearly all his older friends dead before him, he was at the last a solitary and pathetic figure. He had made comparatively little money by his fifty years of self-sacrifice and unremitting devotion to a great ideal. But this fact, I believe, was never considered by him. His depression arose from a different cause. Though when, after a long visit to America, I told him of the influence I found he was exerting there, he replied "I am satisfied," and though he spoke with pardonable pride of the translation of his books into many languages and the spread of his thought all over the world, there was one respect in which I know he was grievously disappointed. His political doctrines were all but unheeded; his Individualism was regarded as visionary. Socialistic ideas were daily growing more and more powerful. He saw, too, with profound apprehension and sorrow, unmistakable signs everywhere of reaction in religion, politics and society. The recrudescence of militarism, the temporary triumph of the cheap imperialists, the development of a sordidly materialistic spirit throughout the modern nations, and their abandonment of the principles of sanity and political righteousness, all these things cast a very black shadow over his declining path. I do not wonder that, as he looked back over his magnificent life-work, his mind should have been darkened by the doubt as to whether some of the truths to which he attached the greatest value might not, after all, have been set forth in vain.

WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON.

THE JEWISH QUESTION: HOW TO SOLVE IT.

BY ARNOLD WHITE.

WHOEVER would grapple with the Jewish Question must bear the burden of a heavy heart. The nature of the task, the failure of bygone efforts and the indifference of Christendom discourage initiative. Any suggestion, however, towards a settlement, if prepared thoughtfully and with labor, and presented with a humble sense of the greatness of the task, may perhaps be accepted as an attempt to answer a riddle which, the writer holds, is soluble only by harmonious action between Gentile and Jew, Slav and Anglo-Saxon, Christian and Agnostic.

It is right that I should exhibit my credentials before venturing to deal with this question. My interest and public action in regard to the alien problem began in 1884. I was then interested and engaged in a study of the social condition of the inhabitants of East London, and especially in the emigration problem. These inquiries were embodied in a book called "The Problems of a Great City," published in 1886. I found that, although emigration from the agricultural districts of England depleted the rural villages, it supplied the great city with efficient manual laborers required in heavy works of construction, and thus mingled the blood of strong and healthy people with the anæmic residents who were born in the streets.

On the other hand, I found that a certain class of alien immigration, both in the United States and in England, was a national evil for seven reasons: (1) It depressed the Western standard of comfort; (2) it impaired physical efficiency by exposing Anglo-Saxons to competition for which they were unsuited by diet or housing customs; (3) it lowered the wages of unskilled women and laborers; (4) it raised rents; (5) it enlarged the area of and established the sweating system; (6) it involved exclusive deal-

ing; (7) immigrants refused to assimilate through intermarriage, thus differentiating immigration of Russian Jews from the class to which belong the Huguenots of the seventeenth, and the Flemings of the sixteenth, century.

For six years after 1884, I paid annual visits to South Africa, for the purpose of planting small colonies of English laborers and artisans among the Dutch population of the Cape. The practical absurdity of exporting, or helping to export, British bone and sinew, only to see them replaced by foreigners of doubtful value, was thus forced upon my mind. During the intervals of my visits to the Cape, I attempted to raise public interest in the question of alien immigration in London, with the view of stopping the influx of undesirables, until, at last, the two Committees on Sweating and Alien Immigration were appointed in 1888. Invited to assist those Committees, and under the belief that legislation would follow, I provided them, at my own cost, with much of the evidence for restriction. I should add that a Society for the Suppression of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens, formed in 1886, was organized and financed mainly by Lord Dunraven and myself.

I also published a book, called "The Modern Jew," in 1899. In the year 1890, the late Baron Hirsch, who disapproved as strongly as the bulk of his co-religionists of my efforts to rouse public opinion in favor of a measure of restriction, invited me to visit Russia, on his behalf, for the purpose of reporting on the condition of the Hebrew subjects of the Tsar, and, later, of negotiating with the Russian Ministers for such relaxations in the Russian system and regulations as would enable distressed Jews, some of whom were then coming to Britain, to avail themselves of Baron Hirsch's plan for planting colonies in Argentina.

Glad to have the opportunity of visiting the alien in his home, I accepted the commission. Five times I visited Russia with this object, and finally obtained the Tsar's signature to an alteration of the law granting the required permissions. In the course of study and travel in Russia, I quickly discerned how superficial had been much of the evidence I had placed before the Lords and Commons Committees of 1888 and 1889, and how completely I had mistaken the real centre of gravity. The essential facts of the case in Russia proved that the restriction of the immigration of destitute aliens into the United States and Great Britain

is but the fringe of a larger subject, and is one of greater difficulty and complexity than any matter of mere local economics.

The problem to-day in the United States of America and in England, as in Russia where the centre of gravity lies, is essentially racial and international, although its more obvious and immediate effects are at present, in England and America, mainly economic. There is no religious problem. Jews are Unitarians, and Unitarians are nowhere persecuted. The evidence that the *crux* of the problem is primarily racial and international, rather than religious, economic, or local, lies in the facts—and I am speaking only of the bulk of the immigrants—(1) that orthodox Hebrew immigrants refuse assimilation, either with the Russians in Russia, with the Americans of the States, with the Arabs in Tunis, or with the English in England, just as rigidly as did their ancestors with the Gentiles in the days of Nehemiah; and (2) that this repugnance to assimilate either with Anglo-Saxons or Russians, so far from being concealed or denied, is both conscientiously felt and openly expressed by the flower of the people, especially by the poorer orthodox Hebrew immigrants.

Before leaving England on my first visit, I had an interview with M. de Staal, then Russian Ambassador in London. He explained to me that the Jewish Question in Russia was entirely a matter of internal arrangement, and that he could not in any sense speak for his Government; but that he was much interested in the matter and would write to St. Petersburg commending me to M. de Giers, who was then acting as Foreign Minister. M. de Staal then proceeded to explain why the old Edicts were removed and the Edicts of May, 1882, revived. He denounced Prince Dolgourouki, the late Governor of Moscow, who had allowed the May Edicts to sink into oblivion, and he declared that the Grand-Duke Sergius would exercise more care in the future. The manner in which the Grand-Duke Sergius "exercised care," is it not written in the books of the Chronicles of "Darkest Russia"?

I begged M. de Staal to assure his Government that, in the event of its giving me facilities for the examination of the Jewish Question, I should act in the matter with a guest's regard for his host, and that it was Baron de Hirsch's desire in all things to work with, and not against, the Government of Russia.

On my way through Paris I had my final conversation with Baron de Hirsch. He gave me no instructions, but he asked me:

"What are you going to do?" My answer was that the *clou* of the whole question lay in the dormant agricultural capacity of the Jews; that, originally, they were a pastoral theocracy, and had only been driven into money-lending and even less desirable avocations by the legislation to which they had been subjected; and that their redemption was only possible if it could be found that they were capable of resuming the healthier methods of existence. I added that I was going to investigate their agricultural capacity with the help of the Russian Government; that I should not intrigue or cabal against them, but should try and win their confidence by English straightforwardness; and that I undertook this work mainly with the object of diverting the stream of destitute Russian and Polish Jews from England to the Land of Promise the Baron was preparing in the Argentine.

As an instance of the misery then existing in Russia, Hirsch told me that hundreds of Jews walked on foot from Russia to Paris, and that twenty-five per cent. died on the way. I asked him whom he considered the best authorities in Russia on the subject, and he replied that M. Pobiedonostseff and M. Solevieff were the best. M. Solevieff is now dead.

Baron de Hirsch spoke of the importance of learning, not only the agricultural capacity of those who were actually engaged in agriculture, but also of those Jews who were constrained from circumstances to inhabit cities.

The credentials from Baron de Hirsch which I presented to M. Pobiedonostseff informed the Procureur of the Holy Synod that I was interested in colonization, and that I had proceeded to Russia, at the Baron's instance, for the purpose of endeavoring to obtain information on the subject of the condition of the Russian Jews, and their adaptability for colonization in the Argentine Republic. The Baron then went on to explain the preparations he had made in the Argentine for the organization of the work of colonization; and he added that, although he was using every possible effort to expedite the arrangements, considerable delays were inevitable.

I duly presented my letter to M. Pobiedonostseff. I had many conversations with him, from which I gathered that the following are the reasons for the action deliberately adopted by the Russian Government against the Jews. I use M. Pobiedonostseff's words:

"1. The characteristics of the Jewish race are parasitic; for their sustenance they require the presence of another race as 'host,' although they remain aloof and self-contained. Take them from the living organism, put them on a rock, and they die. They cannot cultivate the soil.

"2. Can Russia become a nation of middlemen or subjected to middlemen and *entrepreneurs*? The Jewish artisans are not really artisans, only colorably so; and they adopt the calling of artisan in order to become brokers, hucksterers, and middlemen. A recent examination made by the Minister of the Interior proved that, out of thirty watchmakers, only two knew their trade; the other twenty-eight were colorably watchmakers, but really money-lenders and middlemen.

"3. The influence of the Jews on the drinking habits of the Russian people has been terrible, while the houses of ill fame are almost entirely kept by Jews."

In reply to a question as to whether the Jews were not themselves industrious and temperate, M. Pobiedonostseff declared that their temperance and their industry were fatal to the Russians, and that the country was mapped out for exploitation by the Jews; that the peasants cried to the Tsar to help them; and that it was the duty of the Church to obey that call, and to assist the Imperial power in maintaining the sacred nationality of the Russians. It was true that the methods of restriction were inexorable, but the reports in regard to them were exaggerated; but, whatever they were, they could not be relaxed.

On another occasion, M. Pobiedonostseff said that he was not an Anti-semite: that there was no quarrel between him and the Jews; but that his action was dictated entirely by the resolve to preserve Russia from the evils which had already invaded Western Europe, and which in the course of another ten years would probably become a danger to the English-speaking nations and to France.

At a further interview M. Pobiedonostseff told me that the Jewish Question was "insoluble." It was not a question of religion: it was a matter of race. Religion had nothing to do with it; but the Jews invariably raised the cry of religious intolerance when they were attacked for inordinate usury or cruelty in money affairs. He spoke of the drink and education questions.

Since this conversation the Russian Government has taken into its own hands the sale and distribution of vodka, while a disquisition on the education question in Russia need scarcely be reproduced, as popular education in Russia is on much the same

scale as snakes in Iceland. The Jewish Question, said M. Pobiedonostseff in one of our conversations, "was an insoluble problem and mystery, the ultimate issue of which was only known to God." He read me his answer to Baron de Hirsch's touching appeal, and he disclaimed any power to abate the present steps now being taken. He spoke of the dirtiness and the ignorance of the Jews; and, when I asked him how they could be anything but ignorant and dirty, under the present method of administration and their confinement in a Ghetto which left them no alternative but death or resort to undesirable pursuits, he answered that: "Russia would be a nation of middlemen and under the dominion of the Jews within a few years, if Government did not rigorously intervene." I suggested to him that Russia, having made the Jews what they are, punishes them for the result of her own act.

After detailed investigation of the miseries and capacities of the Jewish population throughout Russia, I visited M. Pobiedonostseff again, and told him of many things he did not know. He showed great ability in his answers. He professed entire ignorance of the measures taken by the police, thereby disassociating himself from the stringency with which these measures are enforced. The difference between Pobiedonostseff and Torquemada seems to consist mainly in the fact, that Torquemada interested himself in the executive details of his policy, and thus earned his title to the infamy which posterity has attached to him. M. Pobiedonostseff, unlike Torquemada, has made a point of delegating to others the executive details of his policy. He has preferred to remain ignorant of what has been done in the name of Holy Russia. The result is, that the Pobiedonostseff policy has been carried out with a precision generally associated with laboratory experiments on rabbits and dogs, pinioned, but not drugged, for the knife. It is a failure.

During my investigations in Russia I received the greatest assistance from M. Pobiedonostseff. The various Governors knew that whatever the Minister of the Interior, then M. Dournovo, might say or do, it was M. Pobiedonostseff who was the Emperor's friend; and, this being the case, I found that M. Pobiedonostseff's autograph letter recommending me to the various Governors was an "open sesame" in my journeying. The letter described Baron Hirsch's plan and recommended me to the Governors as a "trustworthy man," undertaking from Petersburg an excursion through

Russia having in view to examine the Jewish population, paying attention especially to trade, their qualification for agriculture, and to their condition and way of life, and their tendency to cleanliness or dirt.

Further, in this matter I had the warm and powerful support of the late Sir Robert Morier, then British Ambassador, whose friendship I prize as one of the dearest memories of my life. Sir Robert Morier told me that Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, had written in favor of my mission. I had already been warned by Lord Salisbury that the power of the British Ambassador to help me was necessarily limited by considerations arising out of the office he holds. There can be no indiscretion in quoting the following paragraph from Lord Salisbury's letter to me, having regard to the present state of the Jewish Question in Russia:

"It would be at variance with his [Sir Robert Morier's] duty to interfere with the internal affairs of Russia and especially to concern himself with current questions of controversy on which the rulers of that country are sensitive."

M. de Giers (whose name in Russian is pronounced Hirsch), received me several times; and, after my return from the investigation, on more than one occasion he sent for me at midnight, as he apparently took more interest in the subject than was explained on the surface. At all events, on one occasion the tears rolled down his face while I described to him, at midnight, the condition of some little Jewish children I had seen at Homel. I believe that M. de Giers was a Jew by race, and felt that strange unquenchable loyalty towards his race which is an indelible characteristic of the Chosen People.

I mention M. de Giers's subterranean disloyalty to M. Pobiedonostseff, because it was shared more openly by the late M. Wischnegradsky, the Finance Minister. On more than one occasion, M. Wischnegradsky told me that M. Pobiedonostseff's policy was contrary to every interest which he, the Finance Minister, had to protect. I have little doubt, though I am not authorized to say so, that M. de Witte shares the view of M. Wischnegradsky; and I am convinced, without anticipating the sequel, that the present advisers of the Tsar are firmly of opinion that the time has come to review the whole circumstances of the case, and that, without handing Russia over to the middlemen, as feared by M. Pobiedonostseff, it is their desire to ascertain whether it be not possible, in

some shape or another, to secure Russia from the evils she dreads, while at the same time giving to the Jews greater latitude for legitimate expansion, and substituting for the Pobiedonostseff policy a wiser and broader conception.

From what I saw in Russia during the next five visits that I paid to that country, it became apparent to me that Baron de Hirsch's plan was foredoomed to failure; that the task of dealing with the Jewish Question was not only beyond the power of any individual, however rich or influential, but beyond the power of any nation, even of Russia herself; and that the partnership of Christendom was necessary, if civilization is to be redeemed from the horrible scandal of the Russian Pale, and of the Ghettoes which are already established in the United States of America and in England.

Reports of the massacres which from time to time take place in Russia rarely reach the Western Press. Only the worst of them obtain publicity. In 1897, after the massacres of Schpola and Kantacouzene, I again visited Russia for the purpose of seeing Russian Ministers.

I saw the Minister of the Interior, M. Goremykine, and M. Pobiedonostseff. The latter was now becoming a very old man, and he murmured the same reactionary doctrines that I had heard six years before. The Jews were more numerous, the situation more acute, and the difficulties augmented with which Russia was surrounded. But still M. Pobiedonostseff held firmly that the law of self-preservation required the treatment of the Jews which has created an enemy for Russia wherever a Jew exists outside that land. The Jews of Russia are loyal to the Tsar. They cling to the Russian soil as their motherland.

In the summer of 1897 when I saw M. Pobiedonostseff, I suggested to him the necessity of finding a practicable alternative to Baron de Hirsch's plan, and that Russia herself should take the initiative. He listened attentively, and shadowed forth the idea of a portion of the Armenian territory of the Sultan, which was rich and depopulated, being possibly available for the use of a portion of the Jewish population of Russia. M. Pobiedonostseff pointed out that contact between Armenians and the Jews would not be injurious to the former, and that, therefore, the evils which existed in Russia would not be reproduced in the dominions of the Sultan.

As regards the United States and Great Britain, the Jewish Question in Russia is already creating a condition of affairs which promises to engender friction, and even more serious evils, in the near future. The United States regulates immigration in such wise that certain minimum qualifications are compulsory on would-be citizens of the United States. In England it is otherwise. Rents are raised and the standard of existence is lowered by the colonization of Russian undesirables—a process justified in the sacred name of the "right of asylum." The foreigners who settle in England are almost entirely of the Jewish race, and it is, therefore, impossible to touch the question of foreign immigration without raising the Jewish Question. The children of the Hebrew immigrant still regard the Goyim, or Gentiles, as undesirable persons for their children to marry. The Italian immigrant is blended with the English by the third generation. No assimilation takes place in the case of Russian Jewish immigrants.

Thus impelled by racial tradition and constrained by religious principle to keep their blood pure from contaminating intermarriage with other races, the Jewish immigrant communities, whether rich or poor, form a separate island in the sea of the general population. Whether this formation of racial islands is beneficial or otherwise must be judged by the facts. The main point to remember is, that the larger proportion of the immigrants belong to a race and cling to a society that prefers to remain distinct and aloof from the main stream of our national life. Intermarriage is the most powerful, if it be not the only, solvent of racial distinction. Free intermarriage is banned by the Jews. I could fill an octavo volume with evidence as to aloofness, but I will only quote from a letter of Mr. George Dulberg, M.D., printed in the "Jewish Chronicle," on August 31st, 1900:

"Judaism is not a religion merely, like Catholicism or Protestantism: it is a brotherhood, a race, if you like; and that it will remain as long as there are two Jews left in the whole world. Say what you will, no matter how an English Jew or a German Jew may love and feel for his English or German neighbor, he will have a greater love, a greater sympathy, for another Jew, even if that other Jew may come from the other end of the world."

The man who has been accustomed to sleep twelve in a room all his life, is in a better position to accept work for which he is

paid sixteen cents a day, working fourteen hours a day, than a man who is accustomed to 400 cubic feet of space, a wage of two dollars a day, and a diet that includes meat, fowl and beer.

With regard to the food absolutely necessary for an American working-man, and the food required by the immigrant Jew, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's studies are interesting. According to this gentleman, who has made a special study of the subject, 3,500 calories of food energy* were required as the diet of an ordinary American working-man in moderate work. The minimum cost of this food is 72 cents each per week for adults, and 30 cents each per week for children. The Russian Jews subsist well on half this amount.

What is the effect of introducing into the borough of Stepney, for example, 52,000 foreigners, or another 100,000 into New York, whose diet contains a smaller number than 3,500 calories, which is the minimum required to keep an American working-man in ordinary health?

The Hirsch millions were intended for Jewish colonization, and for the benefit of the distressed Russian Jews now in Palestine. Has not the time arrived to use them?

When the Kishineff massacre occurred, I determined to visit Russia again, in pursuit of the same object that I had in 1897 after the massacres of Schpola and Kantacouzene. The difficulties in the way were enormous, as American public opinion, justly indignant, was articulate in a manner better calculated to increase the sufferings of the Jews in Russia, than to bring Russian statesmen into a reasonable frame of mind.

I had expected to be received by the Emperor. In fact I had left England for the purpose, but on my arrival at St. Petersburg I found that the Emperor was unable to receive me, nominally owing to his numerous engagements. I have since learned that the Emperor's refusal to receive me was based on the fact that his confidence had recently been misplaced, and that a gentleman who undertook not to publish certain statements of the Emperor which he was permitted to hear, communicated them to the press.

I had, however, long interviews with Count Lamsdorff, M. de Plehve, M. Lopoukhine, and Baron de Günzberg, the head of the

* A calory is the heat unit which is produced by raising the temperature of a pound of water one degree Fahrenheit.

Jewish community in Russia and one of the noblest and holiest of men, held in high esteem by Russian statesmen.

The arguments I ventured to place before Russian Ministers, on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants of the zonal provinces, were based on the assumption that the Kishineff massacre is not a Russian domestic question, but one of grave international concern, pressing closely on the laboring classes, male and female, of Great Britain and America. Neither the American Republic nor the British Monarchy desires further Jewish immigration for its own sake. The duty of governments is to protect their own people, and I have little hesitation in declaring that before long —Kishineff notwithstanding—the force of public opinion will compel Mr. Balfour's Government and the Congress at Washington to take further steps to arrest the colonization of congested cities in Britain and America by Polish and Russian immigrants.

What form should that action take on both sides of the Atlantic? Is it to be purely selfish? Shall it be callously indifferent alike to the tragedy of the Pale and the dilemma of Russia? Or is the action of the English-speaking peoples to proceed on the large lines of wisdom and humanity? Surely the latter.

If the Prime Minister of Britain and the President of the United States were, jointly and severally, to address to the Government of Russia an invitation to a conference on the whole Jewish Question—not with the object of placing pressure upon Russia, but with the view of consulting with her on the difficulties of a complex problem which affects the three Powers, but which it is utterly beyond the capacity even of Russia to solve for herself—there is reason to believe that Russia would not sullenly refuse to entertain the idea. It is true that the situation is delicate, and requires not only adroit and technical diplomacy, but heart and mind and knowledge.

Since 1843, Russia has not enlarged the area available for her Jewish subjects, although the Hebrew population in the zone of the fifteen provinces has quadrupled. The difficulty, however, with Russia, in dealing with the Jewish question is not land, but money; the trouble with England and America is not money, but land. It is even possible that Russia herself might take the initiative and invite the Anglo-Saxon Powers to a Conference. Russia knows how to be magnanimous and to rise to the level of a great occasion.

Where is the money to come from? There are three sources. First, there are the Hirsch millions. These millions should be used for the purpose intended by the Baron—if not in the Argentine, then in Russia or near Russia, as may be decided after inquiry by the three Powers concerned. The status of the Company can be altered. Secondly, there is the vast wealth of the Jewish aristocracy, on both sides of the Atlantic. Thirdly, there is Christendom as the backbone of the scheme for obtaining funds for the ransom of Israel. Our national interests and our individual duty are for once identical. To contribute towards the settlement of the Jewish Question means nothing less than Anglo-American partnership with Russia in a great humanitarian object. This may lead to a closer understanding and friendlier relations between the Powers. No Power can settle the Jewish Question by itself.

We can solve the Jewish Question hand in hand with Russia to-day: to-morrow, it may be too late. There is a claim on Catholic and Protestant, on the Greek Orthodox Church, on the Agnostic, on the Episcopalian, and on the Nonconformist alike. It is a call on the whole human race, in which Russia and the Anglo-Saxons must take the lead, and bear the white man's burden. It is they who must take counsel together.

The main principles of the scheme may be summarized as follows:

1. England and America must examine the question anew, so as to realize that the Russians understand their position as regards the Jews, not as inspired by futile brutality, but as dictated by the first law of nature, self-preservation, and by the duty of rulers towards the majority of their subjects.

2. The Jewish Question is insoluble by any single nation. Even Russia is impotent if she acts alone.

3. The Jewish Question is a world problem, and therefore international in its essence.

4. To solve the Jewish problem a Conference between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon Powers is essential, in order that the problem as it affects each Power may be understood by all the parties concerned before its solution is attempted.

5. The Russo-Anglo-American Conference should adopt the principle that Russia should provide territory and that the other Powers should find capital for the establishment of the redundant

Jewish population now multiplying in the Pale, to their own misery, and the certainty of eventual bloodshed and revolution.

6. The necessary capital should consist:

(a) of the funds of the Jewish Colonization Association as a nucleus:

(b) of the contributions of wealthy Jews, who shall be invited to suspend their generosity to rich nations until the congestion of the Jewish Pale is relieved, and the Jewish problem solved, by the settlement of their co-religionists in territory of adequate size:

(c) of contributions from Christians of all nations, who believe that the race to which their Founder belonged has a positive and primary claim on their charity and their good-will.

All that is asked for to-day is the acceptance of the principle, that civilization is dishonored by the present state of the Jewish Question, and that before a solution is feasible the three great nations must understand the problem. I have reason for saying that the Ministers of the Tsar would not summarily reject proposals for a dispassionate examination of the Jewish Question, if these proposals are made in such a way as to promise the attainment of the object aimed at, viz., the solution of the Jewish Question.

The Memorandum which I have prepared for the perusal of the Tsar is as follows:

MEMORANDUM.

"The question of the Jews has become the burning question of the day. It is a question of international concern. An outbreak of infuriated debtors against their creditors at Kishineff raises rents in the poorer districts of London and New York, by stimulating the emigration of the Jewish subjects of the Russian Emperor.

"In the twentieth century, civilization can no longer resort to the methods of the Middle Ages. Jews can no longer be slain in masses, sold into slavery, or suddenly deprived of their property. Adequate protection to the Jews, however, is difficult even in Russia, because public opinion is too bitterly opposed to them.

"Since the Jewish question is international and of world-wide importance, a Conference between the representatives of the Emperor of Russia, of the President of the United States of America, and of His Majesty King Edward VII., is necessary. For these Powers are jointly interested in the final disposal of an unbearable situation.

"Since 1843, when the Jewish subjects of the Emperor were settled in the fifteen provinces of Russia, their numbers have multiplied fourfold.

The result is that, except in certain *bourgades* in the South of Russia, the poverty and distress of the Russian Jews are acute, and the settlement of emigrants from the Pale in the large cities of Great Britain and America reproduces evils which are apparent to all Russians. The development of further evils may be predicted in the near future.

"By the appointment of a conference between Russia, the United States and Great Britain, to meet in St. Petersburg, with instructions to report to their respective Governments within a reasonable time, say four months, both the Western Powers and Russia would obtain a complete survey of the international situation as affected by the Jewish Question.

"The advantages from such a Conference would be, firstly, recognition by the Powers that the Jewish Question is a matter of international, and not local or national, concern; secondly, that, the interest of the civilized world once concentrated upon the problem, the matter could not be shelved or postponed until a settlement had been discovered; and, thirdly, the conference would be compelled to recognize, as all impartial students of the subject have already done, that the provision of more land, the equipment of agricultural colonies, and the grant of adequate territory within or adjacent to the dominions of the Russian Emperor, are the only methods by which the Jewish Question can be solved.

"The failure of Baron Hirsch's plan is an indication that no individual is strong enough to deal with it. Even Russia is baffled by the immensity of the problem.

"International co-operation is, therefore, necessary. If Russia will provide the land, Christendom should provide the money. Where is it to come from? There are three sources:

"(1) There are the Hirsch millions;

"(2) There are the subscriptions of the wealthy Jews throughout the civilized world;

"(3) There is the appeal to Christendom, which could not fail to produce extraordinary results if every one who bears the name of Christian were to give a piece of silver—some to help Russia in her holy mission of settling the Jewish Question on lines of humanity and justice, and others to benefit the race to which the Founder of Christianity belonged.

"It is plain that the invitation from the Ministers of the Emperor to the Governments of the United States and Great Britain would create an extremely favorable impression on public opinion throughout the civilized world; while, if the initiative were to proceed from any other Power than Russia herself, it might be said by enemies of Russia that she had yielded to the *force majeure* of public opinion. To take the initiative, therefore, in the convocation of a Conference for the discussion of the Jewish Question throughout the world, would place Russia in secure possession of the leadership of the world on this subject, and would establish incontestable proof of her magnanimity and statesmanship.

"In conclusion I would point out that, wherever there is a Jew, there Russia has an enemy. Jewish influence in the Press of the United States, of Great Britain and of the Continent of Europe is directed against Russia. Although Russia is morally and materially self-contained, and de-

pendent on no other nation, the wisdom of ending the Jewish Question is indisputable for financial and diplomatic reasons.

"While no harm would result from such a Conference, the position of Russia in reference to the Jewish Question would be set forth with a strength and clearness that could not be gainsaid.

ARNOLD WHITE."

I have reason to believe that this document, with a memorandum on the whole subject, has also been placed before the President of the United States.

Russians, like Americans, are proud. Gusts of emotion sweep through the land. Threaten Russia, or denounce her Government, and the door of conviction is closed with a clang. But Russia has other moods. She is not wholly represented by M. Pobiedonostseff. I have no authority for saying so, but the impression I have gained from recent conversations with Russian Ministers is, rightly or wrongly, that the Pobiedonostseff methods are no longer found satisfactory. The only influence that can prolong them is the denunciation of the American and British Press.

If, on the other hand, the Great Republic and Great Britain were to hold out their hands to Russia, and say, "Let us see what we can do together to solve this terrible problem of Jewish misery," I have reason to believe that Russia would hold out her hand, and, notwithstanding Manchuria, Persia, Central Asia, India, and the open door, that the Powers might act together in the discovery of a remedy which shall at least alleviate, if it does not cure, the evils of which we are conscious.

The amelioration of the lot of the Jews throughout the world is no fit subject for political ambition. It is the duty of every Christian and of every non-Christian to put aside causes of difference, and to join hands with the object of ending the journeyings of the wandering Jew.

ARNOLD WHITE.

THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM.

BY HORACE WHITE.

In a reply to questions addressed to me by the editor of the *World* some months ago, I said that I could see no need of a School of Journalism. I am, nevertheless, glad that Columbia University has been supplied with the means to establish one. This is not intended as a paradox. Columbia already has the plant and the teaching force for the training of journalists in so far as they can be trained otherwise than by practice; but both the plant and the teaching force are susceptible of improvement. There is no danger that they will be overloaded by the addition of one or two million dollars to the existing resources. If the authorities of Columbia are fit for their places, general culture will receive an impulse from Mr. Pulitzer's donation, and journalism will share therein.

It is quite probable, too, that the existence of this fund, and the stir that it makes in the country, will draw to Columbia more than her usual share of young men who seek to become journalists. Although Harvard or Yale, without a School of Journalism, might conceivably be better equipped to train men for editorial work than Columbia with one, yet the average boy would expect to get from the latter more of the kind of instruction that he wants than from either of the former. Then Columbia, feeling an impulse in this direction, would, no doubt, be spurred to fresh exertions in her departments of political and social science, and whatever else she might regard as most helpful to the editorial mind; and that would be a gain to general culture, including journalism.

I maintain, however, that the university has nothing to teach journalists in the special sense that it has to teach lawyers, physicians, architects and engineers. It can teach the *technique*

of those professions. It cannot teach the *technique* of journalism, except by publishing a newspaper in competition with other newspapers in the same town. If it should attempt to do so, Mr. Pulitzer's money would probably be spent in less time than he took to earn it.

The art of English composition is taught in all universities, colleges, and high schools with more or less success. The desideratum here is not a school of journalism, but a good teacher. After the intending journalist has obtained as much proficiency in writing good English as he can acquire without practice under the goad of the printer's devil, his technical requirements are—what? First of all, a "nose for news." In this phrase are included the recognition, the valuation, the collection and arrangement of news. Every experienced journalist will agree that a nose for news cannot be cultivated at college. Some other kinds of noses may be, but the one which perceives immediately what kind of news the public is most eager to read, and knows offhand how to get it and present it in an attractive way—that is something which can be trained only in a newspaper office. There are differences of scent between trained newspaper men as marked as between different breeds of dogs, and the demand for journalists who are both highly gifted and highly trained in this particular, is great and increasing; but such men have never been made at college, and never will be.

What are the other technicalities of journalism? I can think of none except phonography, typewriting, and proof-reading. I have never met an editor-in-chief who was a shorthand writer. My colleague, Edwin L. Godkin, used a typewriter in the composition of editorials in his later years, but he learned the art at his own home in his leisure hours. Anybody can learn the technical part of proof-reading in two hours, although practice is needed to acquire rapidity and accuracy. Columbia would no more think of embracing these things in her curriculum than she would of establishing a chair of head-lines, a chair of interviews, or a chair of "scoops."

In their academic departments, all the colleges and universities of the country are schools of journalism, some having larger and better equipment for this task than others, just as some have larger libraries and laboratories than others. They are all supplying, in greater or less measure, the training that young men

need to improve their keenness and breadth of vision, and to enable them to judge of the value of evidence (which J. S. Mill considered the chief object of education), and to express their thoughts in good English. It is not a new kind of training that Columbia will introduce in her School of Journalism, but a betterment of the kind she already gives. She could do nothing different even if Mr. Pulitzer's gift were ten times as great as it is. The fundamentals of journalism are those which we have in mind when we say that Mr. So-and-So is a gentleman and a scholar; and it is only fundamentals which the university can supply.

Of course, some ways of using the money will be better than others, and here, perhaps, a leaf out of my own experience may be useful. I entered journalism in 1854. I had received the college education in vogue at that time. It included Latin and Greek, in which I was fairly well grounded, and which I have always found useful. It did not include English. At that time English was supposed to be born, not made. This was the opinion of educators in Columbia as well as in Beloit. No college at that time gave courses in English, so far as I can discover. This was a serious defect, but it was supplemented in my case by incessant drilling in the Old and New Testaments, administered as religious, not as literary, exercises, and even more at home and in Sunday-school than in the college. It was well for me that I had this training, for I consider the English Bible the best instrument for instruction in the English tongue that exists to-day, and the best guide to the acquirement of good style of composition; yet it did not make up for the lack of Shakespeare, Milton, Burke, Goldsmith and the other English classics. It did not supply the place of a good teacher of English rhetoric and literature. Columbia is well equipped in this department, and all I need say further under this head is that it should constitute the groundwork of a journalist's training.

The next serious defect in my early education was a want of acquaintance with the science of law. I gained some notions of Roman law from Cicero's orations and moral works, but only incidentally. The only law book that entered into my curriculum was Story on the Constitution. This was good as far as it went, but it was not the bed-rock that I needed. I found myself much hampered by ignorance of the English common law, which I

sought to repair by reading Kent's Commentaries, in the intervals of daily journalistic work. I thus came to know where to look for further instruction in special branches of law, as occasion required. I should recommend as an important part of a journalist's training, not only the doses of Roman law, constitutional law and international law which all universities now supply, but also a good draught of English common law.

I was well grounded in political economy (as the science then existed) by President Chapin of Beloit, himself a keen thinker and clear writer on that subject. What I acquired in college, however, was a due appreciation of economics as part of an editor's furnishings, rather than multifarious cramming. The only books I saw in college were those of Wayland and J. B. Say, the former as a text-book, the latter for private reading; but very little has appeared in books or magazines since that time that I have not mastered, or tested by sample. This I have found necessary in order to give advice to my readers on the numberless problems, of an economic sort, that are constantly arising in public affairs. Columbia is strong on the economic side and will doubtless so continue.

Neither political science nor history was taught in my college years. Greek and Roman history I had in abundance as part of my classical training; but modern history we were supposed to acquire, as we acquired English literature, by induced currents rather than direct contact. Neither sociology nor psychology existed then, although phrenology and mesmerism were much in evidence. Since my graduation, a whole troop of sciences have pushed forward which may justly claim a place in the young journalist's curriculum; and here is room for sound judgment, and discrimination on the part of Columbia's committee on organization. Their aim should be to make a gentleman and a scholar in every case, and leave him to learn journalism afterwards by practice.

How to produce the scholar for journalism has been sufficiently indicated. How to produce the gentleman is something different and not always attainable. The formation of character begins earlier than college life, but continues through it and long after. It does not end while life lasts. American colleges and universities without exception do aim to give their students correct moral, as well as intellectual, training. They do strive to make them

good citizens. Now, the high-minded man and good citizen will be such in all times and places, whatever be his walk in life. The same rules will govern him in the editorial chair, or at the reporter's desk, that would govern him in the pulpit or in the counting-room. Lectureships have been established in some institutions lately on the duties of the citizen. These are to be commended, but they apply to all trades and professions as fully as to journalism.

The question arises at this point, why are there so many black sheep in journalism? Why so many "fakes"? Why is the epidemic of "yellow journalism" so prevalent? This phrase is applied to newspapers which delight in sensations, crime, scandal, smut, funny pictures, caricatures and malicious or frivolous gossip about persons and things of no public concern. When I entered journalism, the press of the country, with only one exception that I can now recall, was clean, dignified and sober-minded. It had various aims in life, aims political, literary, scientific, social, religious, reformatory and mixed, which were deemed by the conductors of the papers advantageous to the common weal. To make money by pandering to the vices and follies of the community, and thus adding to the mass of vice and folly, was generally unthinkable.

The yellow journalist, when somebody remonstrates against his practices, says that the fault lies with the public taste; that he merely gives the people what they want. This means that he has made experiments on the public appetite, and has found that he can get more dollars by spreading folly and foulness through the community than by publishing decent news in a decent way. In like manner, others have found that they can make more money by keeping pool rooms and disorderly houses than by following the plough or sawing wood. Yet when we have said this—when we have heaped anathemas on the head of the yellow journalist—we have not advanced an inch toward betterment. We stand confronted with the fact that it pays to publish this kind of newspaper, and that, as long as it pays, this kind of newspaper will be published. I once believed that people would soon tire of such vulgarity and nonsense, and that yellow journalism would cease for want of a market, but I confess that I do not yet see any natural law in operation to check its desolating career. On the other hand, I do see that the public takes less interest in thought-

ful discussions of serious questions in the press than it did when I first entered the profession. The reason is that it gets less of it. Mental activity grows by what it feeds on. If the thinking faculty is not kept in practice, it falls into noxious desuetude.

The vice which consists in making newspapers marketable rather than good is not wholly confined to the yellow journals. It is found in a tendency to eschew "heaviness" of all kinds; to avoid articles which require thought to produce and to appreciate; and especially to steer clear of all blizzards and fog-banks of public opinion which might temporarily chill the circulation. This spirit is found in very respectable newspapers. Their aim is to be light, breezy and picturesque, perhaps grotesque, and to give offence to nobody. "Modern journalism," says Mr. E. L. Shuman in an acute and valuable work,* "has higher rewards for those who can amuse than for those whose main object is to instruct." The bad rich press and the timid rich press are like King Stork and King Log to the frog community. In saying this I do not lose sight of some fine examples of the independent press, which still flourish; but I affirm that the press of fifty years ago was, as a whole, stronger intellectually, more influential and more respected than the press is now, although, in the mere matter of news-gathering, it was as inferior to the press of to-day as a blacksmith's forge is to the Carnegie steel works.

I chanced the other day to pick up the "Recollections" of the actor Stoddart, containing an Introduction by William Winter, who says therein that "in acting, as well as in literature, fine and substantial things—things having in them the grandeur of noble truth and the fire of genial passion—were more frequent forty or fifty years ago than they are now. The actor of the old school," he continues, "was an actor thoroughly grounded in his profession, trained by experience, equipped at all points, able to do many things well and some things brilliantly, and, whatever may have been his defects, solid and stable in character, moderate in self-confidence and usually modest in the conduct of life." I agree with Mr. Winter in this. The editor and the actor of half a century ago were keyed to the same pitch, and I cannot help asking myself whether the decadence of the press has not had something to do with the decadence of the stage. The people take the kind of newspaper that is given to them, and nine-tenths of

* "Practical Journalism," by E. L. Shuman, New York, 1903.

them are unconsciously cast in its mould. If it is mentally enervating and silly, they will be so; if it is yellow, they will reflect the same hue.

The sum and substance of my theme is, that yellow journalism exists because it pays and that it pays because it exists. How to disable this machine of perpetual motion is the greatest problem that confronts our social philosophers. It exceeds in importance the Philippine question, or the race question, or the municipal government question. It includes all these and much more. I have seen the American people recover their balance in many fearful crises, when they seemed on the point of toppling over; but I can imagine one in which the Republic might receive great detriment without the people knowing what hurt them, or even knowing that they were hurt. If such a calamity comes it will come through bad journalism, not a subsidized press but a brain-softening press, such as we have now in large and growing measure.

"It is well to remember," says Mr. Shuman, "that the editorial department is dwindling, while the great currents of life that sweep nightly through the reportorial departments are increasing yearly." It is a fact that good political writers are scarcer now than they were fifty years ago. It is harder to obtain them now than then, harder now than at any other time in my experience. The colleges are sending out larger numbers of graduates and more highly-trained ones, yet the number seeking positions as editorial writers, and qualified, or showing aptitude, therefor is smaller than it has ever been in my time. There must be a reason for this. Among the drolleries of the day I saw not long ago a question and answer like the following: "Why are good cooks and waitresses so scarce?" "Because they are engaged in writing stories for the magazines. It pays better."

In all branches of personal service, demand and supply usually keep in close touch with each other, and this is especially true of intellectual service. If the supply of good editorial writers has fallen off, it must be because the demand has fallen off, and this, I believe, is the truth. I mean the kind of demand that calls into being an effective and regular supply. No self-respecting youth will prepare himself for future connection with a yellow journal; and, in general, the number who will prepare for newspaper work will be governed by the aspect in which journalism daily presents itself to their eyes. What are the most prominent

features of journalism to-day? They are pictures, head-lines, color scheme, job type, sports, gossip. Is it any wonder that the bright young men, those who feel "growing pains" for high achievement and growing hope for distinction therein, are repelled from a profession which presents itself to them in such harlequin garb? But that is not all. In order that there may be a steady supply of good editorial writers, there must be both a congenial field for them to work in and a sufficient fund to pay them. But the money formerly destined for the editorial writer now goes to the cartoonist, the artist reporter, and the color schemer. Does any one ask why good editorial writers are so scarce nowadays? May they not be employed as waiters at hotels and restaurants, finding the occupation there more congenial and the pay more regular?

To make good journalists is not difficult. The raw material abounds and the tools are not deficient. But to do noble work of preparation they must see a field of labor worthy of noble minds. Show them an arena where the highest merit will win the highest prize, as in law, medicine and engineering, and the arena will soon be vocal with the *gaudium certaminis*.

HORACE WHITE.

THE LYNCHING OF NEGROES—ITS CAUSE AND ITS PREVENTION.

BY THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

In dealing with this question the writer wishes to be understood as speaking not of the respectable and law-abiding element among the negroes, who unfortunately are so often confounded with the body of the race from which come most of the malefactors. To say that negroes furnish most of the ravishers is not to say that all negroes are rapists.

The crime of lynching in this country has, at one time or another, become so frequent that it has aroused the interest of the whole people, and has even arrested the attention of people in other countries. It has usually been caused by the boldness with which crime was committed by lawbreakers, and the inefficiency of the law in dealing with them through its regular forms. Such, for instance, were the acts of the Vigilantes in California in the old days, and such have been the acts of the Vigilantes in other sections of the country at times. In these cases, there has always been a form of trial, which, however hasty, was conclusive on the essential points, of the commission of the crime, the identification of the prisoner, the sentence of "Judge Lynch"—that is, of the mob—and the orderly execution of that sentence. And, in such cases, most persons cognizant of all the conditions and circumstances have found some justification for this "wild justice."

Lynching, however, has never before been so common, nor has it existed over so extended a region as of late years in the South. And it has aroused more feeling outside of that section than was aroused formerly by the work of the Vigilantes. This feeling has undoubtedly been due mainly to the belief, that the lynching has been directed almost exclusively against the negroes; though

a part has, perhaps, come from the supposition that the laws were entirely effective, and that, consequently, the lynching of negroes has been the result of irrational hostility or of wanton cruelty. Thus, the matter is, to some extent, complicated by a latent idea that it has a political complexion.

This is the chief ground of complaint in the utterances of the negroes themselves and also of a considerable part of the outside press. And, indeed, for a good while, the lynching of negroes appeared to be confined to the South, though lynching of whites was by no means the monopoly of that section, as may be recalled by those familiar with the history of Indiana and some of the other Northwestern States.

Of late, however, several revolting instances of lynching of negroes in its most dreadful form, burning at the stake, have occurred in regions where hitherto such forms of barbarous punishment have been unknown; and the time appears to be ripe for some efficient concert of action, to eradicate what is recognized by cool heads as a serious menace to our civilization.

In discussing the means to put an end to this barbarity, the first essential is that the matter shall be clearly and thoroughly understood.

The ignorance shown by much of the discussion that has grown out of these lynchings would appear to justify plain speaking.

All thoughtful men know that respect for law is the basic principle of civilization, and are agreed as to the evil of any over-riding of the law. All reasonable men know that the over-riding of law readily creates a spirit of lawlessness, under which progress is retarded and civilization suffers and dwindles. This is as clearly recognized at the South as at the North. To overcome this conviction and stir up rational men to a pitch where the law is trampled under foot, the officers of the law are attacked, and their prisoner taken from them and executed, there must be some imperative cause.

And yet the record of such over-riding of law in the past has been a terrible one.

The Chicago *Tribune* has for some time been collecting statistics on the subject of lynching, and the following table taken from that paper, showing the number of lynchings for a series of years, is assumed to be fairly accurate:

1885	184	1895	171
1886	138	1896	131
1887	122	1897	166
1888	142	1898	127
1889	176	1899	107
1890	127	1900	115
1891	192	1901	135
1892	235	1902	96
1893	200	1903 (to Sept. 14, eight and a half months)	76
1894	190		

	Total lynchings.	Whites.	Negroes.	In the South.	In the North.
1900	115	8	107	107	8
1901	135	26	107	121	14
1902	96	9	86	87	9
1903 (to Sept. 14)	76	13	63	66	10

Causes Assigned.

	1900.	1901.*	1902.†	1903.
Murder	39	39	37	32
Rape	18	19	19	8
Attempted rape	13	9	11	5
Race prejudice	10	9	2	3
Assaulting whites	6	—	3	3
Threats to kill	5	—	1	—
Burglary	4	1	—	—
Attempt to murder	4	9	4	6
Informing	2	—	—	—
Robbery	2	"Theft" 12	1	—
Complicity in murder	2	6	3	5
Rape and murder	—	—	—	1
Suspicion of murder	2	3	1	3
Suspicion of robbery	1	—	—	—
No offence	1	—	—	—
Arson	2	4	—	—
Suspicion of arson	1	—	—	—
Aiding escape of murderer	1	—	1	—
Insulting a white woman	—	1	—	—
Cattle and horse stealing	—	7	1	—
Quarrel over profit-sharing	—	5	—	—
Suspicion of rape	—	1	—	—
Suspicion of rape and murder	—	1	—	—
Unknown offences	2	6	—	4
Mistaken identity	—	1	1	3

NOTE.—The lynchings in the various States and Territories in 1900 were as follows:

Alabama	8	New York	0
Arkansas	6	Nevada	0
California	0	North Carolina	3
Colorado	3	North Dakota	0
Connecticut	0	Ohio	0
Delaware	0	Oregon	0
Florida	9	Pennsylvania	0
Georgia	16	Rhode Island	0
Idaho	0	South Carolina	2
Illinois	0	South Dakota	0
Indiana	3	Tennessee	7
Iowa	0	Texas	4
Kansas	2	Vermont	0
Kentucky	1	Virginia	6
Louisiana	20	West Virginia	2
Maine	0	Wisconsin	0
Maryland	1	Washington	0
Massachusetts	0	Wyoming	0
Michigan	0	Arizona	0
Minnesota	0	District of Columbia	0
Mississippi	20	New Mexico	0
Missouri	2	Utah	0
Montana	0	Indian Territory	0
Nebraska	0	Oklahoma	0
New Jersey	0	Alaska	0
New Hampshire	0		

* In 1901 one Indian and one Chinaman lynched.
† In 1902 one Indian lynched.

From these tables certain facts may be deduced. The first is that, in the year of which an analysis is given (1900), over nine-tenths of the lynchings occurred in the South, where only about one-third of the population of the country were, but where nine-tenths of the negroes were; secondly, that, of these lynchings, about nine-tenths were of negroes and one-third were in the three States where the negroes are most numerous; thirdly, that, while the lynchings appear to be diminishing at the South, the ratio, at least, is increasing at the North.

It further appears that, though lynching began as a punishment for assault on white women, it has extended until less than one-fourth of the instances are for this crime, while over three-fourths of them are for murder, attempts at murder, or some less heinous offence. This may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that the murders in the South partake somewhat of the nature of race-conflicts.

Over 2,700 lynchings in eighteen years are enough to stagger the mind. Either we are relapsing into barbarism, or there is some terrific cause for our reversion to the methods of mediævalism, and our laws are inefficient to meet it. The only gleam of light is that, of late years, the number appears to have diminished.

To get at the remedy, we must first get at the cause.

Time was when the crime of assault was unknown throughout the South. During the whole period of slavery, it did not exist, nor did it exist to any considerable extent for some years after Emancipation. During the War, the men were away in the army, and the negroes were the loyal guardians of the women and children. On isolated plantations and in lonely neighborhoods, women were as secure as in the streets of Boston or New York.

Then came the period and process of Reconstruction, with its teachings. Among these was the teaching that the negro was the equal of the white, that the white was his enemy, and that he must assert his equality. The growth of the idea was a gradual one in the negro's mind. This was followed by a number of cases where members of the negro militia ravished white women; in some instances in the presence of their families.*

The result of the hostility between the Southern whites and Government at that time was to throw the former upon their own

* For outrages in Arkansas, see "Brooks-Baxter War."

acts for their defence or revenge, with a consequent training in lawless punishment of acts which should have been punished by law. And here lynching had its evil origin.

It was suggested some time ago, in a thoughtful paper read by Professor Wilcox, that a condition something like this had its rise in France during the religious wars.

The first instance of rape, outside of these attacks by armed negroes, and of consequent lynching, that attracted the attention of the country was a case which occurred in Mississippi, where the teaching of equality and of violence found one of its most fruitful fields. A negro dragged a woman down into the woods and, tying her, kept her bound there a prisoner for several days, when he butchered her. He was caught and was lynched.

With the resumption of local power by the whites came the temporary and partial ending of the crimes of assault and of lynching.

As the old relation, which had survived even the strain of Reconstruction, dwindled with the passing of the old generation from the stage, and the "New Issue" with the new teaching took its place, the crime broke out again with renewed violence. The idea of equality began to percolate more extensively among the negroes. In evidence of it is the fact that since the assaults began again they have been chiefly directed against the plainer order of people, instances of attacks on women of the upper class, though not unknown, being of rare occurrence.*

Conditions in the South render the commission of this crime peculiarly easy. The white population is sparse, the forests are extensive, the officers of the law distant and difficult to reach; but, above all, the negro population has appeared inclined to condone the fact of mere assault.

Twenty-five years ago, women went unaccompanied and unafraid throughout the South, as they still go throughout the North. To-day, no white woman, or girl, or female child, goes alone out of sight of the house except on necessity; and no man leaves his wife alone in his house, if he can help it. Cases have occurred of assault and murder in broad day, within sight and sound of the victim's home. Indeed, an instance occurred not a

* It is significant that, on large plantations where the negroes, though in large numbers, are still in the position of old plantation servants, the crime of assault is unknown.

great while ago in the District of Columbia, within a hundred yards of a fashionable drive, when, about three o'clock of a bright June day, a young girl was attacked within sight and sound of her house, and when she screamed her throat was cut. So near to her home was the spot that her mother and an officer, hearing her cries, reached her before life was extinct.

For a time, the ordinary course of the law was, in the main, relied on to meet the trouble; but it was found that, notwithstanding the inevitable infliction of the death penalty, several evils resulted therefrom. The chief one was that the ravishing of women, instead of diminishing, steadily increased. The criminal, under the ministrations of his preachers, usually professed to have "gotten religion," and from the shadow of the gallows called on his friends to follow him to glory. So that the punishment lost to these emotional people much of its deterrent force, especially where the real sympathy of the race was mainly with the criminal rather than with his victim. Another evil was the dreadful necessity of calling on the innocent victim, who, if she survived, as she rarely did, was already bowed to the earth by shame, to relate in public the story of the assault—an ordeal which was worse than death. Yet another was the delay in the execution of the law. With these, however, was one other which, perhaps, did more than all the rest together to wrest the trial and punishment from the Courts and carry them out by mob-violence. This was the unnamable brutality with which the causing crime was, in nearly every case, attended. The death of the victim of the ravisher was generally the least of the attendant horrors. In Texas, in Mississippi, in Georgia, in Kentucky, in Colorado, as later in Delaware, the facts in the case were so unspeakable that they have never been put in print. They could not be put in print. It is these unnamable horrors which have outraged the minds of those who live in regions where they have occurred, and where they may at any time occur again, and, upsetting reason, have swept from their bearings cool men and changed them into madmen, drunk with the lust of revenge.

Not unnaturally, such barbarity as burning at the stake has shocked the sense of the rest of the country, and, indeed, of the world. But it is well for the rest of the country, and for the world, to know that it has also shocked the sense of the South,

and, in their calmer moments, even the sense of those men who, in their frenzy, have been guilty of it. Only, a deeper shock than even this is at the bottom of their ferocious rage—the shock which comes from the ravishing and butchery of their women and children.

It is not necessary to be an apologist for barbarity because one states with bluntness the cause. The stern underlying principle of the people who commit these barbarities is one that has its root deep in the basic passions of humanity; the determination to put an end to the ravishing of their women by an inferior race, no matter what the consequence.

For a time, a speedy execution by hanging was the only mode of retribution resorted to by the lynchers; then, when this failed of its purpose, a more savage method was essayed, born of a savage fury at the failure of the first, and a stern resolve to strike a deeper terror into those whom the other method had failed to awe.

The following may serve as an illustration. Ten or twelve years ago, the writer lectured one afternoon in the early spring in a town in the cotton-belt of Texas—one of the prettiest towns in the Southwest. The lecture was delivered in the Court-house. The writer was introduced by a gentleman who had been a member of the Confederate Cabinet and a Senator of the United States, and the audience was composed of refined and cultured people, representing, perhaps, every State from Maine to Texas.

Two days later, the papers contained the account of the burning at the stake in this town of a negro. He had picked up a little girl of five or six years of age on the street where she was playing in front of her home, and carried her off, telling her that her mother had sent him for her; and when she cried, he had soothed her with candy which, with deliberate prevision, he had bought for the purpose. When she was found, she was unrecognizable. With her little body broken and mangled, he had cut her throat and thrown her into a ditch.

A strong effort was made to save him for the law, but without avail: the people had reverted to the primal law of vengeance. Farmers came from fifty miles to see that vengeance was exacted. They had resolved to strike terror into the breasts of all, so that such a crime could never occur again. This was, perhaps, the second or third instance of burning in the country.

Of late, lynching at the stake has spread beyond the region where it has such reason for existence as may be given by the conditions that prevail in the South. Three frightful instances by burning have occurred recently in Northern States, in communities where some of these conditions were partly wanting. The horror of the main fact of lynching was increased, in two of the cases, by a concerted attack on a large element of the negro population which was wholly innocent. Even the unoffending negroes were driven from their homes, a consequence which has never followed in the South, where it might seem there was more occasion for it.

It thus appears that the original crime, and also the consequent one in its most brutal form, are not confined to the South, and, possibly, are only more frequent there because of the greater number of negroes in that section. The deep racial instincts are not limited by geographical bounds.

These last-mentioned lynchings were so ferocious, and so unwarranted by any such necessity, real or fancied, as may be thought to exist at the South by reason of the frequency of assault and the absence of a strong police force, that they not unnaturally called forth almost universal condemnation. The President felt it proper to write an open letter, commending the action of the Governor of Indiana on the proper and efficient exercise of his authority to uphold the law and restore order in his State. But who has ever thought it necessary to commend the Governors of the Southern States under similar circumstances? The militia of some of the Southern States are almost veterans, so frequently have they been called on to protect wretches whose crimes stank in the nostrils of all decent men. The Governor of Virginia boasted, a few years ago, that no lynching should take place during his incumbency, and he nearly made good his boast; though, to do so, he had to call out at one time or another almost the entire force of the State.

Editorials in some of the Eastern papers note with astonishment recent instances where law-officers in the South have protected their prisoners or eluded a mob. The writers of these editorials know so little of the South that one is scarcely surprised at their ignorance. But men are hanged by law for this crime of assault every few months in some State in the South. A few years ago, Sheriff Smith, of Birmingham, protected a mur-

derer at the cost of many lives; a little later, Mayor Prout, of Roanoke, defended a negro ravisher and murderer, and, though the mob finally succeeded in their aim, six men were killed by the guards before the jail was carried. These are only two of the many instances in which brave and faithful officers have, at the risk of their lives, defended their charges against that most terrible of all assailants—a determined mob.*

For a time, the assaults by negroes were confined to young women who were caught alone in solitary and secluded places. The company even of a child was sufficient to protect them. Then the ravishers grew bolder, and attacks followed on women when they were in company. And then, not content with this, the ravishers began to attack women in their own homes. Sundry instances of this have occurred within the last few years. As an illustration, may be cited the notorious case of Samuel Hose, who, after making a bet with a negro preacher that he could have access

* The following table is from the Chicago *Tribune*. The number of legal executions in 1900 was 118, as compared with 131 in 1899, 109 in 1898, 128 in 1897, 122 in 1896, 132 in 1895, 132 in 1894, 126 in 1893, and 107 in 1892. The executions in the several States and Territories were in 1900 as follows:

Alabama	4	New York	3
Arkansas	0	Nevada	0
California	5	North Carolina	9
Colorado	0	North Dakota	1
Connecticut	1	Ohio	1
Delaware	0	Oregon	1
Florida	1	Pennsylvania	15
Georgia	14	Rhode Island	0
Idaho	2	South Carolina	3
Illinois	0	South Dakota	0
Indiana	0	Tennessee	4
Iowa	0	Texas	18
Kansas	0	Vermont	0
Kentucky	0	Virginia	7
Louisiana	6	West Virginia	0
Maine	0	Wisconsin	0
Maryland	3	Wyoming	0
Massachusetts	0	Washington	2
Michigan	0	Arizona	4
Minnesota	0	District of Columbia	3
Mississippi	1	New Mexico	0
Missouri	3	Utah	0
Montana	3	Indian Territory	0
Nebraska	0	Oklahoma	0
New Jersey	4	Alaska	0
New Hampshire	0		

There were 80 hanged in the South and 39 in the North, of whom 60 were whites, 58 were blacks, and one a Chinaman. The crimes for which they were executed were: murder, 113; rape, 5; arson, 1. Thus, of the 119 hangings, about two-thirds (80) were in the South and one-third (39) in the North; about one-half (60) of the entire number were of whites, and one-half (58) were of blacks. So, the South appears to have done its part in the matter of punishing by law as well as by violence.

to a white woman, went into a farmer's house while the family, father, mother and child, were at supper; brained the man with his axe; threw the child into a corner with a violence which knocked it senseless, and ravished the wife and mother with unnamable horrors, butchered her and bore away with him the indisputable proof of having won his wager. He was caught and was burnt.

Another instance, only less appalling, occurred two years ago in Lynchburg, Virginia, where the colored janitor of a white female school, who had been brought up and promoted by the Superintendent of Schools, and was regarded as a shining example of what education might accomplish with his race, entered the house of a respectable man one morning, after the husband, who was a foreman in a factory, had gone to his work; ravished the wife, and, then putting his knee on her breast, coolly cut her throat as he might have done a calf's. There was no attempt at lynching; but the Governor, resolved to preserve the good name of the commonwealth, felt it necessary to order out two regiments of soldiers, in which course he was sustained by the entire sentiment of the State.

These cases were neither worse nor better than many of those which have occurred in the South in the last twenty years, and in that period hundreds of women and a number of children have been ravished and slain.

Now, how is this crime of assault to be stopped? For stopped it must be, and stopped it will be, whatever the cost. One proposition is that separation of the races, complete separation, is the only remedy. The theory appears Utopian. Colonization has been the dream of certain philanthropists for a hundred years. And, meantime, the negroes have increased from less than a million to nine millions. They will never be deported; not because we have not the money, for an amount equal to that spent in pensions during three years would pay the expenses of such deportation, and an amount equal to that paid in six years would set them up in a new country. But the negroes have rights; many of them are estimable citizens; and even the body of them, when well regulated, are valuable laborers. It might, therefore, as well be assumed that this plan will never be carried out, unless the occasion becomes so imperative that all other rights give way to the supreme right of necessity.

It is plain, then, that we must deal with the matter in a more practicable manner, accepting conditions as they are, and applying to them legal methods which will be effective. Lynching does not end ravishing, and that is the prime necessity. Most right-thinking men are agreed as to this. Indeed, lynching, through lacking the supreme principle of law, the deliberateness from which is supposed to come the certainty of identification, fails utterly to meet the necessity of the case even as a deterrent. Not only have assaults occurred again and again in the same neighborhood where lynching has followed such crime; but, a few years ago, it was publicly stated that a negro who had just witnessed a lynching for this crime actually committed an assault on his way home. However this may be, lynching as a remedy is a ghastly failure; and its brutalizing effect on the community is incalculable.

The charge that is often made, that the innocent are sometimes lynched, has little foundation. The rage of a mob is not directed against the innocent, but against the guilty; and its fury would not be satisfied with any other sacrifice than the death of the real criminal. Nor does the criminal merit any consideration, however terrible the punishment. The real injury is to the perpetrators of the crime of destroying the law, and to the community in which the law is slain.

It is pretty generally conceded that the "law's delay" is partly responsible for the "wild justice" of mob vengeance, and this has undoubtedly been the cause of many mobs. But it is far from certain if any change in the methods of administration of law will effect the stopping of lynching; while to remedy this evil we may bring about a greater peril. Trial by jury is the bed-rock of our liberties, and the inherent principle of such trial is its deliberateness. It has been said that the whole purpose of the Constitution of Great Britain is that twelve men may sit in the jury-box. The methods of the law may well be reformed; but any movement should be jealously scanned which touches the chief barrier of all liberty. The first step, then, would appear to be the establishment of a system securing a reasonably prompt trial and speedy execution by law, rather than a wholesale revolution of the existing system.

Many expedients have been suggested; some of the most drastic by Northern men. One of them proposed, not long since, that

to meet the mob-spirit, a trial somewhat in the nature of a drumhead court-martial might be established by law, by which the accused may be tried and, if found guilty, executed immediately. Others have proposed as a remedy emasculation by law; while a Justice of the Supreme Court has recently given the weight of his personal opinion in favor of prompt trial and the abolishment of appeals in such cases. Even the terrible suggestion has been made that burning at the stake might be legalized!

These suggestions testify how grave the matter is considered to be by those who make them.

But none of these, unless it be the one relating to emasculation, is more than an expedient. The trouble lies deeper. The crime of lynching is not likely to cease until the crime of ravishing and murdering women and children is less frequent than it has been of late. And this crime, which is well-nigh wholly confined to the negro race, will not greatly diminish until the negroes themselves take it in hand and stamp it out.

From recent developments, it may be properly inferred that the absence of this crime during the period of Slavery was due more to the feeling among the negroes themselves than to any repressive measures on the part of the whites. The negro had the same animal instincts in Slavery that he exhibits now; the punishment that follows the crime now is as certain, as terrible, and as swift as it could have been then. So, to what is due the alarming increase of this terrible brutality?

To the writer it appears plain that it is due to two things: first, to racial antagonism and to the talk of social equality, from which it first sprang, that inflames the ignorant negro, who has grown up unregulated and undisciplined; and, secondly, to the absence of a strong restraining public opinion among the negroes of any class, which alone can extirpate the crime. In the first place, the negro does not generally believe in the virtue of women. It is beyond his experience. He does not generally believe in the existence of actual assault. It is beyond his comprehension. In the next place, his passion, always his controlling force, is now, since the new teaching, for the white woman.*

That there are many negroes who are law-abiding and whose influence is for good, no one who knows the worthy members of

* See "The American Negro," by William Hannibal Thomas, pp. 65, 177.

the race, those who represent the better element, will deny. But while there are, of course, notable exceptions, they are not often of the "New Issue," nor even generally among the prominent leaders: those who publish papers and control conventions.

As the crime of rape had its baleful origin in the teaching of equality and the placing of power in the ignorant negroes' hands, so its perpetration and increase have undoubtedly been due in large part to the same teaching. The intelligent negro may understand what social equality truly means; but to the ignorant and brutal young negro, it signifies but one thing: the opportunity to enjoy, equally with white men, the privilege of cohabiting with white women. This the whites of the South understand; and if it were understood abroad, it would serve to explain some things which have not been understood hitherto. It will explain, in part, the universal and furious hostility of the South to even the least suggestion of social equality.

A close following of the instances of rape and lynching, and the public discussion consequent thereon, has led the writer to the painful realization that even the leaders of the negro race—at least, those who are prominent enough to hold conventions and write papers on the subject—have rarely, by act or word, shown a true appreciation of the enormity of the crime of ravishing and murdering women. Their discussion and denunciation have been almost invariably and exclusively devoted to the crime of lynching. Underlying most of their protests is the suggestion, that the victim of the mob is innocent and a martyr. Now and then, there is a mild generalization on the evil of lawbreaking and the violation of women; but, for one stern word of protest against violating women and cutting their throats, the records of negro meetings will show many against the attack of the mob on the criminal. And, as to any serious and determined effort to take hold of and stamp out the crime that is blackening the entire negro race to-day, and arousing against them the fatal and possibly the undying enmity of the stronger race, there is, with the exception of the utterances of a few score individuals like Booker Washington, who always speaks for the right, Hannibal Thomas and Bishop Turner, hardly a trace of such a thing. A crusade has been preached against lynching, even as far as England; but none has been thought of against the ravishing and tearing to pieces of white women and children.

Happily, there is an element of sound-minded, law-abiding negroes, representative of the old negro, who without parade stand for good order, and do what they can to repress lawlessness among their people. But for this class and the kindly relations which are preserved between them and the whites, the situation in the South would long since have become unbearable. These, however, are not generally among the leaders, and, unfortunately, their influence is not sufficiently extended to counteract the evil influences which are at work with such fatal results.

One who reads the utterances of negro orators and preachers on the subject of lynching, and who knows the negro race, cannot doubt that, at bottom, their sympathy is generally with the "victim" of the mob, and not with his victim.

Until the negroes shall create among themselves a sound public opinion which, instead of fostering, shall reprobate and sternly repress the crime of assaulting women and children, the crime will never be extirpated, and until this crime is stopped the crime of lynching will never be extirpated. Lynching will never be done away with while the sympathy of the whites is with the lynchers, and no more will ravishing be done away with while the sympathy of the negroes is with the ravisher. When the negroes shall stop applying all their energies to harboring and defending negroes, no matter what their crime so it be against the whites, and shall distinguish between the law-abiding negro and the law-breaker, a long step will have been taken.

Should the negroes sturdily and faithfully set themselves to prevent the crime of rape by members of that race, it could be stamped out. Should the whites set themselves against lynching, lynching would be stopped. The remedy then is plain. Let the negroes take charge of the crime of ravishing and firmly put it away from them, and let the whites take charge of the crime of lynching and put it away from them. It is time that the races should address themselves to the task; for it is with nations as with individual men; whatsoever they sow that shall they also reap.

It is the writer's belief that the arrest and the prompt handing over to the law of negroes by negroes, for assault on white women, would do more to break up ravishing, and to restore amicable relations between the two races, than all the resolutions of all the Conventions and all the harangues of all the politicians.

It has been tried in various States to put an end to lynching by making the county in which the lynching occurs liable in damages for the crime. It is a good theory; and, if it has not worked well, it is because of the difficulty of executing the provision. Could some plan be devised to array each race against the crime to which it is prone, both rape and lynching might be diminished, if not wholly prevented.

The practical application of such a principle is difficult, but, perhaps, it is not impossible. It is possible that in every community negroes might be appointed officers of the law, to look exclusively after lawbreakers of their own race. The English in the East manage such matters well, under equally complicated and delicate conditions. For example, in the Island of Malta, where the population are of different classes among whom a certain jealousy exists, there are several classes of police: the naval police, the military police, and the civil or municipal police. To each of these is assigned more especially the charge of one of the three classes of whom the population of the Island is composed. Again, in Hong Kong, where the situation is even more delicate, there are several classes of police: the English, the Chinese, and the Indian police. Only the first are empowered to make general arrests; the others have powers relating exclusively to the good order of the races to which they belong, though they may in all cases be called in to assist the English police.

Somewhat in the same way, the negroes might be given within their province powers sufficiently full to enable them to keep order among their people, and they might on the other hand be held to a certain accountability for such good order. It might even be required that every person should be listed and steadily kept track of, as is done in Germany at present. The recent vagrant laws of Georgia, where there are more negroes than in the entire North, are an attempt in this direction.

In the same way, the white officials charged with the good order of the county or town might be given enlarged powers of summoning posses, and might be held to a high accountability. For example, *ipso facto* forfeiture of the official bond and removal from office, with perpetual disability to hold any office again, might be provided as a penalty for permitting any persons to be taken out of their hands.

Few ravishings by negroes would occur if the more influential

members of the race were held accountable for the good order of their race in every community; and few lynchings would occur, at least after the prisoners were in the hands of the officers of the law, if those officers, by the mere fact of relinquishing their prisoners should be disqualified from ever holding office again.

These suggestions may be as Utopian as others which have been made; but if they cannot be carried out, it is because the ravishings by negroes and the murders by mobs have their roots so deep in racial instincts that nothing can eradicate them, and in such case the ultimate issue will be a resort to the final test of might, which in the last analysis underlies everything.

THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

MR. MORLEY'S LIFE OF GLADSTONE.—II.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH.

GLADSTONE'S declaration, at a critical juncture of the American war, that Jefferson Davis had made a nation, gave deep offence to the friends of the North both in the United States and in England. But he atoned for it by frank and honorable repentance. As a statement of fact, it lacked truth only in so far that Davis, instead of making the South a nation, had found it one already made. The schism between the Free and Slave States was inevitable, and the war was from the outset one between nations. That Gladstone subscribed to the Confederate loan was false, nor is there the slightest reason for believing that he was less faithful than any of his colleagues to the policy of strict neutrality, however ready he may have been, in common with the rest, to tender good offices in a contest in which, as it deprived millions of British artisans of the materials of their industry, Great Britain had a manifest and pressing interest. I would not positively assert that the son of a slave-owner felt the same intense abhorrence of slavery as Wilberforce, or that a High Churchman fully equalled in his zeal for emancipation the Evangelicals whose special heritage it was. But Gladstone's actuating motives, certainly, were his regard for the bread of the British artisan, and his sympathy with all who were struggling to be free. With a view, probably, to the satisfaction of mortified friends of the North in England, he wrote to a friend suggesting that, if the North thought fit to let the South go, it might in time be indemnified by the union of Canada with the Northern States. As the letter, on consideration, seemed unlikely to have the desired effect, and not unlikely at some future time to prove embarrassing to the writer, no use was made of it and it was destroyed.

Had it been possible for the son of a Jamaica proprietor to be

an ardent emancipationist and a warm friend of the negro, Gladstone could hardly have failed to show his feelings on the occasion of the Jamaica massacre, that most atrocious outpouring of white hatred, rage, and panic on the black peasantry of Jamaica. However, he had the general sentiment of the upper classes and of the clergy of the State Church upon his side.

Peel, as Premier, had been master of the Government, as well as head, in the last resort, of every Department. His habit had been to hear what all the members of his Cabinet had to say, and then make up his mind. In his time, there was no voting or disclosure of Cabinet proceedings. Disclosure of Cabinet proceedings is, in fact, at variance with the Privy Councillor's oath. Gladstone, it appears, put questions to the vote. He also allowed a member of the Cabinet to set forth on a political adventure of his own and proclaim a policy independent of that of his chief and his colleagues, as the same politician is now again doing. The Cabinet system itself since Gladstone's Premiership is apparently beginning to give way. There is a commencement of the change which has now made the Cabinet an unwieldy body, meeting at long intervals and almost publicly, while the real power and the direction of policy centre in an inner conclave, something like that which, in the reign of Charles II., was called a Cabal.

Not only the Cabinet system but the party system, on which the Cabinet system was based, had begun to show signs of disintegration. Sectionalism had set in, as it was pretty sure to do when political speculation had grown more free and there was no controlling issue, like that of Parliamentary Reform in 1832, to hold a party together. Personal ambition was also becoming restless and difficult to control. More than once, Gladstone's Government was defeated by the bolting of its own supporters. The task of a Premier was not easy. Allowance must be made for this, when we compare the measure of Gladstone's success as head of the Government with that of his predecessors, and with the measure of his own success as Chancellor of the Exchequer, giving life and force to the Government by his triumphs in finance.

Of the truth of the charges of want of knowledge of men and of personal tact, often brought against Gladstone as Premier, I cannot pretend to judge. There was certainly no lack in him of social affability or charm. He may not have practised the jovial familiarities of Palmerston or had a counterpart of Lady Palm-

erston's Salon. But the lack of such things, or a want of what is called personal magnetism, will hardly deprive a great leader, such as Pitt or Peel, of the devotion of partisans, much less of the trust and attachment of the people.

Once, however, it must be owned, Gladstone as Premier was guilty of a blunder, if it was nothing more, which could not fail to shake the confidence of his party. I happened to be revisiting England and was at Manchester, when, like a bolt out of the blue, without notice or warning of any kind, came upon us the dissolution of 1874. All Liberals saw at once that it was ruin. It seems that the leader himself contemplated, and almost counted on, defeat. What was it, then, that moved him to this desperate act? His Chancellor and devoted friend, Lord Selborne (Roundell Palmer), does not doubt that it was a personal dilemma in which he had involved himself, by taking the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in addition to the First Lordship of the Treasury without going to his constituents for re-election—a violation, there was reason to apprehend, of the law. The only escape from that dilemma, according to the Chancellor, was dissolution. Mr. Morley, to whose authority I should willingly defer, strenuously denies the impeachment, and points to another ground, assigned by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone was, of course, sure to assign another ground, and equally sure to persuade himself that it was the real one. But what was that other ground? It was, in fact, that the Government was sick, and that the election would put it out of its misery, thereby clearing the situation, while it would deprive a number of Gladstone's followers of their seats. Why was the stroke so sudden? On the other hand, the charge of bribing the constituencies by promising to repeal the income tax, Mr. Morley is perfectly right in dismissing as baseless. Such expectations are held out by all competitors for power. What is the game of party but that of outbidding the other side?

After this defeat, Achilles retired in dudgeon to his tent. Gladstone insisted on resigning the leadership. But everybody foresaw that his return to it was inevitable; and it was difficult to fix on a man of sufficient eminence to take his place, and yet not too eminent to give it up when the great man might see fit to return. Lord Hartington was chosen as one whose comparative youth would make the surrender easy in his case, while his high rank would continue to sustain his position.

Whenever there was fighting to be done for the party, either in Parliamentary debate or on the stump, Gladstone was the man. His Midlothian campaign displayed his almost miraculous powers as a speaker, while it called forth the enthusiastic feeling of the people for the man in whom they thought, and rightly, that they saw their heartiest friend and the most powerful advocate of their interests. Three speeches in one day and an address this prodigy of nature could deliver, and the speeches were not flummery and clap-trap, but addressed to the intelligence of the people. Yet, one cannot help being rather sorry that the stump should have been so much dignified by Gladstone's practice. It is a great evil. To say nothing of its effect upon the passions of the audience, it wears out the statesman; it deprives him, in the intervals of Parliament, of leisure for study and reflection. Worst of all, it tempts him imprudently to commit himself.

In the case of armed intervention in Egypt, Gladstone seemed to swerve from his usual fidelity to a policy of moderation and peace. It lost him Bright, to whom as he advanced in Liberalism he had been drawing closer, and who had been induced to take office in his Government. Bright would have nothing to do with aggrandizement or war, and in private his words were strong, though in public he showed chivalrous forbearance towards his friends. Seeing that Egypt lay on the road to India and commanded the Suez Canal, it does not appear that the illustrious Quaker would have had much reason for finding fault with Gladstone and his Government, so far as the main scope of their policy was concerned. The fatal mistake, as it turned out, was the employment of Gordon, a heroic enthusiast, whose action no one could well foresee, who perhaps could hardly foresee his own, and who was not the best agent to be selected for carrying out a policy of retreat. That Gladstone went to the opera after receiving news of Gordon's death, as his malignant enemies said, was denied. But, even if he had, would any real want of feeling have been implied in his continuing to take his ordinary relief from the load of toil and anxiety which he bore?

In the case of the Transvaal Republic, Gladstone had the moral courage, in face of the agitation caused by Majuba Hill, to avow that he shrank from "blood-guiltiness," and to keep the nation in the path of honor and justice.

The last act of this wonderful life drama and its catastrophe

connect themselves with the history of Ireland and are scarcely of a brighter hue than the rest of that sad story. The case of Ireland with which, at this juncture, statesmanship had to deal, if it was clearly apprehended, was never, so far as I remember, very clearly set forth, either by Mr. Gladstone or by any one who took part in the discussion. Cromwell had given Ireland the indispensable boon of free trade with Great Britain. Succeeding Governments, less wise and magnanimous, had allowed British protectionism to kill the great Irish industries, the cattle trade and the wool trade. The people were thus thrown for subsistence entirely on the cultivation of the soil, in an island far the greater part of which is too wet for the profitable raising of cereals, and lends itself only to grazing. Then came the Penal Code, and to economical destitution was added utter social degradation. The people were reduced to a state bordering on absolute barbarism, a state in which they could look for nothing beyond bare food, while even bare food, the treacherous potato being its staple, periodically failed. In such a condition, all social and prudential restraints on the increase of population were lost, and the people multiplied with animal recklessness far beyond the capacity of the island to maintain them. Desperately contending for the soil on which they solely depended for their maintenance, they became, in the most miserable sense, tenants-at-will, prædial serfs of the landlord, who ground them through his middleman, and sometimes through a series of middlemen forming a hierarchy of extortion. All the improvements of the tenant were confiscated by the owner of the soil. The only remedy for overpopulation, apart from the fell agencies of famine and disease, was emigration. The remedy for the agrarian evil and grievance, so far as it could be reached by legislation, apparently was some measure which would give the Irish tenant-at-will the same security for his holding which had been given to the English copyholder by custom and the favor of the courts. To buy out the Irish landlord was hardly just to the British people, and was a measure in itself of dangerous import. The abolition of the gentry by any means, if it could have been avoided, was a social mistake. The peasantry would thereby be deprived of the social chiefs, whose influence it specially needed, and there would be danger of handing the island over to the demagogue and the priest.

The political part of the problem, which concerned the rela-

tions between the two islands, had, when Mr. Gladstone came to deal with the question, assumed the aspect of a struggle for Home Rule. This was an ostensibly reduced and mitigated version of the struggle for the repeal of the Union, which had been set on foot by O'Connell, and, passing from him into more violent hands, had in 1848, under Smith O'Brien, come to an ignominious end in the "cabbage-garden." The political movement, apart from the agrarian insurrection, had never shown much force. It was not on political change that the heart of the Irish people was set, but on the secure possession of their holdings and their deliverance from the grasp of famine. But the new leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, a man of commanding character, combined the two objects, and the movement, carrying the people with it, became formidable in its political as well as in its agrarian form.

There had been, as we know, an immense Irish emigration to the United States. This, while it had somewhat relieved the pressure of population, had in another respect greatly added to the difficulty of the case. It had given birth to American Fenianism, with its Clan-na-Gael, an agitation wholly political, rabid, murderous, formidable from the influence of the Irish vote on American politicians, having its headquarters and its centre beyond the reach of British repression.

Gladstone had been in Ireland only for three weeks, and then, Mr. Morley says, he had not gone beyond a very decidedly English Pale. There is, at all events, no trace of his having studied on the spot the character of the people with whom he had to deal; the influences which were at work; the various forces, political, ecclesiastical, social, and economical, to the play of which he was going to deliver the island. Had he done this, he might have known why it was that Irish Liberals, like Lord O'Hagan and Sir Alexander Macdonald, while they were Irish patriots to the core, and because they were Irish patriots to the core, shrank with horror from the dissolution of the legislative union. He would have seen the probable fragility of any clause of a Home-Rule Act forbidding legislative preference of a particular religion, and the ease with which it could have been nullified by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood, wielding the influence which they wielded over the people and over popular elections. He would also have more vividly realized the danger attending the relation of Protestant and Saxon Ulster to the Celtic and Catholic

part of Ireland, when they faced each other in a separate arena and their conflict was uncontrolled.

With the agrarian grievance Mr. Gladstone undertook to deal by means of land legislation, purchasing for the people, or giving them the means of purchasing, the freehold of their lots. The operation, as has been said, was perilous, as it involved exceptional dealing with contracts, as well as an unusual employment of public money; and in its course it exposed Mr. Gladstone to angry charges, not only of violent legislation, but of deception, to which color may have been given by some shifting of his ground. A simple Act of the character above suggested might possibly have solved the problem with less of a shock to the sanctity of contracts and less disturbance of any kind; while it must be admitted that the conduct of Irish landlords generally to their tenantry had been such as to form a warrant, if their can be one, for drastic legislation.

The political part of the Parnell movement Mr. Gladstone had for some time strenuously and vehemently opposed. He denounced Parnell's policy as leading through rapine to dismemberment. He applied coercion vigorously to Irish outrage, imprisoned a number of Parnellites as suspects, and himself proclaimed the arrest of Parnell to an applauding multitude at Guild Hall. He allowed colleagues to rise night after night from his side, and denounce the Home-Rule movement in language even stronger than his own. But, having been defeated in the election of 1885 by the combined forces of Conservatives and Parnellites, he suddenly, to the amazement of everybody, and the general consternation of his party, turned round, declared in favor of Home Rule and coalesced with Parnell, by whose assistance he ousted the Conservative Government of Lord Salisbury, and reinstalled himself in power. It is not necessary to charge him with being actuated by love of power, or to say that his conversion was not sincere. It is due to him to bear in mind that the Conservative leaders, in what was called the Maamtrasma debate, had unquestionably coquetted with Parnellism, one of them, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, courting Parnellite favor by censuring Lord Spencer; and that by this conduct on their part the aspect of the question had undergone a certain change. On the other hand, it is impossible to forget that Gladstone's position was that of leader of the Opposition, wishing to reinstate his party in

power, and seeing that this could be done only by the help of the Irish vote. Nor can we easily bring ourselves to accept the account of his gradual conversion to Home Rule put forth in his "History of an Idea." If he felt that his mind was moving on the subject, how could he have deemed it right not only to mark his own misgivings by vehement denunciations of Home Rule, but to lead his party and the nation on what he had begun to feel might prove to be the wrong line? His honesty, I repeat, need not be questioned. But neither his consistency nor the perfect singleness of his motive can very easily be maintained. He was a party leader; a full believer in the party system; and his party wanted to prevail over its rival. It is only by contention for power that party government can be carried on.

The political discontent would probably, as experience seemed to indicate, have subsided of itself when an end had been put to the material grievance and distress. Gladstone proposed to break the legislative Union and give Ireland a Parliament of her own. This Parliament he styled "statutory." Restrictions were to be laid upon it which would have made its relation to the British Parliament one of vassalage, and against which it would almost certainly have commenced, almost from the moment of its birth, a struggle for equality and independence. If it was baffled in that struggle, it might even have held out its hands for aid to the foreign enemies of Great Britain. The framer of the measure apparently had not distinctly made up his mind whether he would include the Irish in the Parliament of Great Britain or exclude them from it. That he should have rushed into legislation so momentous, legislation affecting the very existence of the United Kingdom, without having thoroughly made up his mind on the vital point, is surely a proof that, great as he was in finance, mighty as he was in debate, powerful as he was in framing and carrying measures of reform, when, as in the case of Irish Disestablishment or the Universities, a clear case was put into his hands, he was hardly one of those sure-footed statesmen to whom can be safely intrusted the supreme destinies of a nation.

If after the equitable settlement of the agrarian question and the reduction of the population to the number which the island can maintain, the political malady continues to defy cure, and the Irish contingent remains, as it has now for many years been, an alien and rebellious element in the British Parliament, disturbing

and distracting British councils, there may be a sufficient reason for letting Ireland go. There can be no good reason for keeping her as a mere thorn in the side of Great Britain. It is not unlikely that, after a trial of independence, she might of her own accord come back to the Union. But all wise statesmen have united in saying that there must be legislative Union or independence. Two Parliaments, two nations.*

The announcement of Gladstone's plan was followed by terrible searching of heart in his party, ending in a split. Lord Hartington undertook the leadership of the Unionist-Liberals, and showed unexpected energy and ability in his new part. The fatal blow was the declared opposition of Bright, the life-long advocate of justice to Ireland, the great pillar of political righteousness. Mr. Chamberlain, as Gladstone said at the time, played for safety in either event. He declared himself ready to vote for federation, but not for Gladstone's scheme. He was thus able, according to the turn which events might take, to say either that he had been in favor of Home Rule or that he had been against it.

The stoutest opposition and that which did most to save the integrity of the United Kingdom was made, as I shall always hold, by *The Times*. The error into which it fell with regard to the Parnell Letters was a trifling matter compared with the memorable service which it rendered on the whole to the Unionist cause.

When the contest had begun, Gladstone's pugnacity broke all bounds. He appealed to separatist sentiment in Scotland and Wales, as well as in Ireland. He appealed to the "masses" against the "classes." He appealed to ignorance against intelligence and the professions. One of the most eminent of his life-long friends and admirers, who had held high office in his Government, said in a letter to me "Gladstone is morally insane." He had lost the personal influences by which his impulses had been controlled. Graham, Newcastle, Sydney Herbert, Cardwell, all were gone. Cardwell especially, a man eminently sure-footed and cool-headed, had, I suspect, while he lived, exercised an important and salutary though unfelt restraint.

* I used to think that an occasional session, or even a single session, of the United Parliament at Dublin, for the special settlement of Irish affairs, Irish character being what it is, might have a good effect on the Irish heart. It might put an end to the feeling which at present prevails, that the united Parliament is alien to Ireland and almost a foreign power. The suggestion was considered, but the inconvenience was deemed too great. Yet, inconvenience would have been cheaply incurred if the measure could have answered its purpose.

Carried away by his excitement, Gladstone traduced the authors of the Union and their work, a work which he had once coupled with the treaty of commerce with France as supremely honorable to Pitt. "A horrible and strange history, for no epithets weaker than these can in the slightest degree describe or indicate ever so faintly the means by which, in defiance of the national sentiment of Ireland, consent to the Union was attained." Such is his language, and he compares the transaction in atrocity to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Consent to the Union was attained by the absolute necessity, plain to men of sense, of putting an end to murderous anarchy and averting a renewal of '98. It has been clearly shown that there was no bribery or none of a serious kind. The indemnities for the owners of pocket boroughs were paid, in accordance with the notions of the day and under an Act of Parliament, alike to those who had voted for the Union and to those who had voted against it. The oligarchy to whose local reign the measure put an end was appeased with peerages and appointments, the scramble for which might well disgust a high-minded man like Cornwallis. This was probably inevitable in those days, and was hardly so bad as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Satisfactorily to obtain the national consent was impossible. The Parliament was a Protestant oligarchy, the Catholics being still excluded, and it was deeply stained with the atrocities of repression. Ireland, in fact, was not a nation, or capable of giving a national consent; it was a country divided between two races antagonistic in religion and at deadly enmity with each other. The submission of the question to the constituencies by the holding of a general election, five-sixths of the population being excluded from Parliament, would have been futile, and would very likely have revived the civil war. Pitt, it is true, held out to the Catholics a hope of political emancipation. That hope he did his best to fulfil, but he was prevented by the fatuous obstinacy of the King; and Mr. Gladstone, who was a devout monarchist, might have been challenged to say what, when met by the Royal veto, Pitt could have done. The promise remained in abeyance for one generation, at the end of which it was fulfilled. These bitter appeals to Irish hatred of the Union and belief that it was a deadly and inexpiable wrong, did not come well from the author of a measure intended, as he professed, to pluck the thorn out of the Irish heart.

The Bill was defeated in the House of Commons by a majority of thirty votes; and, on an appeal to the country, the Liberal-Unionists combining with the Conservatives on the special question, the Opposition won by upwards of a hundred. Six years afterwards, by another turn of the wheel, the Salisbury Government losing strength, Gladstone found himself again at the head of the Government, but with a weak majority made up largely of the Irish vote. Then came the catastrophe of Parnell, who, at the critical moment, was convicted of *crim. con.* It is impossible to read Mr. Morley's account of the scene of wild distraction which ensued, matrimonial morality struggling with political convenience, and of the sorrowful decision of Gladstone that *crim. con.* would be an awkward thing to carry in face of the Nonconformist conscience, without feeling the presence of a comic element in the narrative.

Home-Rule, however, was again put to the vote, and in its strangest form, Ireland being given a Parliament of her own, and, at the same time, a representation in the British Parliament with full liberty of voting on all British questions. That the Irish delegation would barter its vote to British parties for Irish objects, and especially for the relaxation of restrictions on its plenary power, was what nobody could fail to foresee. A more extraordinary proposal, surely, never was made to any legislature. It might have been accepted by a conquered country. The one recommendation that Home Rule had was, that it would rid the British Parliament of an alien and hostile element. That element Gladstone's Bill would have retained in its worst form. The Bill, however, was carried in the Commons by a majority of thirty-four, some of the English members probably giving a party vote in the assurance that the Bill would be thrown out by the House of Lords. By the House of Lords the Bill was thrown out with a vengeance. Its author, after vainly trying to raise a storm against the Lords, resigned, ostensibly on a difference with the Admiralty about naval expenditure. One of the most memorable careers in English history came to an end. The party which Gladstone led was utterly shattered, and shattered it still remains. Palmerston, could he have looked upon the scene, might have said that his cynical prophecy had been really fulfilled.

Gladstone in addition to his immense amount of public work was a voluminous author; the more voluminous because his style,

formed by public and *ex tempore* speaking, though perfectly clear and correct, was certainly diffuse. His biographer shows good judgment by dwelling no more than he can help on this part of the subject. Readers of "Homeric Studies", and "*Juventus Mundi*" must wonder how such things can have been written and given to the press by so great a man. Stranger things have seldom come from any pen than the pages of the Traditive Element in Homeric Theo-Mythology, connecting Latona with the Virgin, Apollo with the Deliverer of mankind, and Ate with the Tempter. All these volumes are full of fantastic and baseless speculation. The fancy that there was an Egyptian epoch in the early history of Greece appears to be partly suggested by an accidental similarity between the names of an Egyptian and a Bœotian city. Not on such reasonings were the famous budgets based.

I was with Gladstone one day, when, our business having been done, he began to talk of Homer, and imparted to me a theory which he had just woven out of some fancied philological discovery. I felt sure that the theory was baseless and tried to convince him that it was. But he was never very open to argument. Just as I had succumbed, the door opened and his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, came in. Lord Lyttelton was a first-rate classical scholar, and I felt sure that he would see the question aright and prevail. See the question aright he did; prevail he did not; and the discovery has probably taken its place beside those of the traditive element.

Before the publication of "*Juventus Mundi,*" I think it was, there was a Homeric dinner at which, with Cornewall Lewis, Milman, and some other scholars I had the honor of being present. It was a very delightful reunion. No one could be more charming socially than our host. But I doubt whether the critical effect was great.

Gladstone had in part put off his Establishmentarianism, but his orthodoxy and belief in the inspiration of the Bible remained unimpaired. This deprives his theological writings of serious value, though they still have interest as the work of a mind at once powerful and intensely religious, dealing with topics of the highest concern. It is not difficult to meet Hume's philosophic objection to miracles, which seems little more than an assumption of the absolute impossibility of a sufficient amount of evidence—an assumption hardly warrantable; for if the death of a man and

his restoration to life were witnessed and certified by a great body of scientific men, in circumstances such as to preclude the possibility of imposture, we should not withhold our belief, however contrary the occurrence might be to the ordinary course of nature. But we cannot believe anything contrary to the ordinary course of nature on the testimony of an anonymous gospel of uncertain authorship, of uncertain date, the product of an uncritical age, containing matter apparently mythical and written in the interest of a particular religion. From considering the question in this point of view, Gladstone by his literalism is debarred. So, in his critical work on Butler, he is debarred from free and fruitful discussion by the assumption, which he all the time carries with him, of the authenticity of Revelation. His belief in the inspiration of the Bible seems to go so far as to include belief in the longevity of the Patriarchs before the flood.*

Venturing to break a lance with Huxley about the truth of the account of creation in Genesis, he could not fail to be overthrown. His apology seems to amount to this; that the Creator in imparting an account of the creation to Moses, was so far well-informed that the account could, by dint of very ingenious interpretation, be made not wholly irreconcilable with scientific fact. Gladstone continued greatly to venerate Newman, and apparently allowed himself to be influenced in his reasoning by the "Grammar of Assent," a sort of *vade mecum* of self-sophistication, the characteristic purport of the Cardinal's very subtle but not very robust or very veracious mind.

If in one or two points in this article I have ventured to differ from Mr. Morley, it has been with deference to his superior knowledge of Gladstone, and without prejudice to my sincere admiration for his book.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

* "The immense longevity of the early generations of mankind was eminently favorable to the preservation of pristine traditions. Each individual, instead of being, as now, a witness of, or an agent in, one or two transmissions from father to son, would observe or share in ten times as many. According to the Hebrew Chronology, Lamech, the father of Noah, was of mature age before Adam died: and Abraham was of mature age before Noah died. Original or early witnesses, remaining so long as standards of appeal, would evidently check the rapidity of the darkening and destroying process."—"*Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*," II., 4, 5.

TWO TREATIES OF ARBITRATION.

BY THOMAS BARCLAY, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION.

THE first resolution adopted in Great Britain in favor of an Anglo-French Treaty of Arbitration was that submitted to the International Law Association at Glasgow, on August 30th, 1901. It was as follows:

"That this Association views with satisfaction all attempts to widen the scope of arbitration as a permanent means of solving difficulties between States; that it regrets the failure of the efforts to carry a permanent treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, and trusts that the governments of the two countries will continue their efforts for that purpose; that, in view of the favorable opinions expressed by the friends of peace and the public generally in France, it is desirable and opportune that efforts be made to bring about the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and France."

Lord-Chief-Justice Alverstone occupied the chair, and was supported by Mr. Justice Phillimore, Mr. Justice Gorell Barnes, and Mr. Justice Bruce of the English bench, and by Lord President Balfour (now Lord Kinross) and Lords Young and Kincairney of the Scottish bench.

The Lord-Chief-Justice dwelt, in his inaugural address, at some length on the abortive Anglo-American treaty of 1897, of which he said: "It has always seemed to me to embody more of the principles on which a general treaty of arbitration might proceed than any other state paper which has ever been published." He added, with prophetic vision: "I hope and trust it may still be a starting point, and afford common ground on which the citizens of the United States and the subjects of his Majesty the King may be able to meet and adjust differences, should they ever unhappily arise." The Alaskan difference has just been adjusted

on this common ground, and it will be a lasting honor to Lord Alverstone to have attached his name to both the thought and the realization.

From this first enunciation of the aims of the present movement in Great Britain, it is seen that the object was a two-fold one. The latter part of that object has provisionally been fold one. The one part of that object has provisionally been achieved, and I have now had the good fortune to be able to revive agitation for the accomplishment of the other part.

There is a certain analogy between the causes which have made arbitration between Great Britain and this country, and between Great Britain and France, so particularly desirable; they apply without distinction between these three great democracies, whose power for destruction is practically a tie, for whom war means employment in the work of havoc and death of national resources which do not suffice for all the crying needs of elementary well-being.

If in the course of barely eight years Great Britain has been twice on the brink of a great war, and in the one case she accepted peace without much honor, and in the other it was her possible adversary who accepted peace with (in the eyes of some of the citizens of that possible adversary) still less honor, no glory is claimed by those who won.

Public memory is proverbially short. Let us recall the circumstances. The two cases have been the causes of movements which are leaving marks upon their epochs; marks perhaps so deep that they may last through generations not one of us will see in being.

On December 17th, 1895, the President of the United States, in his now famous message, threw down the glove to Great Britain. He proposed to Congress to appoint a Commission to determine the boundary between British territory and Venezuela. He added that it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, the United States had determined of right belonged to Venezuela." President Cleveland's proposal was accepted by Congress; and if any other Power but the United States had been concerned, there is little doubt that such intervention would have led to war. Though Great Britain did not pick up the glove, public feeling throughout the world was deeply

impressed. In three days, the value of American securities is estimated to have fallen by $400,000,000. A panic in Wall Street, on the 20th of December, called forth a fresh message the same day, in which the President tried to reassure the public as to the national solvency. Shortly afterwards, Great Britain agreed to enter into negotiations for reference of the question to arbitration. The discussion of the terms of this reference brought out a difference of opinion, as to the scope of arbitration, between Mr. Olney and Lord Salisbury, who "was not prepared in matters of high political import to admit unrestricted arbitration," and who "doubted whether it was possible to obtain an impartial arbiter." To make his point clearer, Lord Salisbury, a few days later (March 5th), wrote an exhaustive despatch, giving his views concerning the scope of arbitration generally, appending to it "heads of a treaty for arbitration in certain cases." He proposed that the Venezuelan dispute should be dealt with under its provisions. But this was objected to by Mr. Olney, as the special provisions of Lord Salisbury's scheme relating to territorial questions did not insure finality. Ultimately, it was decided to make two different treaties. The general treaty of arbitration was signed on January 11th, 1897, and the Venezuelan one three weeks later, on February 2nd. Thus a general treaty of arbitration, applicable to all cases, grew out of a difficulty which had brought the two nations dangerously near an armed conflict.

In the autumn of 1898, a difficulty arose, as unexpectedly as the British-American one of 1895 had done, between Great Britain and France, in connection with the reconquest of the Soudan by the Egyptian forces under General Kitchener, and the appearance, at that very time, at Fashoda, of Major Marchand, a French officer who had gallantly crossed the African continent with a few soldiers, and planted the French flag at this spot on the upper Nile within the reconquered territory. The difficulty became a national and public one, through the publication, while the question was still under diplomatic discussion, of a rather animated correspondence which had taken place on the subject between the two governments. The feeling in both countries ran so high that the slightest imprudence on the part of either government would have plunged the two nations into war. The French Mediterranean fleet, with lights extinguished, steamed past Gibraltar at dead of night and joined the Channel fleet.

Churches in all the French Channel ports were requisitioned for ambulance purposes, and all the mayors in haste were required to furnish immediate returns as to available beds for the wounded. The French army authorities are said to have expended in preparations for war upwards of $14,000,000 during the few days of the crisis. On the British side, the Mediterranean fleet was despatched to Alexandria, a reserve fleet was formed in the Channel, all available war-ships were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and all repairs were forbidden which could not be completed within twenty-four hours. This was the situation in which the two countries were placed after the British Government had declined to discuss the question. No doubt, the British Government acted in accordance with its convictions as to the necessities of the situation, in taking the unwonted course of publishing the correspondence at its most critical stage. Among Frenchmen, however, it was viewed as a provocation, and they resented this public forcing upon them of the alternative of fighting for a matter of no national importance, or of accepting the humiliation of obeying the order of their powerful neighbor; and the bitterness grew with fuller knowledge of the facts. The Peace Conference at The Hague, in the following spring, turned men's minds temporarily to ideas of peace. But with the outbreak of the Boer War in the autumn, the smouldering anger found a vent; and ill-advised caricatures excited a well-justified and, nevertheless, extraordinary indignation among the whole British people, who determined on account of them, at the very least, to boycott the exhibition about to be opened in Paris.

An idea of the state of feeling at this time may be gathered from an article which the well-known French historian, M. Ernest Lavisse, of the French Academy, published in the January number of the "*Revue de Paris*," in 1900. I translate what he wrote:

"Some years ago, if you looked about for possible causes of conflict in the world, you found the question of Alsace, the rivalry of England and Russia in Persia and in the Far East, that of Russia and Austria in the Balkan Peninsula, the struggle of Balkan nationalities, that of the races in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; to which has more recently been added the development of the foreign policy of the United States. A conflict between France and England seemed impossible. Today, such a contingency seems the most to be dreaded among those which

threaten the peace of the world. Between these two countries, a hostility, which, nevertheless, has no serious foundation, is becoming more and more intense. If care is not taken, it will soon become blind hatred."

I can testify to the accuracy of this statement. In an article which I published the following month in "The Fortnightly Review," I gave instances of this blind hatred, which seemed to be growing with the irresistible force of one of those national upheavals known to historians as more like the workings of unconscious nature than the outcome of national purpose and reason.

It is not for the writer of this article to speak of the part he played in procuring the cessation of the caricatures, and in bringing about a revulsion of feeling in both countries. Suffice it to say, that exceptional circumstances at the time placed it in his power to do both. To consolidate the better feeling thus brought about was the object of the Anglo-French arbitration movement which he had the privilege of being able to start in the spring of 1901. The proposal was supported by all the trade organizations, whether of capital or of labor, in both countries. The treaty signed on October 14th last was the result of the determination of those to whom war means loss, either of trade or of work or of life, to try to bring the methods of states into harmony with the methods of civilized domestic communities.

Thus, both treaties grew out of difficulties which had nearly plunged the countries concerned into war.

It has been seen that the Anglo-French movement was closely connected with a desire to redeem the Anglo-American failure of 1897. This was one of my purposes in crossing the Atlantic; and my interviews with the leaders of both parties and with eminent protagonists of peace, like Mr. J. W. Foster, Mr. Carl Schurz, Dr. E. E. Hale, Mr. E. Atkinson and others, with the aid of the American press, have led to a most satisfactory revival of agitation to give effect to some treaty, either like the Anglo-French one, or farther-reaching, like the abortive one of 1897.

The Anglo-French treaty is very short and simple. Its object is tentative. At the end of five years, if not earlier, its scope will probably be enlarged beyond the "judicial questions or those arising out of the interpretation of existing treaties," to which it is at present confined. All matters involving the "national

honor" or "vital interests" are, in fact, specifically excepted from its operation.*

Although the terms of the treaty are almost of the mildest conceivable kind for a standing treaty of arbitration, this is not to be deprecated. It is the first standing treaty of arbitration ever entered into between two great Powers. It does, as between Great Britain and France, all that was contemplated by the Emperor of Russia when he summoned the Powers to confer with him at The Hague. His compulsory project contained identically the same restrictions as to "national honor" and "vital interests." Nor did any other Power seem to contemplate going beyond the scheme of this project. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that any treaty of arbitration is sufficient to gain time for the governments bound by it, whatever the nature of the emergency. It provides an alternative for war; and every question is a *judicial* one till either party disputes its being so. Recent events have shown that no government at the present day prefers war to peace, if it can find an honorable issue from the difficulty with which it is confronted; and that honorable issue is afforded by a standing treaty.

A "*forteresse qui parle,*" says a French proverb, does not fight, and so long as the parties can talk, and find further occasions to talk, the danger of the deadlock which follows when talking is exhausted, and the only remaining outlet is force, will be averted.

The form the Anglo-American treaty should take is a very delicate question, in view of the distrustful attitude the Senate assumed in 1897. The opinion of both British and American statesmen towards arbitration, moreover, seems to have undergone some modification of late years. A distinction more or less vaguely felt in 1897 has become definite in the minds of many public men. It is a distinction between cases which are arbitrable,

* The negotiations arose out of a question put by Mr. Ernest Beckett, in the House of Commons, on May 11th last, to the Prime Minister, asking whether he was prepared to act upon the consensus of opinion of the Chambers of Commerce of the country, in favor of a treaty of arbitration with France. M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador in London, drew M. Delcassé's attention to this question and Mr. Balfour's friendly answer. Correspondence followed, in which the French Minister of Foreign Affairs adverted to the large number of resolutions passed by similar bodies in France, and M. Cambon to Lord Lansdowne's friendly dispositions. It eventually resulted in "heads for a treaty" being furnished by M. Delcassé, in the same way as they had been by Lord Salisbury in the Anglo-American case. These heads, with a few alterations of no practical importance, were put into form and adopted.

and those which are not arbitrable but may be "conciliable," to use a French word which we may adopt without violating any linguistic analogies of the English language. The treaty of 1897 provided two different methods for dealing with these different cases. The arbitrable cases were to be dealt with by the ordinary methods of arbitration; the conciliable cases by a tribunal, without an umpire, composed of an equal number of judges from both sides. The treaty of 1897 ought, therefore, to have been called an "Arbitration and Conciliation Treaty." Thus, the Anglo-French treaty practically expresses the modern statesman's view of the scope of arbitration properly so-called, and it seems probable that it was confusion, in the discussion in the Senate in 1897, between the two ideas that led to the wreck of the treaty.

Thus, Article I. of the treaty of 1897 stated:

"The high contracting parties agree to *submit to arbitration*, in accordance with the provisions and subject to the limitations of this treaty, *all questions in difference* between them which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation."

This gave the Executive the power to submit matters of grave national importance to arbitration in its ordinary sense, these matters only becoming conciliable if either party so exacted. The Senate, therefore, added the following proviso:

"*And any agreement to submit, together with its formulations, shall in every case, before it becomes final, be communicated by the President of the United States to the Senate with his approval, and be concurred in by two-thirds of the Senators present.*"

This proviso was inserted, no doubt, also on account of the clauses relating to territorial questions, as to which the Senate decided to retain its control intact. The last of these is now disposed of. The other consideration, however, remains; and I would suggest that, when the treaty is redrawn, the two classes of cases be dealt with separately, in order that the rejection of a part may not entail rejection of the whole. Thus some text for arbitrable cases, on the lines of the Anglo-French treaty, might be adopted before the "vital question" clauses are dealt with.

Whether these latter clauses are adopted or not, it will be an immense gain for diplomacy and pacific methods if only a treaty similar to the Anglo-French one is adopted. It must never be forgotten that the moral effect of any treaty of arbitration is, after all, its strongest recommendation. The attempt to gain

time in emergencies has led to the growth of "protocols" in diplomacy, which may be distasteful to those who like the rapid and "straight-ahead" methods of private business, but whose object is to avoid those very deadlocks which are so dangerous when nations are concerned. The moral effect of being able to gain time to reflect about consequences, to talk over an alternative, over a further stage of pacific procedure, while public feeling is "on the cool," is the greatest effect of an arbitration treaty for mankind. Truly did Lord Alverstone say at Glasgow in 1901:

> "The moral effect of having a treaty which shall *prima facie* make it obligatory on two nations to refer matters to arbitration, must be very great, not only as affecting the public mind, but as affecting the minds of the statesmen who have to control their destinies."

It is not for me to make suggestions as to whether the time is ripe for action on this side of the Atlantic, or not. Sir Mortimer Durand, the new British ambassador, is reported to be personally favorable to the movement. The American Executive, I know, is equally ready to take the matter up when the prospect of a successful issue in the Senate is assured. But, since the first step in the negotiations for the treaty of 1897 was taken by Lord Salisbury, the movement will naturally come this time from America. The response from Great Britain will be in no uncertain tone.

Great Britain has the greatest admiration for her energetic young offspring, and when in 1895 that offspring threatened to strike her, she was only amazed at such violence. When others, like the musketeer in "Cyrano de Bergerac," concluded, "*on peut, donc, lui parler de son nez maintenant,*" they saw the difference. Every Anglo-Saxon must wish to see the very idea of war between the old mother and her big son classed among the sinful things no one must even dream of. The appliances of modern life are drawing closer and closer the ties between us of blood, character and institutions. Enterprises like those undertaken by Mr. Alfred Mosely, with which I have been connected, increase our knowledge of each other, and procure occasions for that friendly comparison in which each borrows something from the other, making us still more kin. Every member of the Mosely Commission, like, no doubt, every other Englishman who visits these shores, can only wish with all his might that peace between his country and this shall never come near being broken again.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

"PARSIFAL" AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN.

WHAT rougher prank of ironic fortune could be imagined than that a work of art most precious to its creator,—the one of all his achievements which he would have withheld from common appropriation,—should suddenly and irreclaimably have been delivered over to the crowd and to the casual uses of the paragraphist. It is lamentable enough when a work of intimate and delicate contrivance is lightly bandied, its subtle beauty disarrayed; but when that which has been wrought with lovely artistry is charged, besides, with a profound and grave significance, its heedless exploitation can work only perplexity and distraction. In such an estate to-day is Wagner's "Parsifal." Its sensational vicissitudes as an artistic property are egregiously familiar: known at first hand a year ago only to that inconsiderable public to whom the arts are of consequence, and by report to a few others, this poignant spiritual allegory has become the topical property of the man in the street, the preposterous inspiration of a *cause célèbre*.

The thing was, of course, inevitable,—although the consummation was somewhat needlessly abrupt. It could scarcely be expected that a supreme masterpiece of musico-dramatic art should remain indefinitely defiant of popular curiosity. But if one would arrive at any sensitive apprehension of the essential greatness of Wagner's drama, there is the peril of a fatal confusion in the idle and uninstructed exegesis which has greeted the emergence of the work into public view; and the estimates even of those who are wiser in the ways of art will be found to be singularly various. For some, "Parsifal" marks the summit of Wagner's accomplishment as a lyric dramatist. Mr. Ernest Newman, one of the most acute and authoritative of Wagnerian critics, finds it "in many

ways the most wonderful and impressive thing ever done in music"; while at the other end of the gamut are Mr. James Huneker, whose scorn of "Parsifal" has been uttered with Rabelaisian frankness, and Mr. John F. Runciman, who devotes many pages in a volume of essays to declaring an emphatic and unequivocal dislike for the master's swan-song. Nor is this more than an appraisal of "Parsifal's" actual artistic value. It is when one seeks for a final interpretation of the matter of the work, its poetic and spiritual significance, that confusion and contradiction abound: it is a parable of renunciation, or of redemption; or it is a plea for chastity; or a glorification of sanctity, or of asceticism, or of the beauty of repentance; and, at the end, the seeker after illumination will go again to the work itself and read with steadiness and simplicity of mood, until he understands what Wagner has said, with incomparable eloquence and conviction, in his own most luminous and vivid pages.

At the castle of Monsalvat, in Spain, is held in pious sanctuary the Holy Grail—the crystal cup from which, at the Last Supper, the Saviour drank, and in which, at the Cross, his blood was caught. A holy Brotherhood, the Knights of the Grail, guard it and receive from it sustenance and spiritual valor, whenever it is uncovered by the king. Near Monsalvat lives Klingsor, a master magician, who had failed to secure admission to the Brotherhood because he was not pure in heart. In revenge, he had built himself a castle of enchantment and filled its gardens with alluringly lovely women, through whom he decoys his enemies, the knights. Amfortas, the king and chief warden of the Grail, had been entrapped while making siege upon the castle and had succumbed to the seductions of Kundry (a strange woman—at one time a temptress thrall to the sinister designs of Klingsor; again, when disenchanted, an humble penitent in the service of the Grail). His sacred spear—the one with which Christ's side was pierced—had been seized by Klingsor. In attempting to regain it, the knight had received from it a grievous wound, which can never heal except through the agency of one who shall come, a guileless fool, enlightened and aroused by pity.

One day there comes to the Grail's domain the youth Parsifal, a wild forest lad, impetuous and ignorant, who has thoughtlessly killed a sacred swan. Reproached and interrogated by one of the knights, he is unable to give an account of himself, for he

knows neither his own nor his parents' name, nor whence he came. In the belief that he may be the eagerly awaited deliverer, he is taken to the sanctuary, where he sees the anguished Amfortas presiding at the unveiling of the Grail. The sight, however, leaves him unmoved, and he is angrily dismissed. The boy leaves Monsalvat, and in his wanderings arrives at Klingsor's magic castle, where the wizard has planned his seduction by Kundry. Subtly she plays upon the youth's sympathies, telling him of his mother's devotion to him, and of her death. She would instruct him in love; and, under pretence of conveying a last greeting from his mother, she presses her lips in a long kiss upon his mouth. "Then", says the text, "his mien exhibits a fearful change; he presses his hands vehemently upon his heart, as if to stifle a lacerating pain." In anguish he cries aloud (I quote the passage,* as it is highly significant):

"Amfortas!—
The wound! The wound!
Within my heart it blazes.
Ah, woe! woe!
Frightfullest woe!
From deep within me leaps it aloft.
Oh! Oh!
Wretchedest!
Woefullest!
Thy wound, I saw it bleeding:—
Now bleeds it in myself—
Here—here!
. . . . . .
No, no! It is not the wound:
. . . . . .
Here! Here, the blaze in my heart!
The yearning, the terrible yearning!"

Kundry importunes him, but he repulses her. As he prepares to leave, Klingsor appears and flings Amfortas's spear at him, but it stops, miraculously suspended, over Parsifal's head. He seizes it and makes the sign of the cross, whereupon the castle sinks in ruins and the garden is transformed into a wilderness.

After many years, Parsifal, who has searched long and vainly for the castle of the Grail, finds it upon Good Friday. He is

* Adapted from the valuable and little-known translation by Alfred Forman, to which Mr. Max Smith has recently called attention.

greeted by Gurnemanz, an aged knight, who rejoices at the sight of the sacred spear which Parsifal bears. Kundry, now no longer in bondage to Klingsor, but an humble servant of the Grail, bathes his feet and dries them with her hair, Gurnemanz anoints his head, and they enter the communion hall together. In the presence of the assembled knights, Parsifal, at last becomes aware, through kindled intuition, of Amfortas's suffering, touches and heals his wound with the spear-point. The Grail is disclosed, and Parsifal is proclaimed its king and warden.

Such, in the briefest outline, is the substance of the drama, upon the side of action and event. Is it possible to believe, as Mr. Runciman asks us to believe, that we have here simply a parable of renunciation; that "Parsifal" is a sublimated argument for the "denial of life"? For all that Mr. Runciman, one of the most responsible of contemporary critics, can find to say of Parsifal as a dramatic figure is, that he is set before us merely as one who "deliberately turns from the green world, with its trees and flowers, its dawns and sunsets, its winds and waters, and shuts himself up in a monkery which has a back garden, a pond and some ducks." The comment has an undeniable vivacity, and its persuasiveness is obvious; but was it quite worth setting down? Mr. Krehbiel, too, finds it possible to say, in his suggestive and scholarly analysis of "Parsifal" in the "Wagnerian Drama" studies, that its central idea, so far as the dramatic spectacle is concerned, is "a glorification of a conception of sanctity which grew out of a monstrous perversion of womanhood." "Of course," he hastens to add, "there is much more in 'Parsifal' than a celebration of the principal feature in mediæval asceticism." But concerning "the dramatic spectacle," too, is there not much more to be said? Is it seeing very far into the dramatic texture of the play to find in it nothing more vital, more immediate, more importunate, than the symbolization of a facile asceticism? Parsifal is found by Mr. Krehbiel to be endowed "with scarcely another merit than that which had become the ideal of monkish theologians, under the influence of fearful moral depravity and fanatical superstition. . . . In the third act, scenes are borrowed from the life of Christ, and Parsifal is made to play in them as the central figure; Kundry anoints the feet of the knight and dries them with her hair; Parsifal baptizes Kundry and absolves her from sin. These acts, and the resistance of

Kundry's seductions in the magic garden, make up, for the greater part, the sum of the acts of a hero in whom the spectator wishes to see . . . some evidences of the attributes of the heroes of the profoundly poetical romances from which the subject-matter was drawn." And Mr. George Moore voices a similar misliking, when, in the brisker manner of his Ulick Dean, he accounts the sum of Parsifal's activities to be "the killing of a swan and the refusal of a kiss." All of which is, to say the least, insufficient. Parsifal is, as Mr. Moore has elsewhere unconsciously suggested, a subjective hero. It is not the redemption of Amfortas through the conscious compassion of a guileless simpleton that is the essential fact. The stage of the drama is in the heart of Parsifal himself: it is *his* redemption, *his* regeneration that is accomplished. There is the vital lesson: that none may look upon the Grail and know it in the splendid moment of its illumination, until he has first become aware of the vivid reality of other lives and of the common life: until, in his brother, he has found himself. That is the awakening, the enlightenment.

Musically, "Parsifal" is unique among Wagner's achievements. It has not the continual and flaming inspiration of "Tristan," the tragic puissance of "Götterdämmerung," the unflaggingly felicitous invention of "Siegfried"; nor are the themes inveterately eloquent in denotement. But in no other work has he compassed the exquisitely dexterous art, the emotional subtlety, the insinuating poignancy, of this score. Nowhere else in his writing is to be found such a theme as that which the commentators have chosen to identify as the "second Herzeleide motive," which appears for the first time when Kundry, in the garden scene of the second act, tells Parsifal of his mother's anguish after he had left her; nor has he ever approached, in intricately cumulative intensity, the chromatic passages of the "changing-scene" in the first act; and how piercing are the phrases with which the "Good Friday" scene closes! Above all, how ineffably lovely is the benign and exalted music of the final scene, where is uttered, as it seems, with an authentic finality, a signal of that purification through pity and terror whereby we are put in touch with immortal things.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

PRACTICAL PHASES OF CARIBBEAN DOMINATION.

BY FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

"Our nation has insisted that because of its primacy in strength among the nations of the western hemisphere it has certain duties and responsibilities which oblige it to take a leading part. . . . It is the firm purpose of the United States that its growth and influence and power shall redound, not to the harm, but to the benefit, of our sister republics, whose strength is less. Our growth, therefore, is beneficial to humankind in general."—President ROOSEVELT, in Chicago address, April 2d, 1903.

AT the moment when the United States is preparing for the great work of creating the Isthmian canal, public attention is directed perforce to present and future conditions in Caribbean countries and in the islands of the West Indies, for perspicacity points to that region as pregnant with possibilities for American expansion—not for adding to our area, but for expansion of power requisite to canal control and helpful to trade extension.

Do we want the West Indies? is a question destined to be conspicuously before the American people in the not distant future; rapidity of national growth is certain to force it into prominence. Naval and army officials, civil engineers, and others whose duty takes them to our island possessions in the Antilles, claim that it is shaping into a theme of importance; first, because Europe will not always permit the United States merely to reap the benefits of the Monroe Doctrine; that so radical a measure carries responsibilities as well, is now generally admitted, and if we do not police the republics of Central and South America, Hayti and Santo Domingo, European Powers surely will. Secondly, American naval domination of the Caribbean Sea is essential to the control of the important artery of international commerce that we are to

construct, and that means a greatly augmented navy, whose most important field of activity will be the Caribbean.

It being accepted that lapse of time is destined to bring every island in the West Indies voluntarily under the fostering care of the Stars and Stripes, it is obviously permissible to discuss what measures are open to our government to honorably secure certain needed advantages before the ages bring the fulfilment of the "destiny" so long recognized by profound political writers.

A "World Power" now, the United States is impatient to play its part in the western world, a rôle that cannot be left to another to enact. How, then, may we secure the adjuncts essential to the needs of a mighty nation, bristling with twentieth-century initiative and impulses, while having for southern neighbors islands characterized by habits of the Middle Ages, and convulsive mainland countries as unprogressive as they were centuries ago?

Control of a great harbor in the Antilles, where we could establish an important naval station, with every modern ramification, would go far to secure to our government the means for effectively discharging responsibilities it has no mind to shirk. There is such a harbor, less than two hours' steaming distance from Porto Rico, which in our hands would be the key to a control over a vast area. For half a century, acquisition of this coign of vantage has been a subject of negotiation, off and on, between the Dominican government and Washington authorities. Great soldiers, gifted with foresight, have told our government that, sooner or later, we must control Samana Bay.

Captain (afterwards General) McClellan was sent in 1854 by the War Department to study the military advantages of the harbor, and his report was enthusiastically favorable. Under resolution of Congress, approved January 12th, 1871, President Grant sent three commissioners to inquire into the conditions and resources of Santo Domingo, with reference to its annexation by the United States. It was stated in and out of Congress that Samana Bay was the real object of the commission's inquiry. A great majority of the inhabitants of the island republic had asked the United States to annex Santo Domingo. The report of the commission was favorable to annexation, but Congress failed to take action on the report. We had not then embarked on the possession of island colonies, our navy was small, and possibly

there were grounds for suspecting that there was a "job" behind the proposal to Uncle Sam to annex a negro republic, whose people spoke another language.

In 1874, Samana Bay was formally ceded to a private corporation formed in the United States, but a year later all rights of the company lapsed because of non-payment of rent.

Considered strategically, commercially, or from any point of view, Samana Bay is the most advantageous position in the West Indies, experts are agreed. It is thirty miles long by about ten wide, and is capable of accommodating the largest fleets and ships of the greatest depth; it is well sheltered against all winds, especially those from the north and northeast, which are the most prevalent, by the Samana peninsula. The entrance to the bay is somewhat narrow, as if planned by nature for a national stronghold, but is free from rocks and shoals. Samana Bay commands the most important avenue from the Atlantic to the Caribbean. When the canal is completed, the world's shipping will constantly pass the coast of Santo Domingo, and the Mona Passage will be employed probably by half the traffic passing to and from European ports.

Naval men and soldiers having intimate acquaintance with Samana Bay, state that it could be readily adapted to the uses of a naval station which would eclipse in strength and importance those of Great Britain at Bermuda, St. Lucia and Barbados, and of France at Fort de France, combined. An American commission, including officers of the army and navy, should have little difficulty in securing to the United States upon equitable terms this Santo Domingo harbor, by means of which, with outlying coaling stations and neighboring harbors under the Stars and Stripes, the Caribbean might be transformed into the equivalent of an American lake.

The United States cannot always remain blind to conditions in Hayti and Santo Domingo, however—conditions at times too horrible to be tolerated. The application of enough force to restore order in both divisions of the island may at any moment be demanded. The tone of the European press some months ago, when a German cruiser destroyed a rebel Haytian gunboat that had despoiled a German merchant of a supply of arms, emphasized European amazement that Uncle Sam permitted disorders almost perennial in his island neighbor.

There are also cogent reasons why we should have the Danish islands. Combined with the United States West Indies—strange phrase, this—their possession would extend our control to everything worth owning in the Virgin group, where our flag floats over Porto Rico, Culebra, Mona, and Vieques, and in case of war give us practical domination of the Virgin channel, a much used highway between the Atlantic and the Caribbean. Culebra being already a naval base of our government, with the proprietorship of St. Thomas harbor on the east and of Porto Rican harbors on the west, our forces would be ideally placed for maintaining control over a considerable expanse. For simplicity and inexpensiveness of administration, the Danish islands might be included in the governorship of Porto Rico.

When the Danish upper house defeated the treaty transferring the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John to the United States, the matter was not permanently settled, apparently, for many Danish commercial men tell us that the subject will be called up afresh within a few years, when cession to America will most likely be voted. The news of the defeat of the treaty by a tie vote was received in the islands as sad information; business there has been paralyzed ever since, and hundreds of residents in their discouragement have emigrated to Europe or to the United States.

The industry of St. Croix being sugar-producing, and a considerable part of the island being owned by Americans, the sentiment for annexation is nearly unanimous. In St. Thomas, almost every one interested in trade is praying for transfer of the group to the Stars and Stripes. Sparsely settled, and having little traffic with the outer world, St. John may be indifferent to the issue. In St. Thomas and St. Croix, many representatives of old Danish families, some being functionaries of the government, openly favor transfer to the United States. Until an imperative order was issued a few months since against the practice, American flags protruded from hundreds of windows in Frederikstadt and Christianstadt.

It is explained that the pride of the Danish royal family, which through its members is connected with every European court, was responsible for the defeat of the treaty. King Christian's family brought every influence, sentimental, social and political, to bear upon the issue. It is readily understood that there can be no

more unpopular incident in a sovereign's reign than contraction of national domain, for monarchs are born expansionists. Prince Waldemar sent even moribund legislators to the Landsthing to vote against the treaty. The real sufferers from Waldemar's activity were the islanders, for Denmark has neither the capital nor the prestige to develop fully the resources of the islands.

A foolish rumor found publicity, here and abroad, that the German Emperor caused the defeat of the Danish treaty. If the northern kingdom should ever become a part of Germany, it was said, the Emperor would achieve one of the controlling ambitions of his life—the securing of insular possessions, with coaling stations, in this hemisphere. If the war-lord of Germany gave the subject a thought, his intuition must have told him there could be no speedier way of precipitating a conflict with Uncle Sam. In all likelihood he paid not the slightest heed to the Danish-American negotiations. It is known in every Foreign Office in the Old World that the United States in Clay's time—before the Monroe Doctrine was clothed with its present force—informed Spain that she must not transfer Cuba to any European Power; and that Holland was later advised that Curaçao must not be the subject of negotiation with European governments.

Not infrequently we read of Bismarck's "stupendous blunder," when he forced France to relinquish Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, instead of taking Martinique and Guadaloupe, on this side of the globe, with their harbors adaptable to naval and military bases. One has to investigate but briefly to learn why Bismarck did not seek to change the nationality of West Indian islands. Diplomatic astuteness was a Bismarckian characteristic.

Five million dollars is a very modest price for the Danish islands, when it is recognized that they would form a link in the chain of defences of the canal. Military opinion is to the effect that St. Thomas would be more valuable in this connection than Porto Rico. A moderate expenditure would double the size of St. Thomas harbor and place its usefulness before that of San Juan in Porto Rico. Primarily, it is the harbor of St. Thomas that we want from Denmark; but under our rule the success of Porto Rico could be reproduced in each of the islands.

The purchase of the Danish group would eliminate voluntarily a European Power from this hemisphere, leaving Great Britain, France and Holland in possession of Western World territory; and

fate will doubtless decree that we shall have them for friendly neighbors for a considerable period; but the passing of time will bring every West Indian island, not governing itself, to the great American republic. Portugal and Spain once were potent factors on this side of the Atlantic, let it be remembered. In a message to Congress in 1870 President Grant said:

"The time is probably not far distant when, in the natural course of events, the European political connection with this continent will cease."

Hamilton Fish, as Secretary of State, in a communication to Congress, likewise in 1870, went further, and said:

"The policy announced by Monroe looks hopefully to the time when, by the voluntary departure of European governments from this continent and adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American."

In this connection it is interesting to study the list of West-Indian islands (Bermudas not included), unimportant islets being omitted, belonging to European powers:

British:
- Jamaica.
- Turks and Caicos groups.
- Bahamas.
- Antigua.
- Montserrat.
- Nevis.
- St. Christopher.
- Dominica.
- Virgin and Cayman groups.
- Grenada.
- St. Vincent.
- St. Lucia.
- Barbados.
- Trinidad and Tobago.

French and Dutch jointly:
- St. Martin.

Danish:
- St. Croix.
- St. Thomas.
- St. John.

French:
- Martinique.
- Guadaloupe.
- Deseada.
- Maria Galanta.
- Les Saintes.
- St. Bartholomew.

Dutch:
- St. Eustatius.
- Saba.
- Bonaire.
- Curaçao.
- Aruba.

Nearly all these islands with historical names are charges upon the treasuries of home countries, their aggregate yearly deficit being considerable. Were they branch establishments of a prudently managed commercial undertaking, they would long since have been abandoned as the penalty of being unable to pay their way. But being over-sea appanages of European governments, failure to be self-supporting becomes merely an incident in a scheme of national administration, at times possibly forcing explanations from the ministry, but soon forgotten.

Collapse in the sugar industry has changed the condition of affairs in the islands, from showing a bountiful profit to a yearly deficit. Extended production of cane in many parts of the world, the amazing development of beet-sugar cultivation in the United States and in Europe, and the bounty system of Germany, have transformed the West-Indian planter from nabob to pauper. He used to be absent from his plantations because he preferred living in a Scotch castle or a château in France, leaving agents to look after his insular interests; if he is now absent, sorry to say, it is most likely because he dreads facing his creditors. The decay of the sugar industry is a gloomy chapter in West-Indian history. Perceiving its approach, Trinidad found a substitute crop to some extent in cacao. In some of the British islands it is hoped that sisal hemp may bring the means of subsistence; and here and there various makeshift crops are being tried with the object of staving off commercial ruin. Jamaica is finding encouragement in the trade in bananas with the United States; but an unfriendly line in a new tariff bill would strangle the industry. Business stagnation breeds discontent among natives, and as a panacea they pray for Uncle Sam to come to their islands. The United States has not suffered by the penetration to every island village of the news of Porto Rican prosperity.

French statesmen feel that they can afford to keep their islands going by drafts on the home exchequer for the renown of La Belle France, if for no other reason. Some of these statesmen regard their naval base at Fort de France to be worth a dozen times the annual cost of maintaining the islands. Great Britain hopes against hope each year that improvement may come in the sugar industry, or that an experimental crop may "catch on"—and thinks of the profit when raw sugar was worth five pence a pound.

Last year the revenue of the several British West-Indian administrations was $167,000 less than expenditures, and imports exceeded exports by $1,404,000. The preponderating bulk of trade is not with England, but with the United States, for this country purchased exports of the islands to the amount of £4,581,964, as against exports to Great Britain of the value of £1,839,479. Practically everything consumed by the British West-Indian, not home grown, is imported from the States. To dominate the trade of the islands—which we already do—is all that

commercial America should at present aspire to. We can never voluntarily admit their sugar without duty, nor seek to take their black inhabitants into our political family. The harbors of some of the British islands, with coaling station advantages, might find a place in the scheme of American expansion, but are not essential.

Strategists are positive that, with a great naval depot on Samana Bay, possession of St. Thomas harbor, the Porto Rican harbors, Culebra, and the coaling stations at Bahia Honda and Guantanamo in Cuba, the strategical advantage of the United States in defending the main approaches to the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Panama Canal, in case of war, would be well-nigh perfect. The Windward and Mona channels, leading to the Caribbean, as well as the St. Nicholas and Yucatan channels, leading to the Gulf, could then be patrolled and defended in a manner which would make it extremely difficult for a half-spent European fleet to penetrate our cordon.

Completion of the ramifications requisite for this vast cordon, ranging from the Virgin passage to the westernmost tip of Cuba, a distance of twelve hundred miles, seems more than feasible. A reasonable amount of cash would doubtless secure from the Santo Dominicans a long lease with jurisdiction over Samana Bay. The great harbor can be turned into a productive asset only by assigning its use to Uncle Sam. The Danish negotiation is regarded by few as permanently ended.

It is not alone the repelling of European fleets, or the ability to repel them, that should guide the American government in rounding out its sphere of power to the southward, but the ability to exercise beneficent rule over the Caribbean Sea and its islands and mainland coasts. To be prepared is ever prudent; but let us hope that our guns may never again be directed against a European foe. The immediate concern of Uncle Sam is so to perfect his resources and West-Indian footholds that he may forever defend the approaches to the canal, exert a control over Hayti, Santo Domingo, the Central-American republics, and those of South America bordering on the Caribbean, amounting to the policing of them, by compelling reasonable order in all. If we neglect this duty, other nations may insist on performing it—and then the Monroe Doctrine would draw the United States into serious strife. Roystering of revolutionists along the Spanish

Main, and elsewhere in the Caribbean zone, must be stopped. A canal open to universal use, but owned by the United States government, makes this obligatory. Our government could probably bring about a state of peace without recourse to force that in time would become chronic.

Within a year and a half at least six of our southern neighbors have had serious revolutions on hand, and our war-ships have been hurried from one storm centre to another to exert a pacifying influence, to guard traffic, or to protect American consulates and commercial interests.

We must not permit Latin-American adventurers and dictators to look upon the Monroe Doctrine as a cloak for specious dealings with Europeans, but make it plain that the United States government will not stand between them and the penalties which their misconduct invites. The United States cannot expect European governments to respect the Monroe Doctrine unless we are prepared to play the part of policeman and keep some sort of order in near-by Latin-American states.

Humane conditions in the island which is politically divided into Hayti and Santo Domingo cannot forever be overlooked by the United States. Santo Domingo is the nearest neighbor of our model Porto Rico, and Hayti is separated from our Cuban wards by but a few miles of water.

These black republics probably represent the lowest civilization to be found in our hemisphere.

Our concern in the welfare of the Cubans left nothing wanting. But here is an island, almost within cannon-shot of United States soil, where moral conditions are worse than they were in Cuba, where bloodshed is almost constant, where political power is wielded largely by fetich priests and voodoo worshippers. Cannibalism is there, too, associated with what pretends to be a religious observance. Misrule, waste and rapine dominate this island neighbor, fertile and beautiful enough to amaze the visitor. If a European government went to Hayti or Santo Domingo and fired a shot, Uncle Sam would be there in a jiffy prepared to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. But no outsider is going to interfere in these independent republics, for foreign Powers cannot be made to take a benevolent interest in an island where the Doctrine warns them to observe the rule of "hands off." Sooner or later, Uncle Sam must perform the Christian task of pointing

to these the way to better government. To a great people schooled in dealing with problems of the negro race, the task should not be difficult. How it is to be accomplished is more than a layman can say; but the strong have ever been able to incline the weak without resort to force; and moral suasion has not lost its potency. The Washington administration, supported by a few candid utterances of Congress, might devise means that would influence the conduct of native leaders in the island, to the extent of making peaceful industry more popular than it now is. It would not be unbecoming were the United States to give the islanders administrative assistance, making it clear that improvement in insular affairs must follow. Samana Bay, leased or ceded to the American government, and active with the adjuncts of a naval station, would unquestionably exert an influence for good that would extend to the Haytian division of the island.

An overwhelming body of conservative Americans want to see the United States remain pre-eminent as a trading nation. To them the possession of an invincible fleet promises commercial prowess only. It is an irony of fate that this prowess cannot be wholly based upon ability to produce commodities well and cheaply. The cardinal purpose of the Panama Canal is the furtherance of American trade, the creation of new markets for our products. Facility in transferring war-ships from one ocean to another is but an incident in the scheme; but the war-vessel and the sailor and the soldier in these modern days must be the forerunners of trade outside our own territory. There are writers in our land who have always pronounced as fantastic the association of sea-power with the securing of foreign markets. But Great Britain, generations since, proved that trade follows the flag, and Germany is a firm believer in the principle. The Isthmian canal will make the United States the trade arbiter of the world.

And the measure to result from dominion over the Caribbean, aside from its moral benefits, can be nothing but exploitation of trade. The time was never so propitious for establishing closer relations with Central and South America. Our keenest business competitors, England and Germany, have lost their prestige throughout Spanish America, while our influence was never greater. Bullying tactics in the Venezuelan imbroglio alienated many friendships; whether England and Germany were justi-

fied in their acts is immaterial to the question. The trade of all Latin-America can readily be secured by United States manufacturers and merchants, and retained indefinitely. German goods never had high standing in South America; now they are almost boycotted. British products, while better regarded, have a waning sale.

President Roosevelt's reiteration that the United States will permit no European Power to adopt measures that would result in giving it control in a South or Central-American country, is a qualification of the Monroe Doctrine second only to the vigorous pronouncement of President Cleveland. Consequently, the time is opportune for securing markets in the southern republics. Secretary Blaine knew how valuable they would be to our manufacturers; and Senator Cullom has voiced a volume of Congressional sentiment in the same direction by his statements in the Senate. Our trade in Caribbean islands and countries is gradually increasing, but persistent and systematic work for a few years would bring a doubled reward. When the canal is completed, the trade of the rich west coast of South America may be wrested from European nations. We get small share of it now.

We want the trade of South America, though political control over a foot of its soil is never to be thought of; and when secured, we should give it such vigilant attention as to make it next to hopeless for rivals to again dispute the field with us. The situation is, to a great extent, one of example and confidence; when Latin-American countries are convinced of our wish to bring about a better understanding of commercial conditions and relations, and we send honorable business agents to them, rather than irresponsible harpies, we shall not find them unresponsive. This understanding reached, based upon confidence, American money would gladly develop Latin-American railroads and other forms of communication, mines and agricultural resources—and banks admitting of transactions independent of London, Paris and Hamburg. The latent resources of Venezuela and Colombia alone are, doubtless, sufficient to satisfy any reasonable appetite that northern capital may have for over-sea adventure.

Let the United States shine resplendent as a "World Power" by leading in commerce, and thus give the phrase a meaning characteristically American! FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

THE POETRY AND POETS OF AMERICA.—I.

BY CHURTON COLLINS.

THERE goes a story—I had it, if I remember rightly, from the late Professor Nichol—that the editor of the "Golden Treasury of English Poetry" was asked by an American lady why he did not supplement that work by a Golden Treasury of American Poetry. "American poetry!" he exclaimed with supercilious surprise. "Why, who are your poets?" "Well, among others," she replied, "we have Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton." It was a retort as fair as it was wise; no paradox, though it seems one; not wit, but truth. And although a review of American poetry is necessarily concerned only with the "others" referred to, we cannot insist too strongly on the relation of those others to the patriarchs of Anglo-Saxon song—on the essential unity of almost all of what finds expression in the poetry of England and in the poetry of America, in the genius which inspires both, in the art which informs both. The great schism of 1776 was our own mad work. A war, as purely internecine as that in which the Roundheads and Cavaliers confronted each other at Marston Moor and Naseby, was forced on the descendants of both in another hemisphere. The sword, once drawn, was not sheathed till England was humiliated and America independent. What followed, followed inevitably. With the Atlantic intervening, with the Puritan and republican elements in overwhelming ascendency, with colossal potentialities of expansion and development, with much that was irreconcilable with subordination to the Mother Country rapidly defining itself, reunion under a common flag, even had it been desired, became impossible. But, if the effect of the great schism was, during many years, to alienate, to canker; if it sowed the seeds of all that has since resulted from mutual mistrust and jealousy, from conflicting interests, from rival aims and com-

petitive ambition, it has never extended to what constitutes the bond of bonds—the inheritance of common blood, of common creeds political as well as religious, of a common language, of a common literature.

> "O Englishmen! in hope and creed,
> In blood and tongue, our brothers,
> We too are heirs of Runnymede;
> And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
> Are not alone our mother's."

In these words, Whittier gave expression to sentiments which perhaps appealed more directly to his fellow countrymen generally fifty years ago than they do to-day; but to-day and for all time will they find response, will they be very creed, wherever the humanities prevail.

In estimating the achievement of America in poetry, it is very necessary to bear all this in mind. It is not by regarding it as a rival counterpart of our own, which in some respects it is, and by continually instituting, either directly or tacitly, comparisons and parallels with its English archetypes and analogues, which it necessarily does invite, that we can possibly do it justice. For by such a method the whole focus of criticism is deranged. We expect more than it is reasonable to expect, and are disappointed; we find much for which our criteria are insufficient, and are perplexed. And the English people have not done justice to the poetry of America. Our leading critics have always regarded it pretty much as the Greek critics regarded the poetry of the Romans; for what was indigenous in it they had no taste, from what reminded them of their own artists they turned with contemptuous indifference. The silence of Dionysius and Longinus about the poems which are the glory of Roman literature, is not only exactly analogous to the silence of Arnold, Pater and their schools about the poems which are the pride of Transatlantic literature, but it sprang from the same causes. Where originality existed, it was originality which did not appeal to them; where comparison with the genius and art with which they were familiar, and from which their own touchstones and standards were derived, was challenged or could be instituted, sensibly or insensibly it was instituted, and inferiority stood revealed. A Greek who expected from Horace what he found in Sappho and Pindar,

and an Englishman who expects from Bryant and Longfellow what he finds in Wordsworth and Tennyson, might be forgiven for being disappointed. But, for all that, Horace is Horace, and Bryant and Longfellow are true poets.

Two other causes have contributed to the underestimation of American poetry in England, and for one of them the Americans themselves are, I fear, responsible. I mean the prominence which has unhappily been given to what is essentially mediocre and inferior, sometimes by indiscreet and absurd eulogy, and sometimes by associating it in Anthologies and Critiques with what is excellent. We find, for instance, in Mr. Tyler's otherwise excellent "Literary History of the American Revolution" a lamentable want of balance wherever poetry is in question; ballads and political songs bad enough for the bellman, are described as worthy of Tyrtæus; lyrics and other poems which never, even at their best, have any other than historical interest, are praised in terms which would be exaggerated if applied to the poetry of great masters. No critic could mention the name of Mr. Stedman without profound respect for his immense knowledge and his sound judgment; but I venture to think that the scale on which his justly celebrated "Anthology" is planned has been signally unfortunate for the promotion of his object—namely, to bring home to the English-speaking race the merits of American poetry. Most people will, I fear, lay it down with something of the impression with which the weary scholar closes thankfully the tomes of the *Poetae Latini Minores,* so immensely does what is commonplace and of every degree of mediocrity predominate over what has merit and distinction. Had Mr. Stedman confined his plan, I cannot forbear adding, to the inclusion of the best, and the best only, he would have had no difficulty in finding material for a golden volume. As it is, his collection is only likely to confirm the impression which it was his desire to correct.

Another cause affecting the reputation of American poetry in England, is the prominence which has been given, not to what represents it at its best or in relation to its finer qualities, but to what appeals to the multitude. "The Raven" and "The Bells" are anything but typical of the peculiar genius of Poe; but "The Raven" and "The Bells" have overshadowed everything else which he has written in verse. Neither Bryant nor Whittier has fared any better; what is most commonplace in them has been

most popular. Lowell's fame rests almost entirely on what is most broadly humorous in the "Biglow Papers." Holmes is associated with comical trifles like "The One Horse Shay," as Bret Harte is with "Truthful James" and "The Heathen Chinee." Longfellow has been designated the "Laureate of the Middle Classes," and every one knows what that implies. Nor is this all. In many, and perhaps in many more than we suspect, the impression made by the aggressive eccentricities of Whitman and his school, on the one hand, and the florid extravagance of the school of Joaquin Miller, on the other, has so predominated over the impression made by the true masters of American song, that work as little representative of what is best in American poetry as it is of what is best in our own poetry has come to be regarded as essentially typical. And so it is, and from these causes chiefly, England, as a nation, has not done justice to American poetry.

To a survey of that poetry, a brief sketch of its origin and early history is a necessary prelude; for its characteristics are to be traced to conditions and circumstances long preceding its articulate expression. Schiller, in a famous lyric, has described the austerities amid which the German muse was cradled and nurtured, and attributed its lofty spirit to their severe discipline; but it was amid austerities sterner still that the American muse was cradled and nurtured. In the zenith of our own Golden Age of poetry and letters, when Shakespeare had just finished "King Lear" and Bacon was meditating the "Instauratio Magna," the first pioneers of American civilization landed at Jamestown. Michael Drayton in a hearty and spirited ode had bade them God-speed, and blended with his blessing a prophecy that the New World would not be without its bards. But upwards of a hundred and sixty years were to pass before that prophecy was even partially to be fulfilled. During those years, it would be scarcely possible to conceive conditions more unpropitious to the production of poetry, or more propitious to the development of those heroic virtues which poetry loves to celebrate, and of that "character," as Emerson calls it, which is the noblest substratum of poetry itself. The fragment of Percy, and the narratives of Captain John Smith and of William Strachey, record the storm and stress of the early part of this period, the period which witnessed the settlement of Virginia. Then came the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and, amid hardships unspeakable, preceding and

ensuing, the foundation of New Plymouth. With the foundation of Massachusetts which followed, began the history of all that is implied and involved in the establishment and constitution of New England. In the South, also, there had been the same activity. The colonization of Virginia had been succeeded by the foundation of Maryland and the two Carolinas. Round the Delaware, New York and Chesapeake Bays the Middle States had been gradually formed.

All this had been a work of Herculean labor, absorbing every energy and taxing to the uttermost man's powers of effort and endurance. Forests had to be cleared; marshes to be drained; the savage aborigines to be kept at bay. Carrying their lives in their hands, inured to privation and distress in their severest forms, these hardy and dauntless adventurers lived daily face to face with the grimmest realities of life. The toil of the pioneer accomplished, other toils not less arduous and incessant awaited them in the duties incumbent on the citizens of infant States, the duties of the builder, the agriculturist, the legislator. Then came the wars with the Indians. Incessantly harassed by the raids of these murderous enemies always on the watch for mischief and assassination, in 1637 they brought the first of these wars to a climax, by the annihilation of the Pequots, men, women and children, a scene of almost unparalleled horror. Still more terrible was the second war in 1674, which lasted two years, and in which Massachusetts was overrun by the savages, some eighty towns raided, some twelve totally destroyed, and ten per cent. of the men of military age either killed outright, or dragged off to a death of agony by torture. Nothing in history is more thrilling than some of the contemporary narratives which place us in the midst of these frightful experiences of the Fathers of Virginia and of New England.

In this iron school was tempered the character of the forefathers of those who were to create American literature. Nor must we forget who these men originally were. However mixed was the population of the States in the South and of the middle group, the founders of New England were almost entirely what that name implies—Englishmen: but they were Englishmen of a peculiar type. The first emigrants had quitted Europe because of their dissatisfaction with the regulations and ritual of the Established Church. The successive emigrants between 1630 and

1640 consisted of those who, despairing of the cause of religious and civil liberty under Charles I., had left the Mother Country in impatient indignation, to realize what they desired in a community of their own founding. In spite of many differences of opinion, all these men, like their brother Puritans in England, had a common character. In their religious convictions enthusiasts and fanatics, with the Bible and the Bible only as their guide and rule, they sought in its precepts and in its examples all that they desired to learn and all that they aspired to become. Almost everything they did, almost everything they meditated, took its play and its color from this enthusiasm. But the gracious philanthropy of the New Testament appealed to them far less than the sterner teachings of the Old. Here they found justification for the fierce intolerance which, in their uncompromising creed, ranked with the cardinal virtues; for the rancor with which they regarded the enemies of God; and for the many ruthless deeds which were, no doubt, forced upon them, but which appear to have cost them so little compunction. And here, too, they found the patterns on which their lives were fashioned, individually as well as collectively. Never since the days of the Patriarchs did men live, in a sense so literally true, "as ever in their great Task-master's eye," or find such sustainment in simple faith.

To enter their homes is like finding ourselves in the world of the Chosen People. Each busy day, each frugal meal, opened and closed with prayer. Next to God, in a child's eyes, stood his parents, and next to his parents, his elders. Frivolity, irreverence were almost unknown, and anything approaching to their expression, either in word or act, was set down with a severity strangely out of proportion to the offence. To be abstemious and chaste, to speak the truth at any cost and under any stress, to regard the world's gauds and the world's honors with contempt, to be patient in tribulation and sober in prosperity, to recognize in conscience the veritable voice of the Almighty and the obligation to obey that voice as man's paramount duty—all this was of the essence of their ethics. Public life had the same cast. Their very government was a theocracy. At the head of it the God of Christian faith, its magistrates His servants, its citizens those only who had been initiated through Baptism and the reception of the Lord's Supper. In Virginia, indeed, the other distributing centre of the

English race, becoming as it did an asylum for Cavaliers, broken aristocrats, and Church of England men, society and the temper of those who composed it presented a remarkable contrast to all this. But, mighty as the part has been which Virginia has played in politics, in war, and in commerce, she has been no factor in the spiritual and intellectual life of America, which was to take its ply from her austerer sons.

Thus was produced, partly from what was inherited from their forefathers, and partly from what was the result of the long probation and discipline of those iron times, a race of men the like of which this world has never seen. Indelible is the impression which they have made on all who have contributed, and on all which has been contributed, either in politics or in literature, to the glory of America. We trace their lineaments in every great statesman and in every great soldier who has succeeded them in the Western World, whether from the South or from the North. Their purity, their earnestness, their simplicity, the noble ardor of their love of liberty, their God-fearing spirit and profound sense of man's religious and moral responsibilities, permeate, or if they do not permeate, at least color, almost every characteristic contribution either in verse or prose to American literature. Even where their theology had ceased to appeal, and the light had faded out of Puritan orthodoxy, Puritan ethics and the Puritan temper still prevailed. Franklin, Emerson and Hawthorne were as essentially the offspring of these men as William Bradford and Thomas Hooker were their representatives. When poetry woke, and it was long before it woke, it was their soul which suffused it. Their soul has suffused it ever since.

To the influence of these silent forefathers, American poetry owes its distinguishing notes; it has them in common with the characteristic poetry of Germany—its simplicity, its purity, its wholesomeness. No American poet has ever dared, or perhaps even desired, to do what, to the shame of England and France, their poets have so often done—what is mourned by Dryden:

> "O gracious God! how oft have we
> Profan'd Thy heavenly gift of Poesy,
> Made prostitute and profligate the muse
> Debas'd to each obscene and impious use."

We should search in vain through the voluminous records of American song for a poem by any poet of note or merit, with one

exception who is an exception in everything, glorifying animalism or blasphemy, or attempting to throw a glamor over impurity and vice.

But the men to whom American poetry was to owe so much contributed, as might have been expected, nothing to its treasures. There came over with them more than one distinguished scholar, and many who either were, or were to become, theologians of eminence; men, too, full of enthusiasm for education, to whom America owes her first schools, her first libraries, her first university; but no one, with the solitary exception of George Sandys, who carried in him the seeds of poetry.

Nor was the period which succeeded the establishment of the new communities more propitious to literary activity. Constant friction with England, chiefly in connection with the royal governors, constant disputes among the States about boundaries, and with the aborigines about commercial affairs—these were their occupations. Then came the coalition with Great Britain against the French and their Indian allies—a momentous crisis, culminating in the conquest of Canada and the preservation of the Colonies from subjection to France. Seven years afterwards followed the epoch-making Revolution which transformed Anglo-America from a congeries of scattered communities into a mighty nation, and which for a time effectually hushed everything except the voice of the orator, the tumult of debate, the roar of cannon and the myriad clamor of the popular press. That story need not be told here; it is a story no Englishman will ever love to tell or to remember. To America, it was all that Marathon and Salamis were temporarily to Hellas; all that the loss of her Continental possessions was, permanently, to England. Regarded in relation to its effects, immediate and subsequent, and in relation to its examples and its lessons, it is perhaps the greatest single event in the history of mankind. That it should not have awakened the American muse seems at first sight surprising, for it opened every spring of poetic inspiration. It appealed, and appealed thrillingly, to passion, to sentiment, to imagination. In no lyric ever burned more fire than glowed in the speeches of Patrick Henry, of James Otis, of Richard Henry Lee, of Alexander Hamilton. No epic has celebrated scenes which surpass in impressiveness and picturesqueness the scenes which America witnessed between 1775 and 1782, or idealized heroes of nobler and

grander moral temper than those who shaped the destinies of the Western World at that tremendous crisis,—names as deathless as the archetypal virtues of which they were the embodiment.

Still lyric, still epic, still poetry in every form of its genuine expression, slept. But, if we reflect, this need not surprise us. Wordsworth has admirably defined poetry as emotion recollected in tranquillity. As the men who make history seldom write it, so, when poetry is expressing itself in action, it has little need to express itself in words. The achievements and character of those who welded America into a nation were of a piece with all that had originally fashioned, moulded and preserved the several communities now federated. Both were works to which every citizen contributed, and in which every citizen took absorbing interest. As a rule, the Puritan despised poetry, even when he had leisure for it. Hymns and Biblical paraphrases, indeed, he tolerated, patronized and, if he had the ability, produced; but when it went beyond these it became vanity, and his sympathy with it ceased. What need of poetry to inspire, when the voice of Duty, when the voice of God Himself, was calling? Of what worth the tribute of song to "live battle odes, whose lines were steel and fire"; the homage of mere æsthetic appreciation to virtues so practical, to achievements so real? But there was another reason, and perhaps the chief one, for the silence of song. The triumph of the warrior and of the statesman could have seemed no triumph to the poet. To him England was all that Athens, all that Rome, had been to his brethren in ancient times, the object of his profoundest reverence, of his fondest affection, the consecrated home of the lords of his art, and fraught with memories inexpressibly dear. Before, an exile, he was now an alien. Nothing, then, can be more natural than that this revolution should have failed to awaken poetry.

The poetry which the Revolution could not inspire was not likely to be inspired by the period which immediately succeeded. The history of America between 1782 and 1820 is the history of the most distracted time in her annals. All was fever, all was tumult. The old world was passing away, the new world had not defined itself. While the fierce conflicts between Federalists and Democrats tore and perplexed her central councils, dividing the whole Republic into hostile camps, feuds and disputes peculiar to themselves kept the separate States in constant turmoil. The

alliance against England, instead of conducing to permanent harmony, seemed only to have the effect of accentuating their differences. To all these distractions were added the distractions involved by America's association with that mighty European revolution, the torch of which had been lighted by her own; by the relations with Napoleon, by the second war with Great Britain. The termination of that war in 1814 marks no epoch in American history, but it ushered in the period which witnessed the birth of her Poetry, not in the historical, but in the true, sense of the term.

And now we may briefly review, for no sketch of the history of American poetry would be satisfactory without such a review, what had been produced during the period which I have described. Nothing more deplorable than the verses which have come down to us from the earliest colonists and from the ante-Revolutionary age could be conceived. They consist chiefly of paraphrases of the Psalms, such as find expression in such doggerel as the "Bay Psalm-Book," of descriptive poems and of miscellaneous trifles of a serious cast, and were the work, generally speaking, of Puritan divines, schoolmasters, and governors. They may be dismissed without ceremony; for to settle the relative proportion of worthlessness between Benjamin Thomson, Mather Byles, Michael Wigglesworth, Nathaniel Evans and Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, the "mirror of her age," as, unhappily, in poetry she was, would indeed be a futile task. A little later we find a group of versifiers who, in their several ways, almost rise to the dignity of mediocrity. Such would be John Trumbull, who began his career with a poem bearing the ominous title of the "Progress of Dulness," but whose "Mc Fingal" is a very respectable imitation of Hudibras, containing original touches not unworthy of its model. Timothy Dwight, who, under the guise of independence, sometimes echoes Pope, sometimes Beattie, sometimes Cowper, but who in another strain produced a spirited lyric "Columbia," which long endeared his name to his countrymen, and in one of his poems stumbled on a few lines which pleased Cowper.

No such exploit enlivens the intolerable epic and the still more intolerable mock heroic, the "Columbia" and "Hasty Pudding," of Joel Barlow, in the first of which he certainly disputes the palm of somniferousness with our own Blackmore. Nor can anything be said for the smooth platitudes of Alsop, of Honeywood,

and of Clifton. One poet only in this period had a touch of true genius; and he was, as his name implies, of French extraction. In the too voluminous poetry of Philip Freneau there are a few flowers, somewhat wan and frail it is true, but worth gathering. There is a note of distinction in the verses "To Neversink Heights," "To the Dying Indian," "The Indian Burying-ground,"—a line from which Campbell condescended to appropriate,—and in the verses to "The Hurricane," but he is never sure and often trivial and commonplace.

The numerous patriotic songs inspired by the struggles with England and the realization of American nationality, such as Robert Treat Paine's "Adams and Liberty," Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia," the anonymous "Yankee Man-of-War" and Key's "Star-spangled Banner," are not without ring and lilt, but owe their charm chiefly to their sentiment. To one of them higher praise than this is due. "The American Flag" of Joseph Rodman Drake is noble rhetoric, a little strained, perhaps, but instinct with true enthusiasm.

And now, with surprising rapidity, these matin chirps became full quire. As we advance in the second quarter of the century, our ears are almost deafened by the chorus of songsters which greet us on all sides, some from the Southern, some from the Middle, some from the Northern States. This activity is, no doubt, to be traced mainly to the progress of education and culture, for which there was more leisure, and which had flourishing centres at the universities. The result of this was that the poetry of England was studied with sympathy and enthusiasm, and the natural consequence was imitation. Young men acquired the same facility in composing English verses, almost indistinguishable, so far as form was concerned, from their originals, as clever undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge composed Ovidian elegiacs and Virgilian hexameters. As these imitations were occasionally produced, not merely by men of talent and of such accomplishments as memory and industry can acquire, but by men of sensibility, with some of the qualities of genius, and even a spark of genius itself, some of this poetry, if only just rising above mediocrity, is far from contemptible. It is most interesting when it is touched with what is essentially native, with ancestral moral enthusiasm, with character, with the impressions made by American tradition, scenery and life; in other words, where it

differentiates itself from English models. Mere imitation, with nothing superinduced, is perhaps most conspicuous in Hillhouse's stilted and wretched concoction in travesty from Milton, Young and Pollock; in Sprague's bombastic Pindarics and parrot echoes of the heroics of Pope's school; and in others, who need not be specified. In Allston, in Pierpont, in Brainard, and in Percival, we have the most conspicuous and most comprehensive representatives of the poetry of the best culture, though the last two are unconscionably careless and diffuse in style, while the best poem of the first, "The Sylphs of the Seasons," is too much an echo of Burns's "Vision." Carlos Wilcox, though his blank verse, which is a bad imitation of Thomson's, is intolerable, deserves notice for his minute and accurate description of nature, closely recalling, as Street did afterwards, our own Richard Jefferies's prose studies. In Paulding, Halleck, Drake and John Howard Payne, the author of the world-famous lyric, "Home, Sweet Home," native elements predominate over external; and they all, in their several ways, assisted the development of the Home school. Paulding is better known by his prose writings; but his "Backwoodsman," written in smooth and musical heroics, contains very pleasing descriptions of American scenery, and his "Old Man's Carousal" has long been, and justly, a favorite. Halleck's spirited historical ballad, "Marco Bozzaris," recalls Byron, his "Alnwick Castle" Scott, but worthily and in no servile way; while his "Burns," his "Redjacket," his ballads written in conjunction with Drake, his vigorous *vers de société* and his "Fanny" at least prove his versatility; but we can hardly feel with Whittier that he has consecrated New York, and that "shady square and dusty street are classic ground for him." The "American Flag" will long preserve the memory of Drake, and his "Culprit Fay," though too evidently showing the blended influence of Scott, Coleridge and Moore to be entitled to the praise of originality, was considered at the time of its appearance a remarkable production. Dana's wild poem the "Buccaneer" struck a new note of the Monk Lewis order, and there was originality, though of a somewhat tawdry kind, in Maria Brooks's "Zophiël," a poetess so unaccountably pronounced by Southey to be "the most impassioned and the most imaginative of all poetesses." Of the many disciples of Mrs. Hemans and Miss Landon flourishing at this time, Lydia Sigourney stands alone. It is not fashionable to praise Mrs. Hemans in

these days; but I will have the courage to say that higher praise could scarcely be given to a poetess of the secondary order than to say, what may be said with truth of Lydia Sigourney, that she stands beside Mrs. Hemans. Nothing more simply touching was ever written than her "Widow's Charge," and if her threnody on her mistress and model is too ambitious, it is both noble and pathetic.

Nor was the South silent. Edward Coate Pinkney has no pretension to genius, and he was too close in imitation of Byron and other English poets; yet he had a very pleasing lyrical gift, and such lyrics as "A Health," "A Serenade," and "A Picture Song" tremble on excellence, while Richard Henry Wilde has left one lyric, "My Life is Like the Summer Rose" which, if falsetto, has one line which a true poet might envy—

"On that lone shore loud moans the sea."

And yet, in spite of all this activity and achievement, De Tocqueville could say in 1835 that America had not produced a single poet of a high order. Certainly, he could not have been refuted by citing any of the poets of whom I have spoken; but we have now come to a poet who could be triumphantly produced to falsify the statement. In William Cullen Bryant, America produced her first poet of classical rank, the first who is essentially original, and whose originality is of a high order. Griswold tells us that when "Thanatopsis," Bryant's first characteristic poem, was submitted to Dana, then editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Dana and one or two critics whom he consulted were satisfied that a poem so finished and so noble could not have been written by an American. Their wonder was, no doubt, increased when they learned that it was not only written by an American, but by an American who was little more than a boy.

It is no figure of speech to say that the American muse found her first voice in Bryant. He has been called a disciple of Wordsworth; it has been pointed out that his favorite measures have all been borrowed from ours; that in Young's "Night Thoughts" and in Dyer's "Ruins of Rome" had been sounded the note which he struck with more power and impressiveness in the poems peculiarly characteristic of him, and that his blank verse is but a variation of the blank verse of English masters. This is true only in the sense in which it is true that, but for Ennius and

Lucretius, we should never have had Virgil, and that, but for his classical predecessors in ancient Greece and Rome and in modern Italy, we should never have had Milton. Bryant's relation to Wordsworth may be more accurately indicated by calling him, in virtue of his own native genius, and not by virtue of imitation, the "American Wordsworth"; his relation to Young and Dyer, by distinguishing between what is accidental and what is essential; and of his blank verse it may be said, with literal truth, that in structure and rhythm it is absolutely his own. Nature, and Nature only, was his inspirer and teacher; and pure and simple and wholesome as herself was her disciple and prophet. From his Puritan ancestors, he had inherited his moral temper and cast of mind, his purity, his simplicity, his earnestness, his love of liberty, his reverent piety, his profound seriousness; and with all this some good genius had blended the æsthetic temperament, and bestowed on him the gifts of the poet. And so he went out among the wonders and beauties of the New World, "the rolling prairies,"

> "The gardens of the Desert,
> The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
> For which the speech of England has no name,"

under

> "The thick roofs
> Of green, and stirring branches all alive
> And musical with birds that sing and sport
> In wantonness of spirit, while, below,
> The squirrel, with rais'd paws and form erect,
> Chirps merrily;"

through the great solitudes with their

> "Myriads of insects, gaudy as the flowers
> They flutter over, gentle quadrupeds,
> And birds that scarce have learn'd the fear of man,
> . . . . . and sliding reptiles of the ground
> Startlingly beautiful;"

or heard from

> "Dim woods the aged past
> Speak solemnly;"

or stood and gazed on

> "The hills
> Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun: the vales

Stretching in pensive quietness between:
The venerable woods, rivers that move
In majesty, and the complaining brooks
That make the meadows green; and, poured round all,
Old Ocean's gray and melancholy waste;"

or lay and listened to Earth's voice:

"A voice of many tones—sent up from streams
That wander through the gloom, from woods unseen
Swayed by the sweeping of the tides of air,
From rocky chasms where darkness dwells all day,
And hollows of the great invisible hills,
And sands that edge the Ocean, stretching far
Into the night."

In his nature poems, when at their very best, Nature herself seems to take the pen for him, and with her own sheer power to write. Look at the magic of the first two stanzas of "The Water Fowl":

"Whither, 'midst falling dew,
While glow the heavens with the last steps of day,
Far, through their rosy depths, dost thou pursue
Thy solitary way?
Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark thy distant flight to do thee wrong,
As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,
Thy figure floats along."

Turn to "The Gladness of Nature," with its pulse of ecstasy, or to "The Evening Wind," which is not so much descriptive as the very essence of what it describes. "O Fairest of the Rural Maids" may remind us a little too closely of Wordsworth, but this exquisite lyric could only have been written by one whom Nature had initiated. Mr. Stedman speaks of the "elemental quality" of Bryant's poetry: it is a most happy expression, as any one will feel after reading such poems as "The Prairies," "A Winterpiece," "The Evening Wind," "The Hunter of the Prairies," "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood," "The Painted Cup," "A Hymn to the Sea," "A Forest Hymn," "A Hymn to the North Sea," "Among the Trees," "A River by Night."

But to this exquisite susceptibility to the power and charm of nature, and to this inspired faculty for catching and rendering

them, he brought other qualities. He was not, like our own Wordsworth, a profound philosopher, but he was deeply impressed with the mystery, solemnity, and sadness of life, and also with the momentous importance of the moral responsibilities resting on all on whom the gift of it has been conferred. This element is sometimes distinct from his nature studies, and sometimes blends itself with them. It is seen in its distinctness in such poems as the "Hymn to Death," "The Past," "Life," "The Journey of Life," "The Crowded Street," "The Future Life," "Blessed are They that Mourn," and that noble poem, "The Return of Youth"; but it is when blended with his nature studies that it is most impressive. In what majestic threnody does he contrast the eternity of nature and the transitoriness of man in "Thanatopsis," and again in "The Fountain," and again, with tenderer pathos, in "The Rivulet." With what eloquence does he enlist Nature in the service of man's spiritual and moral instruction, as in the "Forest Hymn," "The Old Man's Gospel," and an "Evening Revelry"; or make her bring balm for the wounds of life and solace and comfort, in such poems as the "Walk at Sunset," "Green River," "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood," "A Scene on the Banks of the Hudson," "Lines on Revisiting the Country," "A Summer Wind." In the beautiful "City Hymn" he leads her from her solitudes to irradiate the sordid and crowded life of the street and of the mart, while in "June" and "The Burial-place" he would have her wreathe the dishonors of death with her loveliness.

The dominant note in Bryant is, certainly, threnody; but it is threnody without gloom. He had inherited from his Puritan ancestors the faith that illumines life and looks through death, and it never fails him. To his Puritanism is probably owing also his absolute freedom from any traces of a mystic or pantheistic tendency in his treatment of Nature. His diction, his style, his versification, if the result of the study of English models, are, in the main, his own, and seem to be the spontaneous utterance of what they convey. Never were conception and expression in more absolute harmony. It has been observed that his vocabulary is a limited one, and that the measures in which he writes were few and simple; the reason is because the sphere in which his genius moved is limited, and because he only employed such measures as were most appropriate for his few and simple themes. It

is as difficult to associate art with his poetry as it would be to associate art with the vibrations of an Æolian lyre. Perhaps such a stanza as this owed something to the file:

> "I sat and watched the eternal flow
> Of those smooth billows to the shore,
> While quivering lines of light below
> Ran with them on the Ocean floor;"

but, if it did, it is art indistinguishable from nature. Perfect simplicity is the note of Bryant, yet how magical, now with the note of pathos, now with the note of the sublime. Take such lines as these in "The Water Fowl":

> "There is a Power, whose care
> Teaches thy way along that pathless coast,
> The desert and illimitable air,
> *Lone wandering, but not lost;*"

or such lines as:

> "Swayed by the sweeping of the tides of air,"

and

> "Old Ocean's gray and melancholy waste."

He moved, it must be conceded, in a very limited sphere, and had comparatively few notes; but, within that sphere how admirable; of those few notes, how rare a master!

CHURTON COLLINS.

(To be Continued.)

WOMAN'S ASSUMPTION OF SEX SUPERIORITY

BY ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

ONE of the most charming of the women orators in the late municipal campaign in New York, in a burst of eloquence for which she was applauded, pointed to the lady who stood as the emblem of the Fusion party, and to the tiger of Tammany, and asked if it were possible to hesitate in the choice: "The lady or the tiger confronts you. Which shall it be?" Fortunately, the audience was with the speaker. Questions are admittedly dangerous political weapons. The picture of the voter trembling before the gates was cleverly drawn; yet it might have been awkward had one ventured to suggest that it was not at all certain before which gate one would more violently tremble. It is not difficult to imagine circumstances in which one might pray for the tiger. My own experience is somewhat limited—on the side of the tiger. But I fancy an angry tiger kills quickly.

I am quite sure that, in the political arena, I should dread the advent of women as voters and office-holders a little more than that of the tiger. Of course, to the speaker, Woman typified and summed up all that was honorable, pure, noble, uplifting. To her, even the fact that the emblematic "lady" referred to was really a goddess was in no way disconcerting. It was assumed by many campaigners that the interest taken in the campaign by the women was in itself a conclusive arraignment of Tammany, was in itself a proof that the Fusion party stood for honest government. Of course, such an assumption when it is made by a man is not to be seriously challenged; but when it is made by a large proportion (still, I am persuaded, happily, by a minority) of women, then it becomes worth while to examine woman's claim to moral superiority, to examine it soberly and seriously.

The exercise by woman of the power to vote has been held up

by these women again and again as a panacea for the chief evils, if not all the evils, that now threaten to undermine the moral life of America. As even these women must be aware that in voting the majority prevails, this is clearly an assumption that the majority of women may be counted upon as a force that would make for political righteousness. It is strangely difficult to keep this inference before the public. The popular method of argument is: "Mrs. Thus-and-So is a splendid woman; would she not give us a more intelligent vote than the ignorant hod-carrier?" The fact that the vote of Mrs. Thus-and-So will be pitted against that of Mrs. Hod-carrier, never seems to be considered. It must be remembered that the suffrage—at least in America—is almost certain to be refused to all women, or given to all women; that a vote to one woman will be a vote to all women, vicious and virtuous, ignorant and educated, lowest and highest.

Let me say right here, as emphatically as possible, that while I challenge the assumption that women as a sex could contribute a regenerative force to the body politic, yet I do not deny the fact that there are many fine, true women who could be relied upon to cast their votes every time for the right. That I further think that most of these women do not wish the suffrage, that they have a clearer idea of their sex as a whole and a profounder appreciation of their real duties, does not concern us at present. The question, shorn of all disingenuousness, of all sentimentality, is just this: What could the sex bring to the service of the state to offset the degeneration of public life, to offset the indifference, the sloth, the moral cowardice, the greed, the dishonesty that are seriously menacing the moral life of our Republic?

When a man is chosen by his party as a candidate for office, his career is scrutinized, the question is asked, What has he done in his private career that implies a promise of success in a public career? Similarly, when women offer themselves for political duty (and in no spirit of humility, but with smug self-satisfaction and assumption of superior virtue), is it not just to scrutinize their past, to ask, What special character, what special force, what special talent have they shown in fulfilling their apportioned duties in the past? Is there anything to warrant a faith that they would discharge this new duty faithfully and ably? It is idle for women to say that it is not fair to scrutinize their past, because it was not a past of their own seeking; to claim that in-

competency in domestic life bears no relation to incompetency in political life, that the shirking of disagreeable duties would not mean the shirking of (supposedly) agreeable ones. Idle, and futile, I say, because we are probing deeper than that! We do not wish to know if their heads are equal to the problems of government; it does not concern us if they are not fitted for domestic duties—if they dislike them; it is not brains, nor aptitudes, nor even ability that are vital, it is character. Character is the one force needed in American life to-day. And character may be more safely judged from the way in which we perform disagreeable duties than from the way in which we perform agreeable ones. The question is not so much whether certain tasks allotted to women in the past have been well or ill performed; but it is—it doubly, trebly, is: Having been confronted with these tasks, in what manner have they approached them? Have they shirked them, or have they done their best? Have they done the work they found to be done, willingly, conscientiously, patiently, uncomplainingly? Have they been satisfied to do it without applause, without public reward? Have they brought to bear on this work the best they had, the best they could become? Have they never reached forth to grasp the more spectacular work of others, while turning their backs on their own? In short, have they any claim to such characteristics as, if contributed to American public life to-day, could purify and ennoble it?

I have spoken of the lack of character as the real lack in American public life to-day. Is there any question of this? To what is due the general neglect of the disagreeable part of political duty, but to a lack of character? What explains the too common custom of paying for concessions instead of fighting for one's just dues, but a lack of character? What, the yielding to blackmail, the seeking of the line of least resistance? What, the venality, the greed, and the acceptance of a double standard of honesty—political and commercial? What does all this signify, but a lack of character?

Perhaps the enlarged opportunities enjoyed by women during the past forty years have qualified them in some directions for the suffrage. Certainly, their mental qualifications will not be so sweepingly questioned as when the subject first arose for debate. But it is my firm conviction that the development of woman's character has by no means kept step with that of her

intellect. I think this is a serious arraignment of the women's colleges, one to which several of the leading colleges are awakening, and to the correction of which the best friends of woman's education are addressing themselves. There is no longer question of the capacity of woman's brain to be trained to wield the suffrage. But, alas! it can never be repeated often enough that it is not brains that are needed just now. There is a cry welling up from the surcharged hearts of those who tremble for the steadfastness of American government: but it is not a cry for brains—it is a cry for character.

"Put United Womanhood," they say, (a resounding phrase much made use of—as if all women could be united on anything save puffed sleeves or pocketless skirts!), "Put United Womanhood into politics, and we shall have character. You will no longer see the Boss one instant the epitome of all that is evil, and the next, worthy to fold his legs under your mahogany." But is this true? Is there even a shadow of truth in it? Have women, then, as a sex been so brave in fighting the conventional standpoint? Show me that more than a handful of women have the courage to ostracize the "great catch" that they know has no right to associate with their daughters, and I shall take heart. Give me the slightest inkling that women will fight the tyrannous hand of the Labor-Unions, now stifling the manhood of our business as well as of our laboring world. Give me the faintest hope that women will refuse to pay for what should come to them freely, that women will resist all favoritism, all unfairness! What is there in the past that can vouch for the future? Will the woman who quails before the departing cook, stand firm before the District Leader? Will the woman who submits to the tyranny of her volatile dressmaker, resist the voluble walking delegate? Will the woman who has made a mess of the domestic question, straighten out the tangles of the industrial and financial world? And, finally, will a woman who has shirked the noblest duty on God's earth, not shirk the lesser duties to which she, strangely enough, aspires? I hope I am not unduly severe. I am not more severe than are the women themselves who decry the moral weakness of the average man. In the very charge of inferiority launched against men by the women, they present the strongest possible indictment of their own sex. These men, who are so weak, so corrupt, so far below the stand-

ard of the women—had they no mothers? With so many grafters, so many "respectable" tools of a machine, is it possible that a great many women have not betrayed their trust? Do not tell me that the casting of a bit of paper in a box once a year can offset the daily influence of a mother, or that votes can be better gained from a political platform than at the home fireside.

I fail to see in women any evidence of the character that is needed in our public life. I fail to see that they are even on the right track to attain it. I think there is no school so eminently unfit for the development of character as that of the public platform, which women are seeking more and more. I think there is a grave danger to the moral force of womanhood in woman's increasing participation in organized effort, in public life. To say nothing of the wire-pulling, of the unscrupulousness in attaining an end, of the unfairness, of the love of office, of the insincerity which reveal themselves in the large organizations of women, with discouraging and startling resemblance to the methods of their weaker brethren, I hold that there is certain to come a deterioration which I like to name "Platform Virtue." One who feeds on applause learns how easily it is gained, grows impatient of any task which does not win it, is apt to scorn such work as is not in the public eye. The most subtle moral danger lies in the fact that it is so easy to be noble, to be generous, to be unselfish, on the public platform,—in one's typewritten Confession of Faith. How is the strength to be given to work on, to fight on quietly, unknown, uninterviewed, unrewarded, certainly unapplauded, when the enunciation of a few well-rounded periods yields such delightful recognition! An audience is the most good-natured, indifferent censor in the world. It seldom probes below the surface; in the rare cases in which it does, its memory is conveniently short. Just as the kindergarten methods, in the opinion of some educators, have lost for our children a certain sturdiness, a certain grim power of overcoming difficulties, so the platform habit, the club habit, the President and Secretary habit have entailed upon our women serious losses. The daily uncomplaining attention to household details that make for comfort and a restful home atmosphere; the tender, unseen care given to the children; the brooding over, watching and painstaking upbuilding of character; the brave, inspiring encouragement of the wearied wage-earner—for these things has not taste been lost?

It is so perilously easy, on the one hand, to be an angel of loving-kindness to some class of workers for whom one has founded a protecting organization, and, on the other, in the privacy of one's home, to withhold from one's servants the most ordinary human consideration. It is so easy to appeal on the platform to the highest, purest motives, to implore others to do their duty, and in the home to shrink from the most elementary duties, not only of motherhood, but of wifehood. It is so easy to be suave and delightful, gracious and charming, on the platform, and at home nervous, unstrung, impatient, fretful. The hardening processes of the age may be exemplified most strongly in the evolution of the very newest new woman. She who, twenty-five years ago, refused marriage in favor of her so-called "career," at least was willing to make a sacrifice of her emotional needs. She of to-day has no idea of renouncing marriage, but remoulds its old-fashioned idea of obligation—at times with an overriding of nature that would be comic if it were not tragic.

Are we, then, to throw over entirely our cherished idea, that woman is the morally superior sex? Well, I think the women have been banking a little too heavily upon certain claims. I think that, if they had lived for centuries in the same freedom and under the same temptations as men, they would have shown far less self-control and power of resistance; and this opinion might find support in some of the conditions known to exist in the social life of our own community. Perhaps some brave twentieth-century Fielding will arise and write an up-to-date parody of "Pamela": it will be instructive.

Even of so masculine a vice as drunkenness, there is something to be said. The assertion of sex superiority is not proven because there are fewer drunkards among women than men. Dare any one affirm that, since women have entered into industrial competition, into public life with its drain on the nervous strength, there has been less drunkenness than before? On the contrary, every one knows that the use of stimulants among women is increasing rapidly.

Notwithstanding the usual tone that pervades the speeches at a Woman's Rights Meeting (and there is a degree of bitterness, of contempt, of positive enmity against men that is not dreamed of by the average person), I believe that the work now done by the men would not be improved by being done by women.

It may seem so on the surface, but I am not wholly reactionary. I do not think that all virtue or all character is buried in the graves of our ancestresses. There is much that may be gained from all the discussion, all the unrest and change of the past half century, if only the trained women who should be the leaders will take their covetous eyes from the careers of the men, and, casting them backward over the past, will say: "Let us see how much better we can do the woman's work in the future. Let us see what training and science can do to make that work more helpful and more intelligent." I have hope for the future, because I know there are many strong women working quietly for this end. They are not the women who are supposed to represent us; they are certainly not those who periodically assure the Legislature that they do. They are seldom found on a platform. They are not presidents of clubs. They are not be-badged "chairmen" of committees; they do not belong to Mothers' Congresses, but they are accomplishing their end in a sincere, an unspectacular, the only lasting way, through the weight of personal character, the effect of personal example, through the divine influence that is so dangerously slipping away from this organization-worshipping, this number-idolizing, world of ours—I mean, the impulse of the *personal touch*. I have hope, because many of the excesses of women will be righted after women have grasped a little longer the baubles they have yearned for, after they have seen how valueless are these baubles in their hands. Then, I cannot but think, they will learn to value the things they have so blithely let go.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

ELIHU ROOT—HIS SERVICES AS SECRETARY OF WAR.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

WHEN General Alger vacated the office of Secretary of War, President McKinley was confronted with a situation which was entirely new under our government; and, in order that the fruits of the brief war with Spain should not prove a detriment to the country and his administration, it was necessary that a broad-minded and eminently capable man should be found to fill the vacancy in the Cabinet. Although the reputation of Elihu Root was not confined to the great State of New York, where he stood high in the councils of his party and in the estimation of the great captains of industry and commerce, still, he was not so widely known throughout the country as were many other public men. The wide range of the legal questions which had been injected into the administration of the War Department, through the acquisition of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, and through the temporary wardship over Cuba, demanded the highest type of trained legal mind which could be found. That the result has proven the wisdom of President McKinley's selection is the unbiased opinion of public men of the day, and will be the undoubted verdict of history.

Secretary Root entered the War Department without any special knowledge of military affairs. Perhaps it was best for the country that this condition existed, for it induced him to apply his great mind to the study, not only of the details of military affairs, but to all the higher questions of military administration. With a vast array of questions coming daily from the insular possessions for his decision, he seized brief intervals to study all the details of our military methods. He realized that, in order to profit by our recent military lessons, it was necessary to make

a study of the entire system, since in this way only could he qualify himself to differentiate the good from the evil. He recognized that much of the complaint about the conduct of affairs in the war with Spain was ill-advised and undeserved; on the other hand, it was made perfectly apparent to him that the country had been extremely fortunate in crushing the Spanish power so easily, and that, with a better prepared enemy, the defects of our system would have been made more glaring.

Early in his career as Secretary, Mr. Root was called upon to execute that portion of a then recent Act of Congress which provided for bringing into service, for duty in the distant Philippine Islands, a body of 35,000 volunteers. He set about this task in a way that insured its accomplishment in the most efficient manner, and in the end brought him universal confidence and respect. The army knows better than the country at large the success which attended the organization of the volunteer regiments which went to the Philippines during 1899. The appointment of the officers was made under the direct supervision and care of the Secretary himself. The men in the ranks constituted as fine a body of men as were ever mustered under any flag, but the high character of the service rendered by these regiments must be credited to the care given to the selection of the officers who organized and led them to battle. It would be fortunate, indeed, for the country if the experience obtained through these Philippine volunteers could be made practically available for the volunteer army in time of war. But it is quite useless to expect this; for it is not likely that Congress will enact, in the near future, any legislation which would bring volunteer armies into service without leaving the appointment of the officers, generally, to the Governors of the States. Our wars have all been fought, so far as the military organization is concerned, on the principle that our States constitute a confederacy of independent governments, and not one nation for war purposes, although the method of raising troops and appointing officers by one responsible central authority was once authorized by the Continental Congress, which adopted the following resolution:

"Having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor and uprightness of General Washington do hereby:

"Resolve, That General Washington shall be and he is hereby vested with full, ample and complete powers to raise and collect together in

the most speedy and effectual manner from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer and equip three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery and a corps of engineers and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the States for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of Brigadier-General and to fill up the vacancies in every other department in the American army; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army."

About the time the insurrection in the Philippines had been put down and matters were generally assuming a more peaceful attitude throughout those islands, the Boxer Insurrection took place in China; the manner in which the American policy was carried to a conclusion in the relief of the Embassies in Pekin and the subsequent occupation of that city by the allied armies, reflects the highest honor upon the American nation. To no individual was more credit due for this achievement, so far as the diplomatic and military policy is concerned, than to the Secretary of War.

The inauguration of civil government in Porto Rico and the installation of a civil government in the Philippine Islands, before peace had become finally assured amongst all the widely dispersed tribes, illustrate in a marked degree the foresight and wisdom of Secretary Root. The efficiency of the military government of Cuba was due in no small degree to the practised mind and guiding hand of the Secretary of War. All of these events have passed into history, and its verdict will doubtless give credit where credit is due.

With the cessation of general hostilities in the Philippines, the continuance of volunteers in the service was regarded as no longer desirable from a military point of view. The urgent need of a large force in the Philippines made it imperative, however, that the garrison should not be immediately reduced. These circumstances, together with the imperfect condition of our sea-coast defences, necessitated a reorganization of the regular army. Secretary Root devoted himself with painstaking care to all the details connected with this reorganization. The army has never had, in all its history, so perfect an organization as was secured for it at this time. The Secretary had become convinced that several modifications of our military system should be introduced.

Some of his recommendations encountered much opposition; this statement refers specially to the detail system adopted for the staff departments, and a proposition to cause one-third of the promotions in the army to be made by selection and not by seniority. Although its existence was not known to the Secretary, it may not be inappropriate to quote here a recommendation made by Secretary of War John B. Floyd in 1857:

"Attention has been repeatedly called to defects in the organization of the army, and to various details in reference to several of its parts. As these evils increase with time and practice under them, I must again bring them before you.

"The basis of our existing system is the British army as it served in the colonies before the Revolution, retaining many of the defects, since corrected in Great Britain, under the experience and necessities of long wars. Provisions inconsistent with the existing system, copied from other nations, and partial legislation designed for particular interests, have augmented these evils; and we have committed the fault of adapting our fundamental organization to a time of peace, instead of basing it on the exigencies of war.

"One of the greatest errors of detail is the separate, independent character of our staff corps. This removes them from their proper position as aids or assistants to the commander, and constitutes them his equals. It contracts the sphere of observation, and experience, and thus unfits the officer for change or advancement, and begets an accumulation of precedent and prerogative at war with the vital principle of military organization—the inviolable and undivided authority of the head. He is bound, as they are, by the law, and his construction of it should govern them, not theirs him.

"We have retained another fault, abandoned, at least practically, in almost every service among civilized nations, even the most aristocratic and monarchical. This is promotion by seniority. Age and experience should bring excellence; but the test lies in the actual possession of the latter, and not merely in the circumstances which, it is assumed, should produce it. Seniority, with the requirements essential for position, ought certainly to give precedence; but, without these, that dignity and respect which belong to rank and command can never be secured.

"All that has been urged in favor of retaining it with us is the danger of political or personal favor governing a selection. There may be danger from this source; but, by the rule of seniority, the worst officer of any army must, if he lives, come to be one of the most important and responsible officers under the government—the colonel of a regiment. By selection, it is possible that the very best may not always be chosen, though the chances are in favor of this hypothesis; but, certainly, the very worst never will be, and this is surely a gain on the present rule.

"A general provision dispensing with the staff bureaus and giving the President authority to regulate the duties on the principles above

stated, and to transfer, when necessary, officers to and from the line and staff, would restore the institution to its proper effectiveness. Thus, the staff near the War Department, representing the authority of the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy, would bear the same relation to him as the staff attached to a corps in the field have to the colonel or general who commands it.

"Promotion may be a reward of merit and an incentive to zeal by enactment that it shall take place by seniority in corps (unless in extraordinary cases) to the rank of captain, and beyond that by selection from the next grade in the same arm to that to be filled as far as colonel, inclusive. General officers to be at the choice of the President as they now are."

In undertaking the reorganization of the army, its past history was studied with a view to perfecting the organization of its various parts. The three-battalion organization for the infantry had long been recommended by all the higher officers of the army. Service in the war with Spain, during the insurrection in the Philippines, and in China, had shown conclusively the urgent need of battalion staff officers and non-commissioned staff officers. The need of making special provision for bands, instead of deducting their strength from the companies in each regiment, had long been apparent. The abandonment of the regimental system in the artillery, and the substitution of a corps of artillery which could manage harbor defence, including submarine mines and torpedoes, as a unit under one distinct command, rather than under a number of post commanders reporting only to the Department Commander, who might be a thousand miles distant, was regarded as a modern necessity. The success which has attended the establishment of the corps of artillery is ample justification for the changes made. The field-artillery, which in its duties is entirely separate and distinct from the coast artillery, was retained as a part of the corps of artillery, so that the officers would be in line of promotion to the higher grades.

The proportion of field-artillery adopted by the Secretary of War was much larger than had heretofore existed in time of peace in the regular army, but it was based, as was the increase in the number of cavalry regiments, upon the war needs of the country. It was made apparent by much evidence that the various States are unwilling, and many of them unable, to bear the large expense of keeping up organizations of cavalry and field-artillery, in strength proportionate to the infantry organizations of the

National Guard. It was wisely decided, therefore, that the expense incident to keeping up these special arms should be borne by the general Government, at least to a sufficient extent to guarantee a proper proportion in the first line in the event of war. The recorded experience of the Civil War was used to show the extravagance of depending upon new organizations of cavalry and mounted infantry regiments.

Many things desired by the Secretary in connection with the reorganization of the army had to be laid aside for the present. It was recognized that there were so many different interests at stake in the army, that it was advisable first to make the effort for the establishment of a General Staff Corps, which would represent the whole service, and whose recommendations regarding any situation would merit and receive approval at the hands of Congress.

After securing the reorganization of the army, so far as legislation was concerned, Secretary Root realized that a great responsibility rested upon him in the appointment of officers. It is impossible for the President and the Secretary of War to become personally acquainted with even a small percentage of those whom they are called upon to install in office; they are, therefore, quite dependent upon the recommendations of superior officers and members of Congress. Much has been written of an intemperate character regarding the use of political influence in securing military commissions. The general rule adopted by the Secretary was one with which no fault could possibly be found; for it was quite in accord with the recommendations of Washington, Knox and Hamilton, when, in 1798, they were constituted a board to review the relative claims for appointment and precedence of those gentlemen who desired to enter service in the then expected war with France. This rule recognized that, whenever an applicant had prior service in the army or navy, the character which he had established for himself with his superior officers should guide in his selection; if he had no prior service, then the recommendations of the Senators, Members of Congress and citizens of established character within his district or State were regarded as a proper means of establishing his fitness for consideration. This is an eminently proper and legitimate course; for, in all fairness, if a young man has grown up in a community without having established a character with good citizens and pub-

lic officials representing that community, he has no right to complain that he is not selected for office.

Following the general reorganization of the army, the Secretary of War caused to be prepared a bill having for its object the consolidation of the Quartermaster, Subsistence and Pay Departments into one Department of Supply. In this bill a provision was made to create a separate division of transportation, and to place a Major-General at the head of the Supply Department to control the whole. It proved impossible to harmonize the opinions and recommendations of the various parties at interest; and the bill, together with that for the establishment of the General Staff Corps, failed to pass.

During the short session in the winter of 1902-03, a simple bill was devised to establish a General Staff Corps, the usefulness of which would depend entirely upon the manner of its control. It was recognized by the Secretary that there would be no advantage, in the administration of military affairs, in introducing a new Staff Corps so long as the Commanding-General of the Army was retained in his anomalous position; for all the recommendations and work of the General Staff Corps under those conditions could be nullified, and the administration of the army might be embroiled in constantly recurring disagreements between the Secretary of War and the Commanding-General of the Army. The only practicable way of meeting the issue was to recommend to Congress, fairly and frankly, that the continuance of then existing conditions in the command and control of the army was inimical to the welfare of the country. The scheme presented secured the practical elimination of the office of Commanding-General of the Army, and established in its stead the Chief of Staff, who acts for the Secretary of War and not by virtue of being assigned to command. This arrangement was not the result of caprice, experiment or mere desire for change, but it was suggested by the recorded experience of the war with Spain and of the Civil War, which latter has furnished America more military lessons than have been obtained from any other armed conflict since the downfall of Napoleon. No officer can read the recorded hearings of the Secretary of War on this subject before the military committees, during the session of 1902-03, without coming to the conclusion that the modification of our military system was justified by every military and business consideration.

Coincidently with the efforts for the passage of the General Staff Bill, Congress was urged to place upon the statute-books a law to govern the organized militia, and relieve it from the archaic legal enactments under which it had struggled for a century. The bill which was presented to the National Guard Association, and introduced in Congress with little or no modification, was actually prepared by the Secretary of War himself; the bill as passed contained many modifications and compromises. The Secretary of War has at all times recognized, not only the desirability, but the absolute necessity, of establishing the organized militia of the country upon a practical working basis, and of bringing the regular army into harmony with the great body of citizen soldiery upon whom the country must depend in any great conflict.

Secretary Root has laid the foundation for a state of preparedness for war on the part of the United States which has hitherto been unknown; it will remain for his successors in office to continue the great work which he has so thoroughly inaugurated, and to build upon the foundation so wisely laid during the past few years of active field and administrative experiences. They will find, upon taking up any one of the manifold subjects handled by Secretary Root with so much wisdom and success, that his action has been based upon a painstaking, careful and broad-minded study of all the conditions past and present, and that no matter connected with the administration of the army, or with the development of the organized militia, has seemed to him too small to be considered if it appeared necessary to a full comprehension of the subject. The army must be congratulated upon having had the patriotic, unselfish and devoted services of Elihu Root during four years, covering a period of new development unparalleled in our history. Questions involving political policy, military movements and economic supremacy have all been handled by this master mind as constituting imperceptibly merging elements of successful governmental administration.

At a dinner recently given by the General Staff to the Secretary of War, on the eve of his departure for England as a member of the Alaska tribunal, in recognition of his distinguished and able services, a member of the Cabinet told of a proposition which had been made to Secretary Root, by powerful members of the National Committee, that his name be placed upon the Republican ticket with that of President McKinley. It was stated as

more than probable that, had he authorized the use of his name, he would to-day be President of the United States. The correspondence in this matter should not be lost to history. Through the courtesy of the Postmaster-General, the letters are now made public:

"December 21, 1899.

"MY DEAR MR. PAYNE:

"I have been talking over the situation in the War Department with the President, and particularly the very delicate condition of affairs which will continue for a considerable period in Cuba and the Philippines; and we both agree that it is far more important to the administration, the Republican party and the country, that I should stay here and attend to the business that I have commenced, than that I should be a candidate for Vice-President. It is not that there are not plenty of other men who could take care of the situation here, but it is that I have spent five or six months in becoming familiar with the subject, and no other man can step in and take it up without going through the same training.

"It is like a case which is actually on trial, and the proposition to take out the counsel who is trying it and put in a new man who has never heard of the case before. Of course, being a candidate for Vice-President means not merely a withdrawal from the War Department on the 4th of March, 1901, but it means practical withdrawal from attention to its duties within a very few months, when the activities of the campaign begin.

"I feel this explanation of the situation ought to be made to you, in view of your very kind expressions to me when you were last in Washington.

"Faithfully yours,

"ELIHU ROOT."

"Hon. Henry C. Payne,
"Milwaukee, Wis.

"Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 26, 1899.

"MY DEAR MR. ROOT:

"I find yours of the 21st inst., on my return home. Your statement of the situation, so far as your relations to the administration and the duties which you are now performing in connection therewith are concerned, appeals to my judgment as proper and right, and I am constrained to say that, under the circumstances, you are entirely justified in your conclusions.

"As I may possibly be responsible somewhat for the use of your name in connection with the office of Vice-President, I shall be only too glad to put you right before the country on the lines of your letter under reply. Or, what might be better, if you think I can be of service to you in that direction, you could write me a letter which I might cause to be published from here, which I think would strengthen you with the good

people of the country; or, if you do not care to write such a letter, I shall be pleased to make any statement regarding the matter which you may think it wise for me to publish.

"I have found no reason to change my opinion of the situation so far as the sentiment of the Republicans of the country obtains toward yourself.

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. C. PAYNE."

"Hon. Elihu Root,
"Washington, D. C.

"January 8, 1900.

"MY DEAR MR. PAYNE:

"I thank you for your very kind letter of December 26th, which I have delayed answering because I. wanted to think the subject over a little.

"I think, on the whole, it would not be wise for me to write any letter for publication about the Vice-Presidency. The whole matter has, so far as I am concerned, been to such an extent personal and informal, that any form of treatment of it by me might seem like declining something which the people of the country generally did not consider to have been offered. I should, however, be glad if you will say to the Republicans in your part of the country, who may be interested in this subject, that I am not to be a candidate for Vice-President, and state to them the grounds upon which the conclusion has been reached.

"I need not say that I shall always remember your kindness and confidence.

"Faithfully yours,

"ELIHU ROOT."

"Hon. Henry C. Payne,
"451 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.

The more recent service of Elihu Root, as a member of the Commission which sat in London to discuss the Alaska Boundary question, is well known to the entire world. Only those who have been connected with the public service in Alaska, and with the great administrative Departments in Washington, appreciate the many difficulties of the Alaska situation, as it has existed for the past six years. The country is to be sincerely congratulated upon having had such representation on the Alaska Commission as to secure full recognition of the American case. The evil results which would have followed a failure to reach a decision, and, above all things, a decision favorable to the American claims, are more far-reaching than can be well understood by the average citizen of the country at large; endless bickerings, increase of garrisons, fortifications, and a general air of hostilities through-

out Alaska would have undoubtedly followed a failure to reach a just and definite decision.

This sketch cannot be more fittingly closed than with some excerpts from the remarks of the Secretary at the General Staff dinner, which will find responsive chords in the hearts of the army that has felt content to serve in all the distant spheres of action to which it has been called, because of its faith in Elihu Root, the gentleman, scholar and wise administrator:

"I thank you much more—more than words can express—for the kindly consideration which received me, a perfectly green and uninstructed civilian, to the position of Secretary of War, and which has accompanied me with ever-increasing friendship and noble loyalty through the four years of my service. Sailing on Friday next for England, to endeavor to aid in doing away with one of the questions most pregnant with possibilities of conflict between our country and Great Britain,—the Alaskan boundary controversy,—I shall take with me only the pleasantest memories, and shall look forward with agreeable anticipations to the time when I may return to find you all at your work again. I think that, if we all do our duty, if we are all true to the high standard of purpose which, I believe, controls the guiding minds of the American army to-day, the soldiers of the future and generations of American citizens in years to come will look back upon this day, the day of the inauguration of the General Staff of the Army, as a happy day in our military history. This is a time of organization. Great results are produced only by that. Individual effort, individual brilliancy, individual heroism, accomplishes but little, except as it has an effect upon masses of men. Effective and harmonious organization is the moving power of the world to-day. We have lagged behind in the army until now; and now, I believe and trust, we take our place in the front rank of the organizations which are to control the effective action of the future. I look back to the cabals and dissensions which came so near wrecking the effort for independence in Washington's time; the bitterness of heart under which he labored in his long and painful effort to control the discordant elements that were working, or pretending to work, for the independence of the colonies. I look back at the political ambitions which dictated the movements under differing and antagonistic officers during the Mexican War. I recall the bitter controversies which left their echoes sounding through a generation after the close of the Civil War; and, remembering that the most vital defect of a military service is lack of harmony among the officers in command, I look at the unselfish devotion of the last few years, and the last year especially, in the American army with a feeling of pride and satisfaction. When I think of the present Lieutenant-General thrusting aside the leisure and the quiet dignity which he had so well earned, and taking upon himself, in the last year of his active service, the arduous and the perplexing and

annoying duties involved in the presidency of the War College Board and the work of the Chief of Staff; when I reflect upon the disinterested and unselfish course of the Adjutant-General of the Army, who practically occupied the position of Chief of Staff to the President throughout the war with Spain, who wielded a greater power in the control of the American army than any soldier of his day, and who put the whole force and weight of his great influence and his intimate knowledge of the army and of the legislative branch of our government at the service of this new movement which was to put over him a Chief to exercise the power that he had exercised, and who cheerfully and with self-devotion took the position as Assistant to the Chief of Staff where he had been practically Chief; when I look at the heads of the great administrative departments who have been practically independent for so many years, responsible only to the Secretary of War, and acting upon his direction given in reliance upon their advice, and see them voluntarily and cheerfully, and with no thought but of the country's good and the efficiency of the army as a whole, bringing their departments under the direction of a military officer who would stand between them and the Secretary of War; when I see such spirit and patriotism in all the departments and such *esprit de corps* in the army as a whole, it seems to me that I am justified in the most brilliant anticipations and in the most confident expectations for the future of the American army. Other wars are to come; when, we know not; or with whom, we know not; but we know they are to come. Days of trial for our country are to come, and I confidently believe that, when those days are upon us, the American people will look back to the inauguration of the General Staff, and will look back to the inauguration of a good spirit of brotherhood in arms pervading all branches of the American army, as the beginning of a new day and the origin of an efficiency never known before in the defenders of our government and of our nation. I know that I shall not only look upon your work with confidence and trust, but I shall look back with gratitude and affection to all of you who have, with such faith and zeal and loyalty, wrought in the cause which has been so dear to me; for, knowing little of the army, knowing little of military affairs, I believe that I can claim whatever commendation is due for having been myself loyal to the best interests of the army of the United States. I believe that I have had no other sentiment and no desire but an army noble and true, effective and strong, worthy of the great country which relies upon it for defence, worthy of the great and noble men who have adorned its history, and worthy of the great trust which is imposed upon it. I firmly believe that you are all that; that the army which you are to train in the future will be all that; and I expect always to look back upon these happy days of effort and achievement with constant and kindly remembrance and affection."

WILLIAM H. CARTER.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

BY FRANCISCO ESCOBAR.

I.

WHEN, in after years, President Roosevelt comes to look over what he has written, he will then wonder what evil spirit ever moved him to write the Message of December 7th, 1903. He will wish then that records of such documents were not kept, and that the printing-press had never been invented. With due respect to the President and to the august body of men to whom the Message was addressed, I propose to point out some of the inaccuracies exhibited in that document.

The Spooner Act to which he refers was enacted on June 28th, 1902; it authorized the President to enter into a treaty with the Republic of Colombia, "the power in actual control of the Isthmus of Panama" where the Canal was to be built. "The essence of the condition" was to enter into a contract with the party named in the act; it referred expressly to the Government of Colombia because that Government was the owner of the Panama route, and it would have been impossible to enter into a treaty with "the route itself." If Congress had foreseen what was going to happen, it would have omitted to name the party with whom the treaty was to be made, thus saving the President the trouble of much false argumentation. The purpose has not been fulfilled, but the law has been disobeyed by the President.

"The treaty" (of 1846), said the President, "vested in the United States a substantial property right carved out of the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada then had and possessed over said territory."

The claim of Colombia is, and has ever been, that "the guaranty is, therefore, not a right pertaining to them (the United

States), but an obligation, a service contracted by them; a service, it is true, which redounds to their interest, but which cannot take the character of a power or jurisdiction." This view was accepted long ago by the United States.

The quotations from Secretaries Cass and Seward, and from Attorney-General Speed, may be used to prove that neither of them understood the treaty of 1846 as President Roosevelt did.

"Colombia," continued the President, "has ceased to own any property on the Isthmus. A new Republic, that of Panama, which was at one time a sovereign State, and at another time a mere department of the successive confederations known as New Granada and Colombia, has now succeeded to the rights, etc."

This statement is misleading; Panama was until 1886 a sovereign State of Colombia, but sovereign in the same way as New York, Virginia or any other State of the American Union is sovereign. Such sovereignty does not carry with it the right of secession, if the arguments of the North in 1860 are to be taken as sound. Had the President been more consistent with the Northern ideas of sovereignty, Colombia would not have "ceased to own any property on the Isthmus." But from the way in which the President expresses himself, some persons might be led to believe that Panama had formerly been a sovereign nation, which is far from being true. Panama has been a part of Colombia since the time when its independence from Spain was won with the assistance of Colombia. Several attempts have been made by Panama to become an independent state, but Colombia always succeeded in suppressing the revolutions. It would have succeeded again, but for the intervention of President Roosevelt.

The President enumerates some facts which in his opinion establish certain things beyond question:

"1st. That the United States has for over half a century patiently and in good faith carried out its obligations under the treaty of 1846."

Since the treaty is that many years old and has not been abrogated, the carrying out of obligations under said treaty is not a virtue, but a duty. Not only that, but also by the stipulations of the treaty of 1846 the United States obtained certain advantages, in return for which they had duties to accomplish and some conditions to comply with. This has been accepted by all the Presi-

dents of this country since the treaty was ratified, and by all authorities who have had occasion to pass opinion on this matter. It is the necessity of the moment which alone has caused this novel view of well-established truths.

"2nd. That when, for the first time, it became possible for Colombia to do anything in requital of the services thus repeatedly rendered to it for fifty-seven years by the United States, the Colombian Government peremptorily and offensively refused thus to do its part, even though to do so would have been to its advantage and immeasurably to the advantage of the State of Panama, at that time under its jurisdiction."

It was not the Government (the Executive) of Colombia that rejected the treaty, but the Senate. The reasons for such rejection will be explained further on.

"3rd. That, throughout this period, revolutions, riots and factional disturbances of every kind have occurred, one after the other, in almost uninterrupted succession, some of them lasting for months and even for years, while the Central Government was unable to put them down or to make peace with the rebels."

The list of revolutions given by the President is grossly exaggerated; for instance, out of the last revolution, which broke out in October, 1899, and lasted for three consecutive years, he makes seven different revolutions, evidently to give more apparent strength to his argument. I will also add that this revolution was unsuccessful, and terminated by a treaty of peace signed on board the United States battleship "Wisconsin." As to the calamity of civil war, I will quote what Mr. Seward had to say:

"Civil war is a calamity from which certainly no people or nation that has ever existed has always been exempt. It is one which probably no nation will escape. Perhaps its most injurious trait is its tendency to subvert the good understanding and break up the relations existing between the distracted state and friendly nations, and to involve them sooner or later in war" (Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, September 7th, 1861).

There is hardly one European nation which does not register on the pages of her history more than one civil war. The United States has had the exceptional fortune of counting only one, but that one was on so tremendous a scale that it amounted, in loss of life and treasure, to all the revolutions of Latin-America. But in the matter of riots the United States has not been so

fortunate; riots are more frequent here than in almost any other country of the world.

The colonial system of Spanish-America was entirely different from that of the United States. The Spanish provinces when they became nations carried already in their system some fundamental errors, which developed later into unrest and armed conflicts; whereas the United States started its united national existence under very different conditions.

This much in order to explain revolutions, not to defend them nor to excuse them.

"4th. That these disturbances, instead of showing any signs of abating, have tended to grow more numerous and more serious in the immediate past."

From 1885 to the year 1899, there was only one attempt at revolution, in 1895—and that was quickly suppressed. The disturbances at Panama in the meantime were more in the nature of strikes than anything else, which are natural in such congregations of laborers of so many different nationalities.

"5th. That the control of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama could not be maintained without the armed intervention and assistance of the United States."

During the fifty years which have elapsed since the treaty was signed, the Government of Colombia asked that the United States should land troops to protect its interests and maintain order on the Isthmus on four different occasions, according to the President's own record. Assistance was asked to keep the traffic open, not to protect the Isthmus. Considering the great number of revolutions mentioned by the President, it does not seem correct to say that "the control of Colombia over the Isthmus could not be maintained." The very fact that the Government was in control of Panama until the United States Executive intervened in favor of a revolution, disproves his own assertion.

Nor must one forget that several times Colombia was unable to put down riots and revolutions at Panama and Colon, through the wanton assumption of wrong authority by the agents of the Panama Railroad—a United States corporation, always for some unexplained reason hostile to the constituted Government.

Finally, I will state that the protection of the United States,

or rather its assistance to the Government of Colombia in keeping the traffic open and unembarrassed, never cost it one single life; and that, if the United States was asked to cooperate, it was always asked to do so for its own benefit, accruing from Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the treaty of 1846.

After making the foregoing statements, the President concludes that Colombia "has forced the United States (Executive) to take decisive steps to bring to an end a condition of affairs which had become intolerable." I firmly believe that the premises were false, and therefore the conclusion is obviously so too.

The advantages which the Minister of the new Republic of Panama offered the Executive in the form of a new treaty are fully analyzed by the President. They are great advantages, indeed; and, although the *quid pro quo* imposes great moral responsibilities on the United States, by its guaranteeing the independence of the Republic of Panama in so premature a fashion, one must not forget, either, that it is very easy to be generous with somebody else's property. The Minister being a Frenchman, he can well afford to give away the whole Republic of Panama without a qualm of conscience; whereas, a Colombian Senator could not, without being false to his pledge, cede as much as one square inch of his country against the command of the Colombian Constitution.

I will say nothing regarding the dangerous doctrine of Universal Eminent Domain which is implied in the President's language. Suffice it to say, that the mere enunciation of such theories is bound to cause a retrograde movement in the march of civilization.

II.

We have seen how, in order to excuse his high-handed proceedings, the President expatiates on the reason which forced him to recognize the revolution at Panama. It appears, from the trend of his reasoning, that "the Government of Colombia peremptorily and offensively refused to do its part, even though to do so would have been to its advantage and immeasurably to the advantage of the State of Panama, at that time under its jurisdiction;" and, also, that it so refused "when, for *the first time,* it became possible for Colombia to do anything in requital of the services thus repeatedly done to it by the United States, etc."

To controvert the latter assertion I may make the following quotations:

"It would be doing injustice to an important South American State not to acknowledge the directness, frankness and cordiality with which the United States of Colombia have entered into intimate relations with this Government" (Lincoln's Fourth Annual Message).

"It is with great satisfaction that I am enabled to bear witness to the liberal spirit with which the Republic of Colombia has made satisfaction for well-established claims" (John Quincy Adams's First Annual Message).

"I cannot without doing injustice to the Republic of Buenos-Ayres and Colombia forbear to acknowledge the candid and conciliatory spirit with which they have repeatedly yielded to our friendly representations . . . to which Colombia has added the magnanimity of making reparation for unlawful captures by some of her cruisers, and of assenting in the midst of war to treaty stipulations favorable to neutral navigation" (John Quincy Adams, 1826).

Now, as to the other question, the President of a Republic ought to know that the power of ratifying international treaties rests with the Senate. This is the reason why the Senate of the United States has been the burial-place of so many treaties; some of them, like the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, were ignominiously defeated; and, although "it does not appear that the Government made any real effort to secure ratification," yet the other contracting party did not take offence; much less did it retaliate in any manner whatsoever to the prejudice of the United States. The Senate of Colombia had a perfect right to reject the Hay-Herran treaty; and the accusation that their principal motive was greed and blackmail, is false and without foundation in fact.

There is no denying that the people of Colombia placed a very high money value on the Canal; this they had the right to do. The French Company estimated the value of the Panama Canal at $109,000,000; the United States agreed to buy the title, franchise, etc., for $40,000,000; hence, I must suppose that it was worth that much to them.

From the first, it was stipulated between Colombia and the French grantees that, if the Canal were not finished within a term of years, the franchise should be null and void, and that it would revert to Colombia, together with all the machinery, appurtenances, etc., of the Canal Company. The time thus stipulated lapsed twice, and both times Colombia agreed to a renewal.

This question came up for the third time before the Congress in 1898, which failed to pass it by a large majority. A revolution broke out in 1899; the President of Colombia assumed the powers vested in him by Article 121 of the Constitution.

At that time, a special commission had been appointed to go to France, in order to negotiate with the French Canal Company for the third renewal. While this Committee was in Paris, the President of Colombia, or his Cabinet, signed the agreement with the Company's agent at Bogota, this being done over the head of the special Commission. The Government's excuse was that further delay in the negotiations would endanger the life of the Administration, as funds were much needed for carrying on the struggle against the revolutionists. It must be recalled here that the Liberal party, through its agent in New York, protested against the granting of this renewal, and that the French Company was duly notified by him that, in case the revolution were successful, the Liberal party would not recognize the validity of the transaction.

It has been claimed by the principal jurists of Colombia that the Constitution does not confer on the Executive of Colombia such powers as entitled him to grant, legally, such a thing, without the consent of the Congress. They, as well as everybody else in Colombia, expected that the question of renewal would be submitted for decision to the first Congress which should convene. Since this was not done, the opinion prevailed that the Company's franchise should expire in 1904, and that Colombia should make restitution to the French Company of the price which the Sanclemente Government had received for granting the renewal.

Another important condition in the original French Concession was, that the Company could not transfer its franchise to a foreign Government, without the express consent of Colombia. This is a point not to be forgotten; one that of itself should absolve Colombia from the unjust charge of greediness. For it is evident that, if such permission should be withheld from the Company, it could not fulfil the conditions stated in the option given to the United States, without a forfeiture of its franchise. That being the case, it is pertinent to ask, Who should receive the amount fixed by the United States in the option?

It must be remembered, also, that one of the clauses in the option stipulated, that the amount of $40,000,000 was to be paid

by the United States when the Hay-Herran treaty should be ratified *by both contracting parties.* Did the option hold good if the treaty were rejected? Certainly not.

The treaty was not satisfactory to Colombia; nor the money consideration obtained from the United States the maximum to be expected from that source. Hence, considering also the faulty title which the French Company holds, I do not think it is fair to accuse Colombia of trying to blackmail the French Company in asking for a share of the option money, supposing that it had asked for a share.

It did not seem right to Colombians that the French Company should receive alone the $40,000,000. For, if anything stands clear in the history of the Panama Canal, it is that Colombia's conduct towards the Company has always been most generous.

Colombia has tried its best to have this great enterprise finished by the French Company. When Colombia realized that it was hoping against hope, because this Company was financially crippled and incapacitated for finishing the great work; when it learned that the United States was willing to bid for it, and was the only nation in a position to finish the Canal, it then sent a Minister to Washington whose special mission was the negotiation of a treaty with the United States. A few months after the negotiations had commenced, a new Minister was appointed to Washington, for political reasons; he endeavored to conclude the treaty, but without success. His course was deemed unreasonable, and he was called "an obstructionist" by even the most sober-minded newspapers; and an "extortionist" by all. But either they did not know, or, if they knew it, they concealed the fact that the best conditions offered by Secretary Hay were far from equitable.

Minister Concha was unwilling to make any concessions to the United States which would detract from the rights of sovereignty of Colombia over the Canal Zone; specially after the incident when Admirals Casey and McLelland forbade the transportation of Colombian troops over the Panama Railroad.

The money consideration first offered by Secretary Hay was far from satisfactory. Minister Concha was right when he said that the Secretary was trying to drive a sharp bargain. Yet, it was the accepted opinion in the United States that Colombia was the "sharper"; but the best proof I can adduce to the contrary is

that Minister Concha proposed to leave the money consideration to be adjusted by an arbitrator or by the Hague Tribunal.

Secretary Hay, after accepting the Memorandum of April 18th, seems to have changed his position and repudiated his agreement. He finally named these terms as his ultimatum—the absolute control by the United States of the Canal Zone, with other impossible conditions, offering for the money consideration an initial cash payment of seven million dollars, and ten thousand dollars a year as an annual rental to commence nine years after the work should begin. Considering the stipulations finally agreed upon in the Hay-Herran treaty, the conclusion is obvious that Secretary Hay tried to drive an unfair bargain with Minister Concha.

On no question has the opinion of Colombians been so unanimous as on the rejection of the Hay-Herran Treaty. It is perfectly safe to assert that the number of those in favor of ratification did not reach twenty. I will add that those twenty (the writer amongst them) were in favor of ratification only because they foresaw what would happen if the treaty was rejected, considering the ugly mood of the United States Executive and the advices given to the Executive by many newspapers of the country. We reasoned that it would be better to concede with grace (even though it meant the amendment of the Colombian Constitution) that which might be taken by main force.

In view of the sentiment of the Colombian people, it was easy to predict the rejection of the treaty by the Senate. And yet, the principal reason of its rejection was that, in their opinion, the treaty was illegal; that loss of sovereignty could not be entertained except by a National Convention; therefore, the Hay-Herran treaty needed modifications before being ratified. A committee of nine was appointed to draft the amendments required; it was proposed to pass the treaty on its first reading, as a signal courtesy to the United States, and then pass on to consider the modifications. While this was under consideration, the two notes of August 5th and 7th were received from the United States Minister at Bogota. They purported a coercion of the Senate, and they implied a threat to the nation. The treaty was unanimously rejected on the first reading, as a protest against the undiplomatic and inconvenient conduct of the United States Executive. In the project of the Committee, nothing was said or

written about money to be "extorted" from the United States and the French Canal Company.

Since, according to those notes, the United States would allow no modification of the treaty, the only course left to the Senate was its rejection. It was evident to every Senator that the Hay-Herran treaty in its present form was unconstitutional; therefore, that they would be false to their pledge if they should vote for its ratification, for, before taking their seats in the Senate, they had sworn "to defend and apply the Constitution." Volumes were written by the leading men of Colombia of all political parties against the Hay-Herran treaty. They all agreed on this: that Colombia could not grant the absolute control of the Canal Zone, without a loss of sovereignty; that the period of lease of 100 years renewable at the sole option of the United States amounted to that; and also that the money consideration was not equitable.

Whether public opinion was right or wrong, the Colombian Senate had a perfect right to act freely on the treaty without anybody taking offence thereat.

III.

"Immediately after the adjournment of Congress a revolution broke out at Panama," which resulted in the birth of a new republic, which the United States Executive hastened to recognize and protect.

There is no justification possible for this flagrant case of intervention; no defence which could be sustained either by precedent or by international law.

To quote only one American authority; Professor Woolsey says:

"Interference can be justified only as an extreme measure, and only on one of the two following grounds:

"1st. That it is demanded by self-preservation;

"2nd. That some extraordinary state of things is brought about by the crime of a Government against its subjects . . . If the question is still one of armed strife . . . between a State and a revolted portion of it, to take the part of the revolted territory by recognition is an injury and may be a ground of war, as when Louis XVI recognized the United States.

"It is a safe rule in contests involving the violent separation of a State into parts, that, when the mother country, in the case of a colony, or the leading portion of a State, in the case of disruption, gives up active

efforts to restore the old order of things by war, other States may regard the revolution as perfected and a new State as having come into the world."

E. W. Hall says anent the same subject:

"For, though no State has the right to withhold recognition when it has been earned, States must be allowed to judge for themselves whether a community claiming to be recognized does really possess all the necessary marks, specially whether it is likely to live. . . . Premature recognition, therefore, is a wrong done to the parent State; in effect, indeed, it amounts to an act of intervention."

And specially so, I will add, if the premature recognition is accompanied by prohibitions to the parent State against doing anything to subjugate the revolted community, as has been the case with the United States.

Hence, it is clear that both precedents and rules have been set at naught by the Executive.

The loss of Panama to Colombia is due to the intervention of the United States, pure and simple. The treaty of 1846 being in full force, there having been no previous declaration of war between Colombia and the United States, the latter is liable for damages and is in honor bound to make reparation.

A reversion to the *status quo* is Colombia's pretension; but if this should, perhaps, be impossible, Colombia, I think, would be willing to submit its grievances to the Hague Tribunal. If all nations are equal before International Law, it will be no dishonor for the United States to agree to arbitration, specially when President Roosevelt himself has strongly advocated it, and recently applauded the course of arbitration between other nations.

The honor of the people of the United States is at stake. Colombia has appealed to them and she awaits their decision calm and dignified. By such conduct she has set an example worthy of being imitated, even by those nations who claim such superiority of race and civilization.

But Colombia can well afford to calmly await the national verdict; for she knows that right and justice are on her side, while might and self-interest are the shield of the aggressor.

FRANCISCO ESCOBAR.

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

I.

"We're neither of us young people, I know, and I can very well believe that you had not thought of marrying again. I can account for your surprise at my offer, even your disgust—" Dr. Anther hesitated.

"Oh, no!" Mrs. Langbrith protested.

"But I can't see why it should be 'terrible,' as you call it. If you had asked me simply to take 'no' for an answer, I could have taken it. Or taken it better."

He looked at her with a wounded air, and she said, "I didn't mean 'terrible' in that way. I was only thinking of it for myself, or not so much myself as—some one." She glanced at him, where, tenderly indignant with her, he stood by the window, quite across the room, and she seemed to wish to say more, but let her eyes drop without saying more.

He was silent, too, for a time which he allowed to prolong itself in the apparent expectation that she would break their silence. But he had to speak first. "I don't like mysteries. I can forget—or ignore—any sense of 'terrible' you had in mind, if you will tell me one thing. Do you ask me *now* to take simply 'no' for an answer?"

"Oh, no!" The words were as if surprised from her, and she made with her catching breath as if she would have caught them back.

He came quickly across the room to her. "What is it, Amelia?"

"I can't tell you," she shuddered out, and she recoiled, pulling herself up, as if she wished to escape but felt an impenetrable hindrance at her back. In the action, she showed taller than she was, and more girlishly slender. At forty, after her wifehood of three years and her widowhood of nineteen years, the inextinguishable innocence of girlhood which keeps itself through all the experiences of a good woman's life, was pathetic in her appealing eyes; and the mourning, subdued to the paler shades of purple, which she permanently wore, would have made a stranger think of an orphan rather than a widow in her presence.

Anther's burly frame arrested itself at her recoil. His florid face,

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clean shaven at a time when nearly all men wore beards, was roughed to a sort of community of tint with his brown overcoat, by the weather of many winters' and summers' driving in his country practice. His iron-gray hair, worn longer than the fashion was in towns, fell down his temples and neck from under his soft hat. He had on his driving gloves, and he had his whip in one hand. He had followed Mrs. Langbrith indoors in that figure from the gate, where his unkempt old horse stood with his mud-spattered buggy, to pursue the question which she tried rather than wished to shun, and he did not know that he had not uncovered. At the pathos in her eyes and in her cheeks, which had the vertical hollows showing oftener in youth than in later life, the harshness of gathered will went out of his face. "I know what you mean," he said; and at his words the tears began to drip down her face without the movement of any muscle in it, as if a habit of self-control which enabled her to command the inward effects of emotion had not been able to extend itself to its displays. "Poor thing!" he pitied her. "Must you always have a tyrant?"

"He isn't a tyrant," she said.

"Oh, yes, he is! I know the type. I dare say he doesn't hit you, but he terrorizes you."

Mrs. Langbrith did not speak. In her reticence, even her tears stopped.

"You *tempt* him to bully you. Lord bless me, you tempt *me!* But I won't; no, I won't. Amelia, why in heaven's name, should he object? He has his own interests, quite apart from yours; his own world, which you couldn't enter if he would let you. A fellow in his junior year at college is as remote from his mother in everything as if he were in another planet!"

"We write to each other every Sunday," she urged, diffidently.

"I have no doubt you try to keep along with him; that's your nature; but I know that he cowed you before he left home, and I know that he cows you still. I could read your correspondence—the spirit—without seeing it. He isn't to blame. You've let him walk over you till he thinks there is no other path to manhood. Remember, I don't say Jim is a bad fellow. He is a very good fellow—considering."

The doctor went to the window and stooped to look out at his horse, which remained as he had left it, only more patiently sunken in a permanence expressed by the collapsing of its hind quarters into a comfortable droop, and a dreamy dejection of its large head. In the mean time, Mrs. Langbrith had sat down in a chair which she seemed to think had offered itself to her, and when the doctor came back he asked, "May I sit down?"

"Why, of course! I'm ashamed—"

"No, no! Don't say that! Don't say anything like that!"

In the act of sitting down, he realized that he had his hat on. He took it off and put it on the floor near his feet, where it toppled

into a soft heap. His hair had partly lifted with it, and its disorder on his crown somewhat concealed its thinness. "I want to talk this matter over sensibly. We are not two young things that we need be scared at our own feelings, or each other's. I suppose I may say we both knew it was coming to something like this?"

She might not have let him say so for her, but in her silence he went on to say so for himself.

"*I* knew it was coming, anyway, and I've known it for a good while. I have liked you ever since I came to Saxmills"—she trembled and colored a little—"but I wouldn't be saying what I am saying to you, if I had cared for you before Langbrith died as I care for you now. That would be, to my thinking, rather loathsome. I should despise myself for it; I should despise you; I couldn't help it. But we are both fairly outside of that. I didn't begin to realize how it was with me till about a year ago, and I don't suppose that you—"

Mrs. Langbrith shifted her position slightly, but he did not notice, and he began again.

"So I feel that I can offer you a clean hand. I'm six years older than you are, which makes it just about right; and I'm not so poor that I need seem to be after your—thirds. I've got a good practice, and I don't intend to take life so hard hereafter. I could give you as pleasant a home—"

"Oh, I couldn't think of leaving this!" she broke out helplessly.

Anther allowed himself to smile. "Well, well, there's no hurry. But if Jim marries—"

"I should live with him."

"I'm imagining that you would live with me."

"You mustn't."

"I'm merely imagining; I'm not trying to commit you to anything, or to overrule you at all. My idea is, that there's been enough of that in your life. I want you to overrule me, and if you don't fancy settling down immediately, and would like a year or two in Europe first, I could freshen my science up in Vienna or Paris, and come back all the better prepared to keep on in my practice here; or I could give up my practice altogether."

"You oughtn't to do that."

"No, I oughtn't. But all this is neither here nor there, till the great point is settled. *Do* you think any one could care for me as I care for you?"

"Why, of course, Dr. Anther?"

"Do *you* care for me—that way—now?" He seemed to expect evasion or hesitation, even such elusion as might have expressed itself in material escape from him, and, unconsciously, he hitched his chair forward as if to hem her in.

It was a needless precaution. She answered instantly, "You *know* I do."

"Amelia," Anther asked solemnly, without changing his posture

or the slant of his face in its lift toward hers, "have I put any pressure on you to say this? Do you say it as freely as if I hadn't asked you?"

The absurdity of the question did not appear to either of them. She answered, "I say it as freely as if it had never been asked. I would have said it years ago. I have always liked you—that way. Or ever since—"

He leaned back in his chair and pushed his hands forward on the arms. "Then—then—" he began bewilderedly, and she said:

"But—"

"Ah!" he broke out, "I know what that 'but' means. Why need there be any such 'but'? Do you think he dislikes me?"

"No, he likes you; he respects you. He says you are a physician who would be famous in a large place. He—"

Anther put the rest aside with his hand. "Then he would object to any one? Is that it?"

"Yes," said Mrs. Langbrith, with a drop to specific despair from her general hopelessness.

"I don't recognize his right," Anther said sharply, "unless he is ready to promise that he will never leave you to be pushed aside; turned from a mother into a mother-in-law. I don't recognize his right. Why does he assume such a right?"

"Out of reverence for his father's memory."

II.

One cannot look on a widow who has long survived her husband, without a curiosity not easily put into terms. The curiosity is intensified and the difficulty enhanced if there are children to testify of a relation which, in the absence of the dead, has no other witness. The man has passed out of the woman's life as absolutely as if he had never been there; it is conceivable that she herself does not always think of her children as also his. Yet they are his children, and there must be times when he holds her in mortmain through them, when he is still her husband, still her lord and master. But how much, otherwise, does she keep of that intimate history of emotions, experiences, so manifold, so recondite? Is he as utterly gone, to her sense, as to all others'? Or is he in some sort there still, in her ear, in her eye, in her touch? Was it for the nothing which it now seems that they were associated in the most tremendous of the human dramas, the drama that allies human nature with the creative, the divine and the immortal, on one side, the bestial and the perishable on the other? Does oblivion pass equally over the tremendous and the trivial and blur them alike?

Anther looked at Mrs. Langbrith in a whirl of question: question of himself as well as of her. By virtue of his privity to her past, he was in a sort of authority over her; but it may have been because of his knowledge that he almost humbly forebore to use his authority.

"Amelia," he entreated her, "have you brought him up in a superstition of his father?"

"Oh, no!" She had the effect of hurrying to answer him. "Oh, never!"

"I am glad of that, anyway. But if you have let him grow up in ignorance—"

"How could I help that?"

"You couldn't! *He* made himself solid, there. But the boy's reverence for his father's memory is sacrilege—"

"I know," she tremulously consented; and in her admission there was no feint of sparing the dead, of defending the name she bore, or the man whose son she had borne. She must have gone all over that ground long ago, and abandoned it. "It ought to have come out," she even added.

"Yes, but it never can come out now, while any of his victims live," Anther helplessly raged. "I'm willing to help keep it covered up in his grave myself, because you're one of them. If poor Hawberk had only taken to drink instead of opium!"

"Yes," she again consented, with no more apparent feeling for the memory imperilled by the conjecture than if she had been nowise concerned in it.

"But you must, Amelia—I hate to blame you; I know how true you are—you must have let the boy think—"

"As a child, he used to ask me, but not much; and what would you have had I should answer him?"

"Of course, of course! You couldn't."

"I used to wonder *if* I could. Once, when he was little, he put his finger on this"—she put her own finger on a scar over her left eye—"and asked me what made it. I almost told him."

Anther groaned, and twisted in his chair. "The child always spoke of him," she went on passionlessly, "as being in heaven. I found out, one night, when I was saying his prayers with him, that—you know how children get things mixed up in their thoughts—he supposed Mr. Langbrith was the father in heaven he was praying to."

"Gracious powers!" Anther broke out.

"I suppose," she concluded, with a faint sigh, "though it's no comfort, that there are dark corners in other houses."

"Plenty," Anther grimly answered, from the physician's knowledge. "But not many as dark as in yours, Amelia."

"No," she passively consented once more. "As he grew up," she resumed the thread of their talk, without prompting, "he seemed less and less curious about it; and I let it go. I suppose I wanted to escape from it, to forget it."

"I don't blame you."

"But, doctor," she pleaded with him for the extenuation which she could not perhaps find in herself, "I never did teach him by any word or act—unless not saying anything was doing it—that

his father was the sort of man he thinks he was. I should have been afraid that Mr. Langbrith himself would not have liked that. It would have been a fraud upon the child."

"I don't think Langbrith would have objected to it on that ground," Anther bitterly suggested.

"No, perhaps not. But between Mr. Langbrith and me there were no concealments, and I felt that he would not have wished me to impose upon the child expressly."

"Oh, he preferred the tacit deceit, if it would serve his purpose. I'll allow that. And in this case it seems to have done it."

"Do you mean," she meekly asked, "that I have deceived James?"

"No," said Anther, with a blurt of joyless laughter. "But if such a thing were possible, if it were not too sickeningly near some wretched superstition that doesn't even believe in itself, I should say that his father deceived him through you, that he diabolically acted through your love, and did the evil which we have got to face now. Amelia!" he startled her with the resolution expressed in his utterance of her name, "You say the boy will object to my marrying you. Do you object to my telling him?"

"Telling him?"

"Just what his father was!"

"Oh, you mustn't! It would make him hate you."

"What difference?"

"I couldn't let him hate you. I couldn't bear that." The involuntary tears, kept back in the abstracter passages of their talk, filled her eyes again, and trembled above her cheeks.

"If necessary, he has got to know," Anther went on, obdurately. "I won't give you up on a mere apprehension of his opposition."

"Oh, *do* give me up!" she implored. "It would be the best way."

"It would be the worst. I have a right to you, and if you care for me, as you say—"

"I do!"

"Then, heaven help us, you have right to me. You have a right to freedom, to peace, to rest, to security; and you are going to have it. Now, will you let it come to the question without his having the grounds of a fair judgment, or shall we tell him what he ought to know, and then do what we ought to do: marry, and let me look after you as long as I live?"

She hesitated, and then said, with a sort of furtive evasion of the point: "There is something that I ought to tell you. You said that you would despise yourself if you had cared for me in Mr. Langbrith's lifetime." She always spoke of her husband, dead, as she had always addressed him, living, in the tradition of her great juniority, and in a convention of what was once polite form from wives to husbands, not to be dropped in the most solemn, the most intimate, moments.

Anther found nothing grotesque in it, and therefore nothing peculiarly pathetic. "Well?" he asked, impatiently trying for patience.

"Well, I know that I *cared* for you then. I couldn't help it. Now you despise me, and that ends it."

Anther rubbed his hand over his face; then he said, "I don't believe you, Amelia."

"I did," she persisted.

"Well, then, it was all right. You *couldn't* have had a wrong thought or feeling, and the theory may go. After all I was applying the principle in my own case, and trying to equal myself with you. If you choose to equal yourself with me by saying this, I must let you; but it makes no difference. You cared for me because I stood your helper when there was no other possible, and that was right. Now, shall we tell Jim, or not?"

She looked desperately round, as if she might escape the question by escaping from the room. As all the doors were shut, she seemed to abandon the notion of flight, and said, with a deep sigh, "I must see him first."

Anther caught up his hat and put it on, and went out without any form of leave-taking. When the outer door had closed upon him, she stole to the window, and, standing back far enough not to be seen, watched him heavily tramping down the brick walk, with its borders of box, to the white gate-posts, each under its elm, budded against a sky threatening rain, and trailing its pendulous spray in the wind. He jounced into his buggy, and drew the reins over his horse, which had been standing unhitched, and drove away. She turned from the window.

III.

Easter came late that year, and the jonquils were there before it, even in the Mid-New England latitude of Saxmills, when James Langbrith brought his friend Falk home with him for the brief vacation. The two fellows had a great time, as they said to each other, among the village girls; and perhaps Langbrith evinced his local superiority more appreciably by his patronage of them, than by the colonial nobleness of the family mansion, squarely fronting the main village street, with gardened grounds behind dropping to the river. He did not dispense his patronage in all cases without having his hand somewhat clawed by the recipients, but still he dispensed it; and, though Falk laughed when Langbrith was scratched, still Langbrith felt that he was more than holding his own, and he made up for any defeat he met outside by the unquestioned supremacy he bore within his mother's house. Her shyness, out of keeping with her age and stature, invited the sovereign command which Langbrith found it impossible to refuse, though he tempered his tyranny with words and shows of affection well calculated to convince his friend of the perfect intelligence which existed between his mother and himself. When he thought of it, he gave her his arm in going out to dinner; and, when he forgot, he tried to make up by pushing her chair under her before she sat down. He was careful at table to have the conversation first pay its respects to some supposed

interest of hers, and to return to that if it strayed afterwards, and include her. He conspicuously kissed her every morning when he came down to breakfast, and he kissed her at night when she would have escaped to bed without the rite.

It was Falk's own fault if he did not conceive from Langbrith's tenderness the ideal of what a good son should be in all points. But, as the Western growth of a German stock transplanted a generation before, he may not have been qualified to imagine the whole perfection of Langbrith's behavior from the examples shown him. His social conditions in the past may even have been such that the ceremonial he witnessed did not impress him pleasantly; but if so he made no sign of displeasure. He held his peace, and beyond grinning at Langbrith's shoulders, as he followed him out to the dining-room, he did not go. He seemed to have made up his mind that, without great loss of self-respect, he could suffer himself to be used in illustration of Langbrith's large-mindedness with other people whom Langbrith wished to impress. At any rate, it had been a choice between spending the Easter holiday at Cambridge, or coming home with Langbrith; and he was not sorry that he had come. He was getting as much good out of the visit as Langbrith.

One night, when Mrs. Langbrith came timidly into the library to tell the two young men that dinner was ready—she had shifted the dinner hour, at her son's wish, from one o'clock to seven—Langbrith turned from the shelf where he had been looking into various books with his friend, and said to his mother in giving her his arm, "I can't understand why my father didn't have a book-plate, unless it was to leave me the pleasure of getting one up in good shape. I want you to design it for me, will you, Falk?" he asked over his shoulder. Without waiting for the answer, he went on, instructively, to his mother: "You know the name was originally Norman."

"I didn't know that," she said with a gentle self-inculpation.

"Yes," her son explained. "I've been looking it up. It was Longuehaleine, and they translated it after they came to England into Longbreath, or Langbrith, as we have it. I believe I prefer our final form. It's splendidly suggestive for a book-plate, don't you think, Falk?" By this time he was pushing his mother's chair under her, and talking over her head to his friend. "A boat, with a full sail, and a cherub's head blowing a strong gale into it: something like that."

"They might think the name was Longboat, then," said Falk.

Mrs. Langbrith started.

"Oh, Falk has to have his joke," her son explained, tolerantly, as he took his place; "nobody minds Falk. Mother, I wish you would give a dinner for him. Why not? And we could have a dance afterwards. The old parlors would lend themselves to it handsomely. What do you say, Falk?"

"Is it for me to say I will be your honored guest?"

"Well, we'll drop that part. We won't feature you, if you prefer not. Honestly, though, I've been thinking of a dinner, mother."

Langbrith had now taken his place, and was poising the carving knife and fork over the roast turkey, which symbolized in his mother's simple tradition the extreme of formal hospitality. She wore her purple silk in honor of it, and it was what chiefly sustained her in the presence of the young men's evening dress. This was too much for her, perhaps, but not too much for the turkey. The notion of the proposed dinner, however, was something, as she conceived it, beyond the turkey's support. Without knowing just what her son meant, she cloudily imagined the dinner of his suggestion to be a banquet quite unprecedented in Saxmills society. Dinners there, except in a very few houses, were family dinners, year out and year in. They were sometimes extended to include outlying kindred, cousins and aunts and uncles who chanced to be in town or came on a visit. Very rarely, a dinner was made for some distinguished stranger: a speaker, who was going to address a political rally in the afternoon, or a lecturer, who was to be heard in the evening at the town hall, the clerical supply in the person of one minister or another who came to be tried for the vacant pulpit of one of the churches. Then, a few principal citizens with their wives were asked, the ministers of the other churches, the bank president, some leading merchant, the magnates of the law or medicine. The dinner was at one o'clock, and the young people were rigidly excluded. They were fed either before or after it, or farmed out among the neighboring houses till the guests were gone. Ordinarily, guests were asked to tea, which was high, with stewed chicken, hot bread, made dishes and several kinds of preserves and sweet pickles, with many sorts of cake. The last was the criterion of tasteful and lavish hospitality.

Clearly, it was nothing of all this that Mrs. Langbrith's son had in mind. After his first year in college, when he had been so homesick that everything seemed perfect under his mother's roof in his vacation visits, he began to bring fellows with him. Then he began to make her make changes. The dinner hour was advanced from midday to evening, and he and his friends dressed for it. He had still to carve, for the dinner in courses was really unmanageable and unimaginable in his mother's housekeeping; but he professed a baronial preference for carving, and he fancied an old-fashioned, old-family effect from it. The service was such as the frightened inexperience of the elderly Irish second-girl could render; under Langbrith's threatening eye, she succeeded in offering the dishes at the left hand, and, though she stood a good way off and rather pushed them at the guests, the thing somehow was done. At least, the covered dishes were no longer set on the table, as they used always to be.

Mrs. Langbrith had witnessed the changes with trepidation but absolute acquiescence even at the first, and finally with the submission

in which her son held her in everything. In the afternoon, when he and his friend, whoever it might be, put on their top-hats and top-coats and went out to call on the village girls, who did not know enough of the world to offer them tea, she spent the interval before dinner in arranging for the meal with the faithful, faded Norah. After dinner, when the young men again put on their top-hats and top-coats to call again upon the village girls, whom they had impressed with the correctness of afternoon calls, and to whom they now relented in compliance with the village custom of evening calls, Mrs. Langbrith debated with Norah the success of the dinner, studied its errors, and joined her in vows for their avoidance.

IV.

The event which confronted Mrs. Langbrith in her son's words, as he sat behind the turkey and plunged the carving fork into its steaming and streaming breast, was so far beyond the scope of her widened knowledge that she mutely waited for him to declare it.

"People," he went on, "have been so nice to Falk and me, that I think we ought to make some return. I put the duty side first, because I know you'll like that, mother, and it will help to reconcile you to the fun of it. Falk is such a pagan that he can't understand, but it will be for his good, all the same. My notion is to have a good, big dinner—twelve or fourteen at table, and then a lot in afterwards, with supper about midnight. What do you say, mother? Don't mind Falk, if you don't agree quite."

"There *is* no Falk, Mrs. Langbrith," the young fellow said, with an intelligence which comforted her and emboldened her against her son.

"I don't see—" she began, and then she stopped.

"That's right!" her son encouraged her.

"James," she said, desperately, "I wouldn't know how to do it."

"I don't *want* you to do it." He laughed exultantly. "I propose to do it myself. I will have the whole thing sent up from Boston." Between her gasps, he went on: "All I have got to do is to write an order to White, the caterer, with particulars of quantity and quality, the date and the hour, and it comes on the appointed train with three men in plain clothes; two reappear in lustrous dress-suits at dinner and supper, and serve the things the other has cooked at our range. I press the button, White does the rest. He brings china, cutlery, linen—everything. All *you* have to do is to hide Jerry in the barn, and keep Norah up-stairs to show the ladies into the back chamber to take off their things. You can put our own cook under the sink. You'll be astonished at the ease of the whole thing."

"Yes," Mrs. Langbrith said, "it will be easy, but—"

"But would it be right?" her son tenderly mocked. "What did I tell you?" he asked toward his friend. "In New England, the notion of ease conveys the sense of culpability. My mother is afraid

she would have a bad conscience. If she took all the work and worry on herself, she would feel that she was paying the penalty of her pleasure beforehand; if she didn't, she would know that she must pay for it afterwards. Isn't that so, mother? But now you leave it to me, you dear old thing." Langbrith ran round the table and kissed her on top of the head, and made her blush like a girl, as he patted her shoulder. "Just imagine I was master, and you couldn't help yourself." He went back to his place. "What was the largest dinner you ever had in the old time?"

She hesitated, as if for his meaning. "Mr. Langbrith once entertained a company of six gentlemen, who came up here and talked of locating some cotton-mills. We called it 'supper'."

"I can imagine them. Can't you, Falk? The moneyed man to supply the funds, the lawyer to draw up the papers, the civil engineer to survey the property. Very solemn, and a little pompous, but secretly ready for a burst if the opportunity offered under the right auspices; something like an outing of city officials."

"They were very pleasant gentlemen," Mrs. Langbrith interposed, as from her conscience.

"Oh, I dare say they were when they had tasted my father's madeira. But about our dinner now? I don't think we'd better have more than twelve, and I should want them equally divided between youth and age."

Mrs. Langbrith looked at him as if she did not quite understand him, and he said:

"Have Jessamy Colebridge and Hope Hawberk and Susie Johns and Bob Matthewson—he's a good fellow—and make out the half-dozen with Falk and me; we're both good fellows. Then, on your side of the line, yourself first of all, mother, and the rector and his wife, and Judge and Mrs. Garley, and—who else? Oh, Dr. Anther, of course! I want Falk to meet the Doctor—the dearest and quaintest old type in the world. I don't know why he hasn't been in to see us, mother. Has he been here lately?"

"He was here a day or two before you came," Mrs. Langbrith answered, with her eyes down.

"Perhaps he has been waiting for me to call. Well, what do you think of my dinner party?"

"It seems very nice," Mrs. Langbrith sighed.

"And haven't you any preferences? Nobody you want to turn down?"

"It will be a good deal of a surprise for Saxmills," she suffered herself to say.

"I flatter myself it will. I have been telling Falk that the mixed assembly of old and young is unknown in Saxmills."

Falk had not troubled himself to take part in the discussion, if it was that, but had given himself to the turkey and the cranberry sauce, with the mashed potatoes and the stewed squash, which Mrs. Langbrith had very good. Her son had obliged her to provide claret,

which Falk now drank out of an abnormal glass with a stout stem and pimpled cup, hitherto dedicated to currant wine, before saying: "It astonished me less than if I had been used to something different all my life. You ought to have tried the other thing on me."

"Well, I only supposed from the smartness of the people in your *Caricature* pictures that you had always lived in a whirl of fashion."

"That shows how little you know of fashion," said Falk, and Langbrith laughed with the difficult joy of a man who owns a hit.

Mrs. Langbrith glanced from one to the other: from her son, with his long, distinguished face (he had decided that it was colonial), to the dark, aquiline type of Falk, with his black hair, his upward-pointed mustache, his pouted lips, and his prominent, floating, brown eyes. In her abeyance, she was scared at the bold person who was not afraid of her son.

"Well," said Langbrith, "I shall have to find some one to illustrate my *vers de société* who knows enough of the world for both."

"You couldn't!" Falk insinuated.

Mrs. Langbrith did not quite catch the point, but her son laughed again. "No one ever distances *you*, Falk!"

He discussed the arrangement of the affair with his mother. At the end, as she rose, obedient to his sign, and he came round to give her his arm, he said: "After all, perhaps, it wouldn't be well to strike too hard a blow. If you think you can get it up by Saturday night, mother, we'll drop the notion of having White. Make it tea, with turkey at one end of the table and chicken pie at the other, and all the sweet pickles and preserves and kinds of cake you can get together; coffee straight through, and a glass of the old Langbrith madeira to top off with."

V.

Mrs. Langbrith went into the library with her son and his friend by the folding doors from the dining-room, but only to go out of the door which opened into the hall, and escape by that route to the kitchen for an immediate conference with the cook.

The young men dropped into deep leather chairs at opposite corners of the fireplace, after lighting their cigars. Probably, the comfort of his seat suggested Langbrith's reflection: "It is a shame I never knew my father. We should have had so much in common. I couldn't imagine anything more adapted to the human back than these chairs."

"His taste?" Falk asked, between whiffs.

"Everything in the house is his taste. I don't believe my mother has changed a thing. He must have been a strong personality." Langbrith followed his friend's eye in its lift toward his father's portrait over the mantel.

"I should think so," Falk assented.

"Those old New England faces," Langbrith continued meditatively, "have a great charm. From a child, that face of my father's fascinated me. As I got on, and began to be interested in my en-

vironment, I read into it all I had read out of Hawthorne about the Puritan type. I put the grim old chaps out of 'The Scarlet Letter' and 'The House of Seven Gables' and the 'Twice-Told Tales' into it, and interpreted my father by them. But, really, I knew very little about him. My mother's bereavement seemed to have sealed her lips, and I preferred dreaming to asking. A kid is queer! Once or twice when I did ask, she evaded answering; that was after I was old enough to understand, and I didn't press my questions. He was much older than she; twenty years, I believe. He couldn't have been a Puritan in his creed; he was a Unitarian, as far as church-going went, and I believe my mother is a Unitarian yet; but she goes to the Episcopal Church, which makes itself a home for everybody, and she likes the rector. You'll like him, too, Falk."

"He won't talk theology to me, I suppose," Falk grumbled.

"He'll talk athletics with you. The good thing about a man of his church is that he's usually a man of the world, too. He's an Enderby, you know."

"I shouldn't be much the wiser, if I did," Falk said.

"I wouldn't work that pose so hard, Falk. You can't get even with the Enderbys by ignoring them; and you can't pretend it's meekness that makes you profess ignorance. The only thing I don't like about you is your peasant pride."

"I still have hopes of winning your whole heart then. I'll study your peasant humility."

Langbrith made as if he had not noticed the point. He rose and moved restively about the room, and then came back to his chair again, and said, as if he had really been thinking of something else: "If I should decide to take up dramatic literature, I believe I'll go to Paris to continue my studies, and perhaps we'll keep on there together. I wish we could! Can't you manage it, somehow? Those things of yours in *Caricature* have attracted attention; and if *Life* has asked you to send something, why couldn't you get a lot of orders, and go out with me?"

"Gentle dreamer!" Falk murmured.

"No, but why not, really?"

"Because a lot of orders are not to be got for the asking, and I'm a bad hand at asking. I think my cheek is good for applying to a New York paper for a chance to do scenes in court, and hurry-pictures of fires, and the persons in a vivid accident; but I don't think it would hold out to invite *Harper's* or *Scribner's* to have me do high-class studies abroad for them. I may be a fool, but I am not that kind of fool. Unless," Falk hastened to anticipate, "I'm *all* kinds."

Langbrith was apparently not watching for the chance snatched from him. "Well, I think you could do it, somehow," he insisted. "I'm going to Paris for my post-graduate business, and I've set my heart on having you with me. I wonder," he mused aloud, "why I like you so much, Falk?"

"I couldn't say," Falk returned, without apparent interest in the mystery.

"You're always saying nasty things to me," Langbrith pursued. "You take every chance to give me a dig."

"It's all that keeps you in bounds."

"No—"

"Yes, it is; your arrogance would naturally splay all over the place. But just at present, you're in the melting mood that saps everybody's manhood toward the end of the senior year. If I didn't watch myself, I should feel a tenderness for *you* at times."

"Would you, really, Falk?" Langbrith appeared touched, and interested.

"I shall never know, for I don't mean to be taken off my guard."

"What a delightful fellow you are, Falk!"

"Do you think so? I should suppose you were a woman."

"Oh, it isn't the women alone that love you, old man. I love you because you are the only one who is frank with me."

"It takes courage to be candid with a prince. But, thank heaven, I have it."

"Oh, pshaw! There's nobody by to admire your sarcasms."

"I'm satisfied with you, my dear boy."

"Will you answer me a serious question seriously?"

"Yes, if you keep your hands off, and don't try to pat me on the head."

Langbrith was silent, and he would not speak, in his resentment, till Falk said, "Fire away."

Still it was an interval before Langbrith recovered poise enough to ask, "What do you think of Jessamy Colebridge?"

"Hope Hawberk, you mean," Falk promptly translated.

Langbrith laughed, and said, "Well, make it Hope Hawberk."

"She's about the prettiest girl I've seen."

"Isn't she! And the gracefulest. There's more charm in grace than in beauty, every time."

"There is, this time, it seems."

Langbrith laughed again for pleasure. "She has grace of mind. I don't know where she gets it. Her father—well, that's a tragedy."

"Better tell it."

"It would take a long time to do it justice. He was my father's partner, here, when the mills were started, and I've heard he was a very brilliant fellow. They were great friends. But he must have had some sort of dry rot, always, and he took to opium."

"Kill him?"

"No, it doesn't kill on those terms, I believe. He's away just now on one of his periodical retreats in a sanitarium, where they profess to cure opium-eating. There's a lot of it among the country people about here—the women, especially. When Hawberk comes out, he is fitter than ever for opium."

"Well, that's something."

"I suppose it's Dr. Anther that keeps him along. I want you to meet Dr. Anther, Falk."

"I inferred as much from a remark you made at dinner."

"Oh, I believe I did speak of it. Well, now you know I mean it. He's one of those men—doctors or lawyers, mostly; you don't catch the reverend clergy hiding their light under a bushel quite so much —who could have been something great in the larger world, if they hadn't preferred a small world. I suppose it is a streak of indolence in them. Anther's practice has kept him poor in Saxmills, but it would have made him rich in Boston. You mustn't imagine that he's been rusting scientifically here. He is thoroughly up to date as a physician; goes away now and then and rubs up in New York. He's been our family physician ever since I can remember, and before. My father and he were great cronies, I believe, though he's never boasted of it. I have inferred it from things my mother has dropped; or perhaps," Langbrith laughed, "I've only imagined it. At any rate, he dates back to my father's time, and two strong men, both willing to stay in Saxmills, must have had a good deal in common. He's always been in and out of the house, more like a friend than a physician. A guardian couldn't have looked after me better, when it was a question of advice; and, as a doctor, he pulled me through all the ills that flesh of kids is heir to. He has that abrupt quaintness that an old doctor gets. He would go into a play or a book just as he is. You don't care so much for that sort of man as I do, I know, for you're a sort of character yourself. Now, I'm different. I—"

"This seems getting to be more about you than your doctor," Falk said. He rose, threw the end of his cigar into the fire, and stretched himself. "What is the matter with our going to see some of those girls?"

Langbrith flushed, as he rose too, but he said nothing in making for the door with his friend.

They met his mother before they reached the door, on her return from the kitchen. She gave the conscious start which every encounter with her son surprised from her since his home-coming, and gasped, "Will you—shall you—see the young people, James? Or shall I?"

"I can save you that trouble, mother. Falk and I were just going out to make some calls, and we can ask the girls."

"Well," his mother said, and she passed the young men on her way into the room, while they stood aside for her; she gave her housekeeping glance over it, to see what things would have to be put in place when they were gone. "Then, I will ask the others, and we will have the dance after supper. Were you going," she turned to her son with, for the first time, something like interest, "to ask Hope?"

"Why, certainly!"

"Yes. That was what I understood."

"Didn't you want me to?—I mentioned her."

"Yes, yes, oh, yes. I forgot. And your Uncle John?"

"Yes, certainly. But you know he won't come. Wild horses couldn't get him here."

"You ought to ask him."

"Now, that's just like my mother," Langbrith said, as he went out with Falk into the night. "Uncle John has had charge of the mills here ever since my father died, and he was nominally my guardian. But he hasn't been inside of the house, I believe, half a dozen times, except on business, and he barely knows me by sight."

"The one I met yesterday in the office?"

"Yes. That's where he lives; that's his home; though, of course, he has a place where he sleeps and eats, and has an old colored man to keep house for him. He's a perfect hermit, and he'll only hate a little less to be asked to come than he would to come. But mother wouldn't omit asking him on any account. It makes me laugh."

VI.

The young men walked away under the windy April sky, with the boughs of the elms that overhung the village street creaking in the starless dark. The smell of spring was in the air, which beat damply and refreshingly in their faces, hot from the indoors warmth.

Langbrith was the first to speak again; but he did not speak till he had opened the gate of the walk leading up to the door of the house where he decided to begin their rounds. "Hello! they're at home, apparently," he said.

The windows of the house before them, as they showed to their advance through the leafless spray of the shrubbery, were bright with lamplight, and the sound of a piano, broken in upon with gay shouts and shrieks of girls' laughter, penetrated the doors and the casements. If there had been any doubt on the point made, it was dispersed at their ring. There came a nervous whoop from within, followed by whispering and tittering; and then the door was flung open by Jessamy Colebridge herself, obscured by the light which silhouetted her little head and jimp figure to the young men on the threshold.

"Why, Mr. Langbrith! And Mr. Falk! Well, if this isn't too much! We were just talking—weren't we girls?" she called over her shoulder into the room she had left, and Langbrith asked gravely:

"May we come in? If you are at home?"

"At home! I should think so! Papa and mamma are at evening meeting, and I let the two girls go; and I have got in Hope and Susie here to cheer me up, for I'm down sick, if you want to know, with the most fearful cold. I only hope it isn't grippe, but you can't tell."

She led them, chattering, into the parlor, where the other young ladies, stricken with sudden decorum, stood like statues of them-

selves in the attitude of joyous alarm which the ring at the door had surprised them into.

One of them, a slender girl, with masses of black hair, imperfectly put away from her face, which looked reddened beyond the tint natural to her type, flared at the young men with large black eyes, in a sort of defiant question. The other, short and dense of figure, was a decided blonde; her smooth hair was a pale gold and her securely smiling face, with its close-drawn eyelids—the lower almost touching the upper, and wrinkling the fine short nose—was what is called "funny." It was flushed, too, but was of a delicacy of complexion duly attested by its freckles.

There was a strong smell of burning in the room, and, somehow, an effect of things having been scurried out of sight.

The slim girl gave a wild cry, and precipitated herself toward the fireplace as if plunging into it; but it was only to snatch from the bed of coals a long-handled wire cage, from the meshes of which a thick, acrid smoke was pouring. "Much good it did to hustle the plates away and leave this burning up! Open the window, Jessamy!"

But Jessamy left Langbrith to do it, while she clapped her hands and stood shouting: "We were popping corn! The furnace fire was out, and I lit this to keep the damp out, and we thought we would pop some corn! There was such a splendid bed of coals, and I was playing, and Susie and Hope were popping the corn! We were in such a gale, and we all hustled the things away when you rang, for we didn't know who you were, and the girls thought it would be too absurd to be caught popping corn, and in the hurry we forgot all about the popper itself, and left it burning up full of *corn!*"

Her voice rose to a screech, and she bowed herself with laughter, while she beat her hands together.

The young men listened according to their nature. Falk said, "I thought it was the house burning down. I didn't know which of you ladies wanted to be saved first."

The girl who had run to throw the corn-popper out of the window came back with Langbrith, who shut the window behind her. "Oh, *I* can *swim*," she said, and they all laughed at her joke.

"Well, then, get the corn, Hope," Jessamy shrieked; "we may as well be hung for a sheep as a goat. It *is* a goat, isn't it?" she appealed to the young men.

"It doesn't seem as if it were," Langbrith answered with mock thoughtfulness.

"Some of those animals, then," the girl laughed over her shoulder. "Where *did* I put the plates, Susie?"

"I know where I put the corn," Hope said, going to the portière, where it touched the floor next the room beyond.

Falk ran after her. "Let me help carry it," he entreated.

"Do get the salt, Susie," Jessamy commanded. "I know where the plates are *now*."

"We hadn't got to the salt," Susie Johns said; but Jessamy had not heard her where she stooped over the music-rack and handed up three plates to Langbrith.

Falk came with Hope, elaborately supporting one handle of the dish with a little heap of popped corn in the bottom. She held the other and explained, "We had only got to the first popping," and Jessamy added:

"We were not expecting company."

"We could go away," Langbrith suggested.

"Susie, *have* you got the salt?" Jessamy implored, putting the plates on the piano. Susie stood smiling serenely, and again the hostess forgot her. "Shall we have it on the piano, girls? Oh, I know; let's have it on the hearth-rug here."

"Yes," Langbrith said, doubling his lankness down before the fire. He went on:

> "'For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
> And tell sad stories of the deaths of kings.'"

Jessamy had not minded the hoyden prank in which he took her at her word, but the name he seemed to invoke so lightly, shocked her. She drew her face down and looked grave.

"It isn't swearing, Jessamy," Hope Hawberk reassured her; "it's only Shakespeare. Mr. Langbrith never talks anything but Shakespeare, you know." She had a deep, throaty voice, which gave weight to her irony.

"Oh, all right," said Jessamy. "Susie, you wicked thing, have you got that salt? Why, of course! I never brought it from the dining-room. Here, sit by Mr. Langbrith, as Hope calls him—his Christian name used to be Jim—and keep him from Shakespearing, while I go for it."

"You might get him a plate, too," Falk called after her; Susie coiled herself softly, kittenlike, down on the rug at Langbrith's side. "*I'm* going to eat out of the dish."

"Hope, don't you let him!" Jessamy screamed on her way to the dining-room.

When she came back she distributed the plates among her guests, and with one, in which Hope had put her a portion of corn, she stood behind them. "Bless you, my children," she said. "Now, trot out your kings, Jimmy—Mr. Langbrith, I should say."

"Oh, no," Langbrith protested; "ghosts. We oughtn't to tell anything less goose-fleshing than ghost-stories before this fire."

"Why, I thought you said your kings were dead. Good kings, dead kings!" Jessamy added, with no relation of ideas. "Or is it Indians?"

Anything served. They were young, and alone—joyful mysteries to themselves and to one another. They talked and laughed. They hardly knew what they said, and not at all why they laughed.

At nine o'clock, Jessamy's father and mother came home, and

with them some one whose voice they knew. The elders discreetly went up-stairs, when Jessamy called out to whoever it was had come with them, "Come in here, Harry Matthewson."

They received him with gay screams, Jessamy having dropped to her knees beside the others, for the greater effect upon the smiling young fellow who came in rubbing his hands.

"Well, well!" he said.

"Now this is a little *too* pat," Langbrith protested, and he gave the invitation which he had come with, and which met with no dissent.

"It is a vote," said Matthewson, with the authority of a young lawyer beginning to take part in town meetings.

"Well, now," Langbrith said, getting to his feet, "the business of the meeting being over, I move Falk and I adjourn."

"No, no, don't let him, Mr. Falk! You don't want to go, *do* you?"

"Only for a breath of air. I'm nearly roasted."

Matthewson laughed. "I wondered what you were sitting round the fire for; it's as mild as May out, and there's a full moon."

"A full *moon*?" Jessamy put out her hand for him to help her up. The other girls put out their hands for help, too. "Then I'll tell you what. We'll go home with the poor things, and see that the gobbellins don't get them. What do you say, girls?"

"Oh! they say 'yes.' Don't you girls?" Langbrith entreated with clasped hand.

The young men helped them put on their wraps. Jessamy, when she was fully equipped for the adventure, called up-stairs to her mother: "Mamma, I am going out a few minutes." Her mother shrieked back: "Jessamy Colebridge, don't you do it? You'll take your death."

"No, I won't, mamma. The air will do my cold good," and she closed the debate by shutting the door behind her. "Now, that's settled," she said. "Where shall we go first?"

The notion of going home with Langbrith and Falk seemed to be relinquished. They went about from one house to another, where there were girls of their acquaintance, and sang before their gates or under their windows. At the first sign of consciousness within, they fled with shrieks and shouts.

In the assortment of couples, Matthewson led the way with Susie Johns, Falk followed with Jessamy, Langbrith and Hope were paired. Sometimes, the girls ran on alone; sometimes, in the dark places, they took the young men's arms.

They saw each other to their houses; then, not to be outdone in civility, the girls who were left came away with those who had left them. It promised never to end, and no one seemed to care. The joy of their youth had gone to their heads in a divine madness, in which differences of temperament were merged and they were all alike.

Langbrith did not know how it happened that he was at last taking leave of Hope Hawberk alone at her gate. He stooped over to whisper something. She pulled her hand from his arm, and said, "Don't be silly!" and ran up the walk to her door. The elastic weight of her hand remained on his arm.

VII.

The compromise between a Boston dinner and a Saxmills tea, which the mother and son had agreed upon, prospered beyond the wont of compromises. It was a very good meal of the older-fashioned sort, and it was better served by Norah, from her habit of such meals, than could have been expected, with the help of the niece she had got in for the evening. The turkey was set before Langbrith and the chicken pie before his mother. Norah asked the guests which they would have, in taking their plates, and brought the plates back with the chosen portion, and the vegetables added by the host or hostess from the deep dishes on their right and left. There were small plates of subsidiary viands, such as brandied peaches and sweet pickles, which the guests passed to one another. Tea and coffee and cocoa were served through the supper by Norah's niece from the pantry, where she had them hot from the kitchen stove. There was no wine till the ladies left the table, when Langbrith had Norah put down, with the cigars, some decanters of madeira from, as he said, his father's stock. He had a little pomp in saying that; it seemed to him there was something ancestral in it.

Instead of letting all follow the hostess out to supper pellmell, as the Saxmills custom had always been, he went about asking the men, *sotto voce,* if they would take out such and such ladies. "Will you take out my mother, Dr. Anther?" he said, with special graciousness. He told Falk to give his arm to Hope Hawberk, and he gave his own to the rector's wife. But when they came to look up their places, and found their names, by Falk's example, on cards beside their plates, Hope found hers on Langbrith's left. That way of appointing people their chairs was an innovation at Saxmills, and the girls put their dinner cards where they should remember to take them away. But the effect of this innovation was lost in the great innovation of having old and young people together at tea. The like had not happened in Saxmills before; except at a church sociable or a Sunday-school picnic, it had scarcely happened that the different ages met at all. When they did, it was understood that the old people were to go away early, and leave the young people to take their pleasure in their own fashion.

At first, the affair went hitchily. The girls had confided to one another, in the library, their astonishment at finding themselves in the mixed company, and their wonder whether their elders were going to stay for the dance. But, partly through their fear of Langbrith, which they could overcome only when they had him on their own ground, and partly through their embarrassment at being

obliged to talk with the rector and the doctor and the judge, they remained in a petrified decorum which lasted well into the supper. Even when Jessamy Colebridge caught the eye of Hope Hawberk from her place diagonally across the table, and saw its lid droop in a slow, deliberate wink, instead of bursting into a whoop of sympathetic intelligence, she blushed painfully and turned her face away, with a tendency to tears. She was not having, as she would have said, a bit good time, between the judge on one hand, who did not speak much to any one, and Mr. Matthewson on the other, who was talking to Susie Johns. And she felt the joyous mockery of Hope's triumph, where she sat between Falk and Langbrith, without the ability to respond in kind. Besides, she could not see why her father and mother had not been invited, if there were going to be old people. She could not catch the words which were kindly cast her across the table, from time to time, by the judge's wife. But good cheer is a solvent which few spiritual discomforts can resist. Before she left the table, Jessamy was beginning to have the good time which mounted as the evening went on, and culminated in Mr. Matthewson's going home with her. Judge Garley had scarcely talked to a young girl since his wife had ceased to be one. But he was so little versed in the nature of girls, that he did not know how much he had failed to enjoy Jessamy's conversation till his wife asked him at home how he could manage to find things to say to that little simpleton. In fact he had set her and young Matthewson talking across him, while Susie sat placidly silent, or funnily smiled to her indirect *vis-à-vis,* who happened to be Falk, released to her by Hope's preoccupation with Langbrith. As he noted to Susie, those two seemed to be having rather a stormy time, springing from a radical difference of opinion upon a point of sociology advanced by Langbrith, who held that the unions ought to be broken up, and alleged their criminal incivism even in their strikes in such a small place as Saxmills, where labor and capital were personally acquainted.

Mrs. Enderby was heard saying affably, across the table, to Hope: "I didn't know young people took such an interest in those things. You ought to talk with Mr. Enderby. I'm afraid he finds me very lukewarm."

"Oh, well, then, *I'll* talk with you, Mrs. Enderby," Langbrith promised. "There's nothing I like so much as lukewarmness on these subjects. I'd no idea I should get into such hot water with Miss Hawberk. *I* believe she's a walking delegate in disguise!"

"Well," the girl said, "I shouldn't like anything better than to lead your hands out on a strike. I think it would be fun."

Mrs. Enderby said "Oh!" in compliance with the convention that one ought to be shocked by such audacity, but really amused with it.

"You'll find me in the ranks of labor, if you ever do lead a strike," Langbrith said, gallantly deserting his colors.

Hope went on: "I should like to be a great labor leader and start a revolution."

"What salary would you want?" Langbrith asked.

"About half the profits of the employers!" the girl came back.

"Well, we must talk to Uncle John about that. He manages the mills. But if your strike cut the profits down to nothing?"

"There, there!" Mrs. Enderby interposed, "You mustn't let your joke go too far."

"Oh, I haven't been joking," Hope said.

"I was never more in earnest," Langbrith followed, laughing.

His laughing provoked her. She wanted, somehow, to turn their banter into earnest; to say something saucy to him, something violent; something that would show Mrs. Enderby that she was not afraid of him. At the same time, she believed she did not care for Mrs. Enderby or what she might think, and in the midst of her insurrection it seemed to her that he was handsomer than she had ever supposed—that he had beautiful eyes. She noticed, for the first time, that they were gray, instead of black.

"How do you like my flowers?" he asked, as if their talk had been of the decorations of the table.

"Oh, did they all come out of your conservatory?" she returned with an amiability which she could not account for. "It looks very pretty from here." She glanced down the table, with a quick turn of her little head, toward the glass extension of the room, where the plants bedded in the ground showed their green and bloom in masses under the paper lanterns, and the fine spray of an inaudible fountain glimmered.

"Yes, doesn't it? Everything that my mother touches, flourishes."

"Oh, I know that!" the girl said, with an intonation of wonder and reverence.

"There are very few things," he said, from his proud satisfaction, "that my mother can't do better than anybody else."

"Did you have to go to Harvard to find that out? Everybody in Saxmills knew it!"

"But you haven't," he reverted, "said what you thought of the arrangement." He indicated the flowers on the table with a turn of his head.

Another mood seized her. "You can't spoil flowers!"

"Well, I did my worst." He wished her to know that he had suggested their arrangement.

Mrs. Enderby was talking with her left-hand neighbor. Langbrith lowered his voice slightly in asking: "Are you going to give me the first dance, Hope?"

"I don't know," she said vaguely; and then indifferently, "I suppose I must begin by dancing with somebody."

He laughed and they were silent, while she kept herself from panting by drawing each breath very slowly and smoothly. Her breast heaved and her nostrils dilated.

There came a quick clash on the glass roof of the conservatory. "Rain?" she said. "Goodness! How are we going to get home?"

"Oh, don't even talk of going home," he implored, and she laughed.

He looked down the table to catch his mother's eye, and give her the sign for rising with the ladies and leaving the room. That was a main part of his innovation and a thing unprecedented. But he had agreed with Falk that the stroke could be broken by each giving his arm, in the new fashion, to his partner, and taking her back to the library. The other men did not understand, and waited, on foot, for the cue from him. He lost his head, which seemed to whirl on his shoulders, and he was stooping to offer his arm to Hope when he remembered Mrs. Enderby.

He was stupefied into the awkwardness of saying, "Oh, I *beg* your pardon!"

The rector's wife laughed, from a woman's perennial joy in the sight of such feeling as his. "Oh, I shouldn't have minded."

Hope gave an imitation of not having noticed, which none but a connoisseur could have distinguished from the genuine.

VIII.

"Dr. Anther, I want to introduce Mr. Falk a little more particularly to my oldest and best friend."

"Will he know what to do with such a treasure?"

Dr. Anther returned Falk's tentative bow with smiling irony, while he reached with his left hand for the cigars which Langbrith offered him.

Every one was still on foot, after leaving the ladies in the library, and Langbrith said to the group: "Sit down, gentlemen," and placed himself before answering the doctor. "Yes, I think he will. You smoke, don't you, Dr. Enderby? And you, Judge? Matthewson, I know, doesn't. Start the madeira after the sun, Harry." He pushed the cigars toward the elders and the decanter toward the young man, whom he bade give the smokers the candle. "Yes," he went on, to put Falk and Dr. Anther at ease with each other, "Falk's father is a physician, and my physician is the only father I have known."

"Oh, you're very good, James!" the doctor said, forgiving to the genuine feeling in the young fellow's voice the patronage of his words: "I can't say less than that no son of mine has given me less trouble." The two laughed together, and Falk smiled conditionally, as if he suspected that this country practitioner had his knife out. "Are you going in for medicine, too?" the doctor asked.

"Worse yet," Langbrith answered for him. "He's going in for art. I don't know whether my mother has shown you any copies of *Caricature* which I send her. But, if she has, you know Falk's work. It's the best part of Falk. Falk is *Caricature* himself—with my poor help in joking a picture now and then."

"This puts me on my good behavior at once," Anther said. "Mr. Falk may be looking for types."

"No, no; Falk's types always look for him," said Langbrith. "Won't you sit down?"

"I've been sitting," Anther said, and he walked, Falk with him, toward the conservatory.

"Well, it's a change, and your smoke will help the plants," Langbrith called, and he turned to take part in the talk of the judge and the rector, to which Matthewson was listening with the two sorts of deference respectively due to the law and to the church.

"Well, Mr. Falk," Anther said, "I suppose we must make the best of being two such remarkable people. I hope you're enjoying your visit to Saxmills."

"Oh, very much," Falk answered, smiling less conditionally.

"I don't know that it's much adapted to pictorial satire."

"You must make allowance for the stately layout Langbrith gives his friends," said Falk, and the gleam of intelligence in the doctor's shaggily pent-roofed eyes satisfied him of his ground.

"The place has always struck me as very picturesque," the doctor continued. "Of course, I don't know; but a good head of water seems to imply broken ground, and if there's a fall, such as we have here, it means up and down hill and the broken banks and the rapids and other things that you artists are supposed to care for."

"I don't know whether we really do—or I do," the young man said, modestly. "I'm rather more for the figure, I reckon."

"Western?" the doctor asked, with a lift of the pent-roofs.

"Northern Kentucky; Catletsburg."

"Curious! I thought of settling in that place, myself, before I came to Saxmills. Not New England people?"

"No, my people were German. My grandfather came out after the 1848 revolutions!"

"Oh, indeed! Rather odd I should meet some one from Catletsburg at this late day. I've hardly thought of it since I gave up going there. Except for a run to New York, at times, I have been twenty-two years in Saxmills, and I don't suppose I shall ever go anywhere else to live. In that time, a man's life shapes itself to the environment, and new surroundings hurt. Don't you find it so?"

"Well, I'm just trying my first twenty-two years."

"To be sure," the doctor laughed. "I suppose you and James are thrown a good deal together at Harvard."

"This last year, yes. Since he took the editorship of *Caricature*."

"Oh, indeed! He must be very popular, then, to have that?"

"Not very," Falk answered tranquilly. He looked steadily at the doctor, in breaking off his cigar ash, as if asking his eyes how far he might go. Then he said in a low tone, but with a certain indifference as to being overheard in his manner, "A good many of the fellows think he's an ass. They can't stand him. But they make a mistake. He's got a lot of ability. He doesn't do himself justice."

"How?" the doctor asked, blowing his smoke out.

"Too patronizing. But he doesn't mean anything by it, as I know. All you have got to do is to call him down. He stands that first rate, if he likes you, or if he thinks you are right. And he stands by his friends."

"I'm glad to hear so much good of him. Naturally, I'm interested in him, knowing his—mother so long."

Falk asked—from a feeling that the doctor had meant to say "family" rather than "mother"—"You knew his father?"

"Oh, yes, but he died when James was a very little child."

"He seems to have a sort of ancestor-worship for him," said Falk, with a slight amusement in his face.

"Yes," the doctor dryly allowed.

Langbrith was talking gayly with his other guests at the farther end of the table, where his voice rose in somewhat noisy dominance. He seemed to be laying down the law on some point; and the others to be politely submitting rather than agreeing.

Anther stood looking at him. He turned to Falk, and, with his face slightly canted toward Langbrith, he asked from one side of his mouth, "You've noticed his portrait in the library?"

"Jimmy doesn't let you escape that!" Falk said.

"How do you like it?"

"You mean artistically?"

"No, personally. How does the face strike you?"

"Well, I don't think I could worship an ancestor like that. Perhaps it isn't a good likeness."

"It was painted from a photograph."

"Yes, so he said. And that sort of portrait seems always to fail in conveying character."

Doctor Anther made no reply for some time. In fact, he made no reply at all. He asked, "And such character it does convey?"

"Well, he looks too much like a cat that has been at the cream. And it isn't the feline slyness alone that's there: there's the feline ferocity. Perhaps it's like a tiger that's been at the cream."

The doctor said gravely, "The artist had never seen Langbrith in life. You don't find anything of that sort in James?"

"No, *he's* like his mother in looks."

"Oh, yes. Don't you find—as an artist—Miss Hawberk very striking?"

"Wonderful. If I may speak as an artist. That cloud of hair hanging over her little face, and those coal-black eyes, and that red mouth between the pale cheeks! If I were a painter, which I'm not, and never shall be, I should want nothing better than to spend my life studying such a face."

"Her father," the doctor said, looking at Falk, as if to question how much he knew already, "is an extraordinary man."

"So Langbrith tells me. He told me about him."

"Oh, then," said the doctor with the effect of implying that there

need be nothing more said on that point. "You must stop me when I seem to be asking unwarrantable things. Do you think that James—"

"Doctor! Won't you come here?" Langbrith called to him from the other end of the table where he was sitting. "I've got three stubborn men against me here, on a point which I want you to settle in my favor."

"Somebody must give way, and you know I can't," the rector said, using the well-known words of the Boston lady who appealed to reason against her adversaries.

"What is this point that only one of you can agree on?" the doctor asked, coming up.

Langbrith laughed with high good humor, as if still in the afterglow of Hope Hawberk's playful hostilities. The qualities which gave his classmates the question whether he was not an ass were in abeyance. Even if he showed no such deference as Matthewson paid to the judge or the clergyman, he was withheld from patronizing them by the instinct of hospitality. At the worst, his superiority took the form of pressing the wine on them, and insisting that they had failed to get good cigars.

"Oh, I expect there will be two, now, doctor," he crowed. "It's a question of taste. I don't know how we got to talking about it—do you, Judge? or you, Dr. Enderby? But we were speaking of that immediate acquiescence of a community in a change of name—like that of Groton Junction to Ayer Junction. The pill-man gave a town hall, or something like that, to the place, and the bargain was struck. Said, done: and from that day to this nobody has mentioned Groton Junction even by a slip of the tongue, though the school at Groton keeps the old name alive and honored. The Judge, here, and Dr. Enderby were saying it was a pity that we had to keep such an ugly and indistinctive name as 'Saxmills,' and I was defending it, just because it was ugly and indistinctive. I was saying that the whole American thing was ugly and indistinctive, and that, if there was any choice, it was more so in New England than elsewhere. But now I want to tell you all something," and he went eagerly on, as if to forestall any interruptive expression of opinion from the others on a point which did not really matter. He glanced at Falk, where he stood blowing rings of smoke into the air at the door of the conservatory, as if about to demand his nearer presence, but apparently decided to include him by lifting his voice. "There was a time when a change of name was suggested here. Did you ever know about it?" he asked the doctor.

The doctor shook his head with indifference.

"No? Well, that was just like my father, if I read his character right. He would have consulted with you, if he had not decided of himself to suppress the whole thing from himself, and by himself. It was after he had built the library, and given it to the town. There was a dedication, and all that; and in a little diary—one of those

little pocket-almanac diaries, you know,—which I came across the other day among my father's papers, I found this laconic entry: 'Library dedication. Had been some talk of changing Saxmills to Langbrith, but I squelched that so thoroughly that nobody peeped about it.' Do you recall any such talk?"

Anther shook his head again. "It was before my time, here."

"And mine," the judge said.

The rector did not think it worth while saying it was before his, apparently; he was such a newcomer. But he said: "It was almost a pity he squelched it. Langbrith would have been a fine name."

The young man could scarcely conceal his satisfaction. "Oh, it would have been rather too romantic and Old English for a New England paper-mill town. I'm afraid it would have given the expectation of laid note, with deckelled edges."

The rector owned that there might be something in that, but he insisted that the name was fine.

"I think my father was right. And it was like him; don't you think so, doctor?"

"Very," Anther assented briefly.

"I can imagine just how he would have squelched it when the committee—there must have been a committee—came to propose the new name to him. I should not have liked to be in their shoes. He was not a man, as I imagine him, to have stood anything he considered nonsense." Langbrith looked at the doctor for confirmation, but Anther smoked on in silence. Langbrith was probably too well pleased to note his silence with offence. He asked abruptly, "Is that a good likeness of him in the library?"

"It was painted from a photograph, you know."

"Yes, I know. Still, if it's well done, it would convey his personality."

"It's fairly—characteristic."

Falk, from his station between the conservatory doors, grinned.

Langbrith frowned slightly. "It doesn't suit me, quite. And this brings me to something I want to talk with you gentlemen about. I've been thinking, for some time, of offering the town a medallion likeness of my father to be put up in the front of the library somewhere." He looked round at the others, but they waited as if for him to develop his idea fully. "My notion is, something in bronze; a low relief, of course, and a profile, or three-quarters face. The difficulty is about getting that view of him. The thing in the library is a full face, and I don't feel somehow that it does him justice. Do you, doctor?"

"Not perfect justice, no."

"He had a very strong character, but that painting conveys the notion of hardness rather than strength. Perhaps, the hardness was something in the painter's method, and he couldn't eliminate it from the likeness." The judge and the rector smiled. Anther said nothing.

"But if I could get hold of the right man to do the work, and could have you to help out from memory, doctor—"

"I couldn't," Anther said, abruptly.

The door-bell rang. Langbrith lost the frown in which his forehead had gathered, and smiled as he rose, and threw on the table the napkin he had been dragging across his lap while he talked. "There they come! This is something I should like to talk over with you gentlemen again." The judge and the rector made murmurs of friendly assent in their throats; the doctor did nothing to signify his acquiescence. "But, in the meantime, I would rather you wouldn't speak of it out of your own circle. Shall I follow you?" He made a motion for his guests to precede him, and called over his shoulder to his friend, "Come along, Falk."

(To be Continued.)

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INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION MADE ATTRACTIVE.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

In the inauguration of any tribunal of such high character and wide jurisdiction as that constituted by the Peace Conference at The Hague, July 29th, 1899, questions of convenience of administration, as well as questions of procedure, and possibly other questions of like import, were sure to arise upon the threshold of its usefulness,—questions which could not have been foreseen, or, if foreseen, could not have been wisely decided by the Conference itself; but it is very remarkable how few such questions have arisen, and how easily they can be settled in entire accordance with the conclusions announced by the Conference. The five eminent jurists who were selected to hear and decide the first controversy at The Hague,—that between the United States and Mexico known as the "Pious Fund" Case—declared that they considered themselves "under the moral obligation of submitting to the kind consideration of the interested governments some points which may be regulated easily by subsequent agreements between the states in litigation." They said that they were "deeply impressed with the feeling of their duty to contribute to the better interpretation and carrying out of the Hague Conven-

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tion for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and to consolidate the regular course of such future arbitral tribunals as may be constituted, with the view of re-establishing good understanding between nations. It is desirable," they added, "that jurisprudence be established in the domain of international arbitration, and it is to be hoped that each future arbitral tribunal will add a stone to the edifice whose foundations were laid by the Hague Convention of 1899. Such are the motives of our action." And such are the motives, and the only motives, which have dictated the present contribution to the subject.

The more carefully the Convention in question is considered, the greater will be the recognition of the wisdom of its provisions in almost all respects; and in no respect did the members of the Conference show greater wisdom than in making the provisions of the Convention so elastic, that the parties desiring to invoke the good offices of the tribunal it established are left absolute masters of the terms and conditions of such submission. The declaration of the Conference was in these broad and generous words:

"International arbitration has for its object the determination of controversies between states by judges of their own choice, upon the basis of respect for law. In questions of a judicial character, arbitration is recognized by the Signatory Powers as the most efficacious and, at the same time, the most equitable method of deciding controversies which have not been settled by diplomatic methods. With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences which could not be settled by diplomatic methods, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize A Permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times. Within three months following the ratification of the present act, each Signatory Power shall select not more than four persons, of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators. . . . The members of the court shall be appointed for a term of six years, and their appointment may be renewed. The court of arbitration shall ordinarily sit at The Hague."

The first observation which should be made upon these provisions concerns the last of them, which has heretofore, perhaps, escaped notice; and that is that the tribunal need not necessarily sit at The Hague, but may, by the agreement of the parties and by the consent of the selected judges, sit at whatever place may be most satisfactory. It might well happen that two South-American states might be deterred from taking their controversy to the

tribunal if it must necessarily sit at The Hague; while, if they could select members of the tribunal who would agree to sit at the city of Washington, or at the capital of some disinterested South-American republic, the temptation to invoke the good offices of the tribunal would be far greater; and it requires but little reflection to appreciate the very great wisdom of this provision.

Another provision of even greater value is that authorizing the appointment of a great number of distinguished international jurists, named by twenty-six different countries, from whom the parties in controversy may select judges satisfactory to them. Innumerable methods of thus selecting them will at once occur to any person reflecting upon the subject. An equal number of these judges—one, two or three as desired—may be selected by each party, and the judges thus selected may themselves appoint an additional judge as umpire; or the selection of the umpire may be referred to some sovereign or president; or the judges may be selected by a process of exclusion, as by agreeing upon an uneven number of judges and allowing each party to strike from the list an equal number, leaving the judges remaining as the judges to hear and decide the controversy. Indeed, with so large a number of jurists meeting the requirements of the Convention, there can be little difficulty for any countries really desirous of availing themselves of the opportunity the tribunal offers in selecting the number desired of learned and impartial jurisconsults.

The earnest desire of the members of the Conference to encourage resort to the tribunal was further illustrated by their allowing the parties to any proposed arbitration the largest possible liberty of deciding for themselves in what manner and under what conditions they preferred to avail themselves of its good offices. The twentieth article of the Convention says:

> "With the object of facilitating the immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences which could not be settled by diplomatic methods, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize a permanent court of arbitration, accessible at all times, and acting, *unless otherwise stipulated by the parties*, in accordance with the rules of procedure included in the present Convention."

As if this invitation to the parties to prescribe such regulations as they desired was not sufficient, they repeated the invitation with great explicitness at the beginning of the thirtieth article on the subject of arbitral procedure, in these words:

"With a view to encouraging the development of arbitration, the Signatory Powers have agreed upon the following rules which shall be applicable to the arbitral procedure, *unless the parties have agreed upon different regulations.*"

It is in this way that international arbitration is made attractive; for the place, the judges, and the terms and conditions for the hearing of any controversy are thus left to the decision of the interested parties.

It happened that the parties to the first arbitration, which has been already mentioned, did not avail themselves of their right to designate the language to be used; and the distinguished judges who sat in that case united in earnestly advising that, in all future protocols, the language to be used should be explicitly stated. They said:

"The undersigned deem it necessary to bring the attention of the governments in litigation to the necessity of arriving at an agreement beforehand with regard to the language they may desire the discussion before the court to take place in. It is absolutely necessary that the point be made clear prior to the commencement of the labors of the tribunal, in order that the selection of the agents and counsel may be made with a view to their knowledge of the language in which the pleadings before the arbitrators are to be made. The necessity for translating for the use of counsel the speeches made before the tribunal inevitably provokes a great loss of time. In view of these observations, it is desirable that the choice of the agents and counsel before the arbitral tribunal be made in conformity with the wishes of the powers in litigation as to the language to be used before the tribunal, and they therefore recommend that all future agreements for arbitration shall state the desire or decision of the contracting powers in this regard."

This recommendation omitted, however, one of the most important considerations with reference to fixing the language to be used, and that is, that not only the agents and counsel, but the judges who are to hear and decide the controversy, should also be selected with express reference to their familiarity with the language selected by the parties to the arbitration.

The first question, therefore, alike in order of time and of importance, to be thus decided by the parties is the question of the language to be used in the proceedings; for, until that is settled, the judges cannot be intelligently selected, nor can the agents and counsel be intelligently appointed, nor, indeed, can any effective steps in the way of preparation be taken.

In the Venezuelan protocols all the parties to them agreed that the English language should be used; but, with a generosity which the result showed to be unwise, it was provided that counsel might address the tribunal in any other language; and an effort was at once made to substitute the French language as the principal language of the proceedings. This effort was prolonged and not without some incidents which might have proved of serious consequence. One such consequence might have been a majority of judges not sufficiently familiar with the English language; for, in that case, it would have been virtually impossible for the agents and counsel of the four principal parties to the controversy to have adequately discharged the duty confided to them by their respective governments. Indeed, at one time serious apprehension was felt that such a situation might result from the omission in the protocols of any explicit requirement that the judges to be appointed should be familiar with the English language. This omission was, of course, due to the belief that, as the English language was to be employed, no such requirement was necessary. It was, however, very natural that the dispute should arise, and that diplomatists should lend whatever influence they possessed in the matter in favor of the French language; for, although the English language is now used by more than three times as many inhabitants of the globe as use the French language, and the use of the English language is increasing at a very rapid rate, while the use of the French language is comparatively stationary, French still is, and will probably long continue to be, the preferable language in diplomacy. The final decision was, however, in favor of using English as the principal, and French only as the subsidiary, language in the proceedings.

In the Venezuelan protocols, it was also agreed that "the facts on which shall depend the decision of the questions stated in Article first shall be ascertained in such manner as the tribunal may determine." Experience has shown that, in this respect also, it would be wiser, in future protocols, to set forth distinctly the order of procedure—as, for instance, that the preliminary examinations and printed proofs which the parties desire in the first instance to submit, should be delivered to the judges, and exchanged between the agents and counsel, through the Secretary-General at The Hague, on or before a day stipulated in the agreement, and that some subsequent day should be named for the delivery and

exchange, through the same agency, of any counter-statements and additional proofs which either party might wish to offer. The agreement ought then to fix a day and place for the assembling of the tribunal, to be changed only with the assent of all the parties. Such a method of procedure would enable the judges, as well as the respective agents and counsel, to assemble at the place and on the day fixed in the agreement for the meeting of the tribunal, with minds familiar with the contentions of the parties, and the proofs upon which they rely to support these contentions. With such provisions, no great delay need occur after the tribunal assembles before proceeding with the oral arguments.

It was, of course, impossible to foresee the desirableness of such provisions when the protocols for the Venezuelan arbitration were prepared, for it is only experience which could teach such desirableness; but the experience in that case, it is believed, was quite sufficient to justify the suggestions which have been made. Those agreements or protocols were signed May 7th, 1903, and on the next day Venezuela presented her respectful request to the Emperor of Russia to appoint the arbitrators. Unhappily, however, Great Britain and Germany, as no time was named for the discharge of such duty, delayed joining in that request; and, although their attention was called in the month of July to the desirableness of their doing so, it is supposed that they only made such request on August 25th, less than a week before September first, the day on which the tribunal was required to assemble. Unhappily, also, two of the jurists first named by the Emperor of Russia were misled into supposing that they were not eligible, and the Emperor was, therefore, required to find alternates for them, which he was quite unable to do before the time for the court to assemble had passed.

The failure to secure the assembling of the tribunal on the day upon which it was required to meet, and with a majority of English-speaking judges, was naturally a cause of very great anxiety. That anxiety may well have been excessive, but it was due in large degree to the disquieting telegrams continually arriving in Europe from South America. Those telegrams described the growth of very bitter feeling in Venezuela towards all foreigners, and especially towards the Mixed Commissions then sitting at Caracas to adjudicate the claims against Venezuela preferred by foreigners. Those telegrams were of such a character as to create

a fear that President Castro might avail himself of the failure, for over three months, of Great Britain and Germany to join in Venezuela's request to the Emperor of Russia to appoint the arbitrators, thus preventing the tribunal from meeting on the day stipulated for its meeting, to declare the arbitration to have been abandoned by them. Such a declaration on his part, while probably within his technical right, would certainly have been productive of very great embarrassment, not only to the allied Powers, but also to the government of the United States, and would have opened up some very grave questions which it is far better, both for Europe and America, to postpone to some happier season, besides being a most serious blow to the cause of international arbitration. As a result of this delay, the only arbitrator who appeared at The Hague on the day appointed for the meeting of the tribunal was M. Mouravieff, of Russia, who did not speak English; and the anxiety that at least a majority of the judges should be familiar with the English language was due to the fact — that not only the United States and Venezuela, but Great Britain and Germany as well, relying upon the provision of the protocols that the English language should be employed, had made all their preparations, both in the printing of their briefs and proofs, and in the employment of their agents and counsel, in the belief that that language would be employed. If, therefore, we were confronted with a majority of judges unable to fully understand the oral arguments it was our duty to address to them, a failure of the arbitration, or at least a postponement of it, would have been inevitable. In the anxiety thus existing, various devices suggested themselves for hastening the assembling of the tribunal, with a majority of English-speaking judges, before Venezuela showed any disposition to withdraw from it; and constant efforts were made to secure that result, although for some time without any appearance of success. Indeed, by the middle of September, it seemed improbable that a majority of English-speaking judges would be secured; and, even if they should be secured, the time of procuring them might be prolonged until the patience of President Castro was exhausted. It was, of course, quite possible to exaggerate the danger of an abandonment or postponement of the arbitration from either of the causes mentioned; but, judging the situation from the facts then known, it was felt that no action ought to be omitted which

could help in the slightest degree to secure the meeting of the tribunal, with a majority of English-speaking judges, at the earliest possible moment. Applications and alternative suggestions were therefore made; and the assistance of everybody was invoked, who, it was thought, could hasten the appointment of such judges, and their assembling at The Hague; and such appeals were continued in every quarter where it was thought they might possibly bear good fruit.

There was also always present the sense that the treatment of this matter of time had not been such as the governments of the United States and Venezuela were entitled to expect; and that for the agent and counsel for those two countries to sit at The Hague in idleness, day after day, with no certainty of compliance with either the letter or the spirit of the protocols, and with even less certainty as to the time when compliance might be expected, was hardly compatible with the dignity of either nation, and, possibly, not altogether compatible with the dignity of the agent and counsel themselves. Venezuela had promptly discharged every obligation she had assumed; and her agent and counsel, who were the same as those of the United States, had travelled long distances and appeared at The Hague in ample time before the date agreed upon for the assembling of the tribunal, fully prepared to begin at once the discharge of the duties entrusted to them; and there they were obliged to sit in idleness and uncertainty an entire month. But if the suggestions hereinbefore made are followed in future, no such trying experience will be again encountered.

The moment, however, that October first was definitely fixed for the organization of the tribunal, and it was known that a majority of the judges would possess sufficient familiarity with the English language to enable the arbitration to proceed without further delay, all difficulties disappeared.

The foregoing statements show how attractive international arbitration has become by the institution of the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague:

In the first place, because the tribunal need not sit at The Hague, if the parties, with the consent of the judges they select, prefer it to sit elsewhere:

In the second place, because, from the great number of distinguished judges, it is easy for the nations in controversy to select such number of impartial jurists as they may desire:

In the third place, because, by provisions in their agreements, they may confine the proceedings to such language as they prefer, and they can easily take the precaution of securing judges perfectly familiar with the language for which they declare:

In the fourth place, because they can specifically provide within what period the preliminary examinations and printed proofs are to be delivered and exchanged, and within what later period the counter-cases and additional printed proofs are also to be delivered and exchanged:

And in the fifth place, because they can clearly designate the date on which the tribunal is to assemble; and, all the judges and counsel on both sides having been previously supplied with the documents upon which the controversy is to turn, there need be no great delay in proceeding with the oral arguments.

By proper regard to these considerations, all the persons charged with the conduct of future international arbitrations can readily avoid all difficulties and delays, and the controversy can proceed in an orderly and satisfactory manner from beginning to end.

Happily, all our past history helps to make such peaceful adjustments of controversies with other nations exceptionally attractive for us. We ought not, perhaps, to take too much to heart the flattering words which Madame de Staël spoke to Mr. George Ticknor at their last meeting: "You are the advance guard of the human race. You have the future of the world." Indeed, it may well be that our good opinion of ourselves needs no encouragement; but, whether true in all respects or not, those words are signally true of our advocacy of the noble cause of international arbitration. In that regard, we may fairly claim to have justified Madame de Staël's ardent eulogy; for, as soon as our country took its place in the family of nations, we became an example as well as an advocate of that good cause, and we have continued such example and advocacy from that day until the present. More than fifty years ago, we made a treaty with a sister American republic, far weaker than we were, in which are found these impressive words:

"If, unhappily, any disagreement should hereafter arise between the governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said governments in the name of those nations do promise

to each other that they will endeavor in the most sincere and earnest manner to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship between the two countries, using for this end mutual representations and pacific negotiations; and if by these means they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not be had to reprisals, aggression or hostility of any kind by the one republic against the other, until the government of that which feels itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation."

And more than fifty years thereafter, at the first international American Congress, convened upon our invitation at the city of Washington in 1890, it was declared:

"We do solemnly recommend all the governments by which we are accredited to conclude a uniform treaty of arbitration, as a principle of American international law, for the settlement of the differences, disputes or controversies that may arise between two or more of them."

And they added, with equal solemnity, these words, which should never be forgotten:

"Arbitration shall be *obligatory* in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, territory, indemnities, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction and enforcement of treaties; *and the sole question which any nation is at liberty to refuse to arbitrate is a question which may imperil its independence.*"

Mr. Blaine, who was well known as an ardent friend of peace among all the republics on the American continent, declared:

"If in this closing hour the Conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare to call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of this continent to peace and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference."

Secretary Hay very recently stated our policy in respect to international arbitration in these clear and emphatic words:

"Advocating and adhering in practice, in questions concerning itself, to the resort of international arbitration in the settlement of controversies not adjustable by the orderly treatment of diplomatic negotiations, the government of the United States would always be glad to see the question of the justice of the claims by one state against another, growing out of individual or national obligations, left to the decision of an

impartial arbitral tribunal, before which litigating nations, *weak and strong alike*, may stand as equals in the eye of international law and mutual duty."

Our long advocacy of this ethical doctrine, during every year of our national existence, finds practical exemplification in the fact that, during the nineteenth century, the government of the United States entered into forty-nine separate agreements for such arbitration with twenty different nations; and President Roosevelt in his message to Congress of December 7th, 1903, declared that as "the Hague Tribunal offers in the Venezuelan Arbitration so good an example of what can be done in the pacific settlement of controversies between nations, recourse to it ought to be encouraged in every way." Our record is, therefore, in this matter equally creditable and consistent from 1787 to 1903.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to the fact, that the way is now more open than ever before for any two nations having a controversy which they cannot adjust by diplomatic negotiations, to submit such controversy to the tribunal established by the Peace Conference of 1899; and no country ought to feel too strong, or be too wilful, to agree to such submission, especially where its opponent is a small or weak nation; for the invitation to that Conference proceeded from the ruler of the greatest military power on earth, a ruler who is absolutely free from constitutional limitations upon his actions, alike in peace and war.

It is therefore to be hoped that recourse to international arbitration, now made so feasible and so attractive, will grow in favor with every passing year; and, certainly, no American statesman ought ever to forget these memorable words of General Grant: "Though I have been trained as a soldier and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international difficulties." The epoch to which this great soldier and patriot looked forward is now here, and the court he hoped for is realized in the Hague Tribunal.

WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION.

BY PROFESSOR SIMON NEWCOMB.

It is now nearly two years since the world of science heard with lively interest the announcement of the most munificent individual gift ever made for the promotion of knowledge. Up to that time the Smithsonian Institution was the most richly endowed establishment which, not being devoted to the special purposes of a teaching institution, or the conduct of a prescribed line of research, was free to use its funds in the promotion of knowledge in any direction that might be most promising. Now, the Smithsonian endowment, with all the additions made to it during the sixty years of its existence, was multiplied tenfold at a stroke. Any misgivings that might have been felt as to the wise administration of so important and novel a trust were quieted by its having been placed in the hands of a body of men of national reputation, whose standing before the public would afford the best guarantee of wise management. Believing that such a body could form a better judgment as to how the Institution could attain its object than could any one individual, even he himself, the founder left free the hands of his managers, prescribing only certain general conditions defining the aims to be kept in view, and outlining the field of activity. The guardians of the trust lost no time in beginning preparations for its execution. At a preliminary meeting the necessary steps were taken for putting into operation the executive machinery necessary to a survey of the field and a decision as to what the Institution could most advantageously undertake.

The terms of the trust were so broad that it would not be surprising if the first sentiment of the organizing body were one of doubt, not to say perplexity, as to the direction which its activity should take. The possible field of its operations was almost un-

limited; and, at the same time, there was no precedent by which it could be guided, unless that supplied by the Smithsonian Institution. But the world has advanced so far during the sixty years that this institution has existed that its experience could not well form the basis of work on a scale so much larger. Of the numerous questions which were asked as to the policy of the Institution, none could be answered in an authoritative way. Were its operations to be confined to our own country, or would they extend around the world? Would a permanent body of scientific investigators be organized, or would the Institution look to individual agents who should execute its functions? If so, would these agents be the existing institutions, or would they be individuals? All such questions as these were left open by the founder, and his trustees did wisely in deciding none of them in such a way as to limit their operations.

Another question was, whether the managers of the Institution would welcome a public discussion of its policy. We are not aware that this question was ever formally put; but an affirmative answer would seem eminently proper. In the case of an institution, publicly organized for the promotion of knowledge, and not to serve any private purpose of its managers, it would seem wise to encourage the widest discussion of its policy, and the most searching criticism of its proceedings. An animated discussion in the pages of "Science" was the result of this view. One feature of the discussion might have been foreseen. The suggestions were so numerous and varied that it was impossible to combine even their main features into anything like a homogeneous whole. Material for thought was undoubtedly afforded in sufficient quantity, but the only way in which it could be utilized was to extract here and there a little of the essence, to be utilized as far as possible, and then, casting aside the rude and indigestible remainder, to survey the field for one's self, in order to decide upon a course of action.

The first formal step was to appoint in each of the great departments of science an advisory committee charged to report in what way the needs in its field could be most effectually supplied. The reports thus elicited are found in the first issue of the Year Book of the Carnegie Institution. They are not only worthy of study as valuable contributions to an appreciation of the several subjects treated, but they may be of interest in other lines of

thought than those formally discussed. After receiving and digesting the reports, the active work of the Institution was initiated at a second meeting of the Board of Trustees, held in November, 1902. The year's work started after this meeting is briefly summarized in the second issue of the Year Book, which has just been published. These two publications will be taken as a basis for discussing the adopted policy.

The prescriptions of the founder will be seen to leave open to the Institution two closely associated but radically distinct lines of activity. One looks to the Institution itself becoming an active agent in the promotion of knowledge, founding its own establishment and doing its own work. This would not preclude its promoting the work of others, but it would make such action conditional on the work falling into some general scheme. The main feature of the other policy is that the works to be aided should be those of others, and that the selection should be determined upon the individual merits of each, as inferred from the representation made by its advocates. Both of these lines of policy are indicated in the conditions of the trust; the first, perhaps, rather by implication and inference than by direct statements; the other by express provision. The words which indicate the first plan are: "To promote original research, paying great attention thereto as one of the most important of all departments." It might be claimed that there is an essential difference between "promoting" research and conducting research, and that, had it been expected that the Institution would be an active agent in carrying on researches, a different word would have been used. On the other hand, "paying great attention" to research implies a more active function than this.

Another charge is that of discovering "the exceptional man in every department of study whenever and wherever found, inside or outside of schools, and enabling him to make the work for which he seems specially designed his life-work." This, again, implies an active agency in searching out men, and not merely a sitting in one's office to receive and consider applications. The execution of this clause is, perhaps, the most difficult of all, because it so often happens that the supposed exceptional man turns out to be, after all, very commonplace. Once or twice in a generation a man like George William Hill appears on the scene, whose first work stamps him as among those who are going to suc-

ceed. But, even in a case like this, only an expert is able to judge the man and his work. And yet, after all, any one who reflects on the large part played by the individual in scientific progress cannot but admit, that the discovery of the exceptional man may well be regarded as one of the most important functions of the Institution.

Another implication in the same direction is the condition, that the Institution should be founded in the city of Washington. This may be fulfilled in letter, but hardly in spirit, by a mere holding of meetings and transaction of business in Washington. There can be no sound reason for this condition, unless the founder, sympathizing in the general feeling of pride in our national capital, desired to add the intellectual feature to the great volume of attractive works with which our nation is embellishing it. Such an end cannot be attained unless some other work than that of a purely business and administrative character is conducted in Washington.

Comparing these two policies with the actual operations of the Institution, so far as developed and planned for the coming year, it is very clear that the second policy has been followed to the exclusion, in spirit at least, of the first. So far as has yet become apparent, the main functions of the Institution have been to carefully collate and study all the applications for assistance which have been made to it by individual investigators, and to comply with such of them as seemed most worthy and important.

One who is neither in the councils of the Institution, nor in any way a sharer of its responsibilities, must be cautious in assuming too certain a knowledge of its policy. Yet the impression created by a study of its widely extended operations is, that unity of purpose has not been considered important. In the absence of any reason to the contrary, it is admissible to assume that the future will be like the past. The ship has been launched, and, although she has scarcely more than left her moorings, we may infer whither her course, if unchanged, will lead her. Material for such an inference would seem to be afforded by the reports of what has been done during the past year. If variety in character and geographic extension are desirable features, they are certainly not wanting. The grants made for investigations in various branches of science number sixty-six. On the other hand, it is significant that about one

thousand grants, asking for a sum total of some three million dollars, have been refused or indefinitely postponed.

A few examples of the grants actually made will suffice to give a general idea of their character. Among the sciences, that which has received the most liberal support is astronomy, for the promotion of which twenty-six thousand dollars was allotted. The work promoted was that of the Harvard, Albany, Lick and Yerkes Observatories, as well as of individual astronomers. In geographic extent, the researches extend from the trans-Caspian region in the east, where a geological and archæological inquiry has been instituted, to Arizona in the west, where a desert botanical laboratory has been established to investigate the adaptation of plant life to arid conditions. Medical men throughout the world will be much interested by the reestablishment of the "*Index Medicus*," in which the literature of their science is catalogued. Individuals or committees have been appointed to inquire into current investigations of nutrition and other problems of physiology, and the establishment of proposed observatories and laboratories. A bureau of American history has been established in Washington. It is proposed to make a comparison between the geological features in eastern Asia and western America. On the humanistic side, a study of the economic conditions of the United States has been promoted. A hand-book of the learned societies of the world is nearly completed. A botanist, working at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Berlin, is engaged in an investigation of the Philippine flora.

At the Johns Hopkins University, investigations in physical chemistry and osmotic pressure, as well as other subjects, are being carried on. A practical character is given to work by experiments on ship resistance and propulsion, as well as by investigations of aluminum bronzes. The Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Holl has received an allowance for the maintenance of twenty tables, and the Biological Station at Naples, Italy, an allowance for two tables.

That these and the twoscore other works promoted are most worthy of the support accorded them, is unquestioned. If any mistakes have been made, it is only because a minute inquiry into each of a thousand applications was beyond the power of so small a body of men. And yet the question is well worthy of consideration, whether a plan of work more comprehensive than,

on the face of it, these grants seem to indicate, would not have been advisable, and would not have rendered the Institution a more important factor in the world's progress. That the adopted policy will lead to a measurable extension of scientific research on its present plane is undeniable; but will it elevate the plane? We have already pointed out that two lines of activity were open, the one looking to the Institution becoming itself an active factor in progress, in which case its main object should be to elevate the plane of work in all departments, and the other to being simply a promoter of works on the existing plane.

To make our meaning quite clear, we may consider some of the works just enumerated. There is, perhaps, no social problem to-day in which the interests of human society are more deeply involved than that of an understanding of the causes which affect the welfare of the masses. Why is it that we find the laboring classes in Germany better fed and housed than those of Russia and Austria, those in England yet higher in the scale, while in America they are more opulent than in any country in Europe? It cannot be mere want of land, for there would seem to be more unoccupied land in Russia than in most other European countries. An investigation into the causes of these conditions is of the utmost importance, because, when any system of public policy affecting industry is under consideration, the first question should be, Will the effect of this system be to depress or to elevate the masses? This question it is impossible to answer until we have a well-established science of public and individual prosperity, grounded on correct economic principles, and on a comprehensive study of facts. That such a science is possible cannot be doubted, because all the elements which affect that prosperity are completely within the range of our knowledge. The two elements on which the whole fabric depends are, rate of wages and cost of subsistence. The real difficulty is that the tracing of these two elements in the ramifications of industry is a complex mathematical process, for which, up to the present time, not even a nomenclature has been invented. The problem will, therefore, not be solved until it is taken up by mathematicians, who will find it so different in form from those with which they are conversant that they must devote much thought to the subject before even the method of investigating it can be discovered.

Whether this end was in view in that study of the economic

conditions of the United States which the Institution has promoted, it is impossible to say; but the fact that the only end mentioned in the report is a history of progress must lead us to infer a negative. The foundation of such a science as we have suggested will never be laid by a mere promotion of the works of individuals or institutions, and that for the reason that no individual or institution combines the incentive to the work with the human machinery necessary to its prosecution. The institution that shall undertake the work will elevate social study to a higher plane than it has ever yet reached. But nothing less than an institution can be expected to carry on the work.

We might consider almost all the grants which have been promoted from the same point of view. In nearly all cases we can only imagine an end which the grantees may have had in view. Even in doing this, we cannot evade the conviction that a greater amount of co-ordination should have been secured in the work than seems to have entered into the plan.

On the two lines of policy which we have indicated the world at large always has been and always will be divided. The one may be defined as the policy of individualism, the other as that of collectivism. The affairs of men can never be administered on either of these systems, to the exclusion of the other; and the question whether the Carnegie Institution is making the best use of its resources by continuing on its present line of exclusive individualism is worthy of serious consideration. This question can best be considered if the writer, ignoring the existence of the Institution, simply sketches out what seems to him the ideal mode of procedure, should an institution be established in the city of Washington for carrying on scientific researches on a large scale, and at the same time promoting the intellectual development of the country.

In this case, the first question to be considered is not, What assistance do the scientific investigators in the country need in carrying on their work? but rather, What are the needs of science at the present time? This difference may seem a small one; but, small as it is, it is the pivot on which the whole policy of the institution must turn. If the collective policy had been adopted, a consultation with the best authorities, acting either as individuals, or as committees, would, of course, have been the first step. But a well understood condition would be that, while an

adviser thus called in was not prohibited from making known either the wants of his special work, or his own desires as to what he should undertake, such wants and desires should be assigned a subsidiary place. The knowledge which is sought is not that relating to work now in hand, but to the work which will be wanted by the future, and which can be initiated by an institution having very large means at its command. We want to know what the future can be made, if progress is aided by a munificent endowment. In a word, the work is not to be started on the present plane, but on a plane a stage higher than the resources of the past admitted of its reaching.

Some features of the situation which would have been brought to light by such an inquiry may be pointed out. A comprehensive survey of the material now available for the promotion of science would have shown, that the nineteenth century has been industriously engaged in amassing observations of the phenomena of Nature in all her departments, the main results of which are still to be extracted. Meteorological observations have been and are being accumulated in such numbers that the more advanced thinkers on the subject are calling a halt. So far as they can see, no more valuable result can be derived from the continuation of the series than from the series as it now exists. But there is no sign of response in any quarter. Magnetic observatories at various points on the globe are recording the changes in the magnetism of the earth. Systematic observations of the spots on the sun have been going on for more than a century, especially at the Greenwich Observatory during the past twenty years. The great observatories of the world publish annually, or from time to time, stately volumes filled with observations on the positions and aspects of the great bodies of the universe. Spectroscopists are measuring the motions of stars, and making such records of their light as may lead to a knowledge of their physical constitution. Observations of the aurora are made and published at many points in Europe and America. On the humanistic side we have statistics relating to almost every interest of the human race, awaiting the hand of the investigator who shall derive results from them.

It goes without saying that this mass of material is, in its original state, of no importance to humanity. It becomes important only through the results that may be derived from it.

We must, therefore, inquire how these results are obtained and to what extent they are being worked up. Continuing the inquiry in this direction, we shall find an illogical disproportion between the amount of effort devoted to the accumulation of observations, and that devoted to deriving results from them. Men are founding new observatories or stations for observations all the time, but no one has yet thought of founding an institution for deriving the best results from the observations already made. It is quite exceptional that an institution engaged in making meteorological observations makes any comprehensive investigation in climatology, even that of their own region. For the most part, this branch of the work is left in the hands of individuals. Examining what the latter have done, one cannot fail to be struck by the piecemeal character of their work. This is necessarily the result of individual effort, because the proper handling of the whole mass is beyond the power of an individual. It can only be done by an organization.

Inquiring into the wants of such an organization, we should find one most vital in its character, and yet apt to be overlooked. There is a science which develops the methods of deriving results from great masses of observations, and of reaching an exact judgment as to their reliability. But this science is untaught in our universities, unless occasionally in the most abstract and general way. An examination of what individuals have done would show that, for the most part, they were little acquainted with the practical applications of this science. And yet, a clear understanding of its methods is essential to the extraction of the best results. Without this requirement, it would be useless to do anything on a large scale. Happily, knowledge on the part of a very few individuals will speedily leaven the whole mass when there is occasion for it. The one necessary condition of success in attacking the work would have been to learn what men in any part of the world were best acquainted with the scientific methods required, and to call in their advice in such a way as it could be most effectively rendered. With this aid an institution, which it might fairly be expected would prove one of the most important of the twentieth century, could be set going; and it can be set going in no other way than one which starts with the problem: What does science require, and how can these requirements be fulfilled?

The foregoing suggestions apply only to observational science.

But the result would not have been materially different on entering the field of experiment. The writer is confident that, had three or four of the leaders of experimental science at the present time, in various countries, been called in to survey their future field, they would have agreed that the study of the mysterious radiations from material bodies, which commenced only ten years ago with the X-rays, and which has since astounded the scientific world by the revolutionary character of the phenomena it has brought to light,—the outcome of which no man can see,—was a field of work in which the co-operation of a body of men, which could be secured only through a single great institution, offered results of the greatest promise. No one knows to what results even so simple a study might lead as that of the radio-activity of bodies — that singular property by which various substances, which we cannot yet catalogue, under circumstances which we are not yet able to accurately define, send off an invisible emanation, having among other properties that of making air a conductor of electricity. When the laws of this activity are brought to light, who knows how important the conclusions to which it may lead? A possible revolution is already foreshadowed in the behavior of radium, that mysterious substance which sets at naught what we supposed to be one of the best established laws of modern physics, by persistently radiating energy at the lowest temperature that science can produce; a temperature at which, according to all preceding theory, activity of every sort should cease, and every object should become a dead mass. Had such a result been predicted to a physical philosopher five years ago, he would have replied, "That is absurd. If you ever find any such substance it will be after you have been able to run a steamship by the heat of the ocean itself." Now such a substance has been found; who knows what may follow?

The carrying out of such a system of investigation as is here mapped out requires an organization—a co-operating body of men collected in a single spot, profiting by their mutual advice and experience, and clarifying each other's ideas by discussion of the obscure and difficult points arising at every step. The end aimed at is so different from that of any existing institution of learning that no association with such an institution is necessary. The best place for the institution is the city of Washington. In order to reach the highest state of efficiency, it would become, to a

greater or less extent, a teaching agency; but it would not compete with any existing institution of learning, because its teaching would be of a more specialized and advanced character. It would simply supplement the work of our universities and colleges. The Doctor of Philosophy emerging from one of these institutions, has plenty of theoretical knowledge and practical training in the direction of whatever science he has been studying at his university, but he has no training in the special work of the institution whose functions we have been outlining. Why is the twentieth century advancing without our nation enjoying the great advantage of having, at its capital, the atmosphere which such an institution would diffuse through its life?

The answer is not far to seek. The influences against such an outcome have been strong enough to paralyze all efforts to promote it. Some of the reasons which have been brought forward against such an organization as that here suggested, should be considered. The most plausible is that the men now engaged in carrying on the world's work in science and in education, though scattered in various places in this and other countries, already have at their command such facilities as are afforded by their respective institutions. All that is necessary is to discover what each one is doing, and whether he stands in need of additional facilities. If he does, supply them. As, in nearly all cases, he already has a part of the facilities necessary, the latter will thus be utilized to the greatest possible extent, and he can do his work where he is better than anywhere else.

This argument is excellent as far as it goes, but it leaves out of sight two most important points decisive of the question. It presupposes that the work most worthy of encouragement is that which men are either doing at the present time, or, individually, wish to undertake. Now, this will never be the case until the field of scientific investigation has reached its ultimate limit. An institution with vast facilities should devote itself to looking forward to what ought to be and can be done in science, rather than to the matters in which men are momentarily interested. Here, as in industry, plant, methods and ideas are constantly becoming antiquated, and real progress involves their constant renewal. An institution which ignores this may do much good work, but will never mark an epoch in the development of science.

Another weak point of the argument is that it leaves out of

sight the most efficient agent of progress in every field of human activity, that of association and mutual attrition between man and man. Perhaps there is no condition of progress the necessity of which admits of being better shown by actual experience, little though it may be recognized. The more profound the region of thought, the more necessary that he who enters it shall be stirred by suggestion, even from his inferiors in command of his subject. Two men working in company will not only do twice as much as two working individually, but it may be expected that one of them will do things which, had he been alone, he would never have been capable of doing. If, as is always the case, he encounters at every step a serious difficulty, a mere suggestion from another may set his thoughts in the direction required for its removal. If, eighteen hundred years ago, Hipparchus, Aristarchus and Ptolemy had lived at the same time, and could have been brought together to discuss day by day the mystery of the celestial motions, I believe that the true system of the universe would have been brought to light fourteen centuries before the time of Copernicus. May not the same be true of the mysteries which modern science has opened up to us?

Another objection to the policy here advocated is based upon a widely diffused fear of centralization of learning, especially at the national capital. But the attrition which we have just shown to be necessary is impossible without centralization. If the arguments in question were well founded, it would be better if the resources of such an institution as Harvard could be divided between a number of small institutions scattered over the State or the country. Granting that it were possible that the work of the university could be done by having one professor in each town of the State, would the separation be an advantage? There can be but one answer to this question. The activity of the teachers would gradually come to an end, and the university itself would cease to be a factor in intellectual progress.

Another fear is that, if we allow any institution whatever to grow up with the advantages afforded at that point, Washington may become a sort of Paris, and will become so influential that, outside of it, a scholar will be outshone by his fellows at the capital, even as the professors at the provincial universities of France are outshone by the members of the Institute. The scientific work of the capital would, however, be so different from

that done elsewhere that this result seems hardly likely; if, however, it should occur, would it really be an evil? The smaller universities of our country are none the worse because Yale, Harvard and Columbia outshine them, and neither Yale nor the country at large suffers because Harvard has richer means and a wider field of activity than any other of our universities. Why, then, should any investigator or any section of the country be the worse for the growth of an institution of research in Washington, which may, at some future time, become the most important of the land?

It is worth pointing out that the almost inevitable outcome of the present policy will be a centralization of a very objectionable kind. If the activities of the Carnegie Institution were to be wholly confined to aiding individuals here and there, that end could have been best attained by dividing the endowment among the leading institutions of learning, under such restrictions as might have been necessary. Every such organization could then have determined for itself, better than a central one at Washington, what the needs of its professors were, and what might be the importance of their work. It could have established branch stations at least as well as can the Washington institution. It could have sought out the exceptional man with even better chances of finding him, because its field of knowledge would have been wider than that of any central authority. Each could, for itself, have selected the best research-assistant to be found.

Now, instead of this result, we actually have a central authority passing judgment upon the relative importance of the work being done at all the institutions of learning from which applications may come, and aiding them, or refusing aid, according to their judgment. One very probable outcome of this has not been sufficiently considered. It must tend, to a greater or less extent, to diminish the spirit of individual effort, just as gifts are apt to do in many other walks of life. This effect will be intensified by a very obvious and reasonable provision announced by the Institution as governing its action. It does not propose to undertake anything that is being well done by other agencies. It would, of course, be superfluous to assist a professor in cases where the patrons of his own institution could be induced to do so. The latter will naturally not be very liberal in giving their funds if the Carnegie Institution can be successfully appealed to. If

the appeal is a failure, that failure will be a reason against the project in the mind of a possible donor. The dilemma will be that of Omar:—If the Carnegie Institution can be induced to support your work, our aid is not needed; if it cannot be so induced, the object is not worthy of our support. Of course, it is not claimed that this consideration will be universal, or will be operative immediately and in all cases. But to suppose that it will never be operative in any degree is contrary to every principle of human nature.

The progress of knowledge has brought us to a point where our nation needs the services of a body of men who shall be engaged in work of a distinctively different type from that carried on in our traditional institutions of learning, a work which belongs peculiarly to the present and future, because it was not possible in the past. Looking at our intellectual history, we have grown from the high school of our revolutionary ancestors to the college; from the college stage we have grown to the university stage. Now we have grown to a point where we need something beyond the university. We want an institution at the city of Washington at which shall be organized a system of research on that higher plane and larger scale which the progress of experimental science and observational knowledge now requires. Such a work would be at a disadvantage in being connected with any existing university for the same reason that the college was at a disadvantage when grafted on the preparatory school, and for the same reason that our universities are now at a disadvantage in being grafted upon the colleges. What we want might be appropriately called the National Research University. If the Carnegie Institution is not to grow into anything of this kind, is there not among us some possessor of great wealth ready to become its founder?

SIMON NEWCOMB.

HISTORY OF A TRUST.

BY CERDIC SAXON.

DEBATERS and writers upon the trust problem seem disposed to discuss the question on the assumption that the claims publicly put forth in prospectuses and the other claims advanced privately by the trust promoter, are sustained in the results that follow when the proposed consolidation has been consummated. Specific data of sufficient clearness, based on the actual experience of some modern trust, have not been forthcoming. It is to supply such data, in a measure, that the history of one of these great concerns is here submitted. That its past experience and its present condition will prove typical of similar enveloping industrial corporations will undoubtedly be demonstrated in time. A period of ten years is more than likely to prove sufficient to let out the life-blood or to clip the claws of most, if not all, of these so-called octopuses, and for some the period may be much shorter.

The writer desires it to be distinctly understood that he refers, in this article, to industrial combinations, to the exclusion of all such as have natural monopolies—like railways, trolley-lines, gas companies and the like. Consolidation and oppression by such is a practical possibility, because their franchises are monopolistic in their nature and the personal factor diminishes to a minimum. Among this class of corporations, the subordinate's work becomes largely routine detail, and is always about the same. Superior efficiency may be rewarded or not, as the manager or board of control is wise or otherwise. Failure to appreciate ability works no serious peril to the company. The dissatisfied subordinate may quit and the efficiency of the service deteriorate, but the general asset value of the franchise remains undisturbed. In the industrial field, outside of patents, the personal factor is the element of ultimate dominating potency.

Ostensibly, all trusts are formed to effect economies, that the cost of production may be lowered, and that thereby better and cheaper service may be rendered to the public. In reality, their attitude towards the public is not dissimilar to that attributed to a late great railway magnate who, when questioned as to how his policy would be accepted by the public, indignantly resented the impertinence of the inquiry.

The trust about to be reviewed essayed to control the production of an article of general consumption in all parts of the nation, and, in a less degree, in all parts of the civilized world. In good seasons, the mills cannot fully serve the demand, and the sales aggregate some $60,000,000 yearly. While a tariff of twenty-five per cent. is levied on imports it is as much needed as one on wheat. Our claim to excellence in this industry is not founded on brag. We were the inventors and discoverers of the methods of manipulation, and the foreign product is inferior to ours in all ways. Generally, good wages are paid to the 25,000 hands employed. The labor being mostly on a piece-work basis, each man is practically his own paymaster. Little or no discontent is evident, and it is extremely doubtful if there is another industry of like importance that has been so free from strikes, lockouts and labor agitations. That no union exists in any of the mills is due far more to the indifference of the help than to any antagonism of the superintendents. Several large fortunes have been made by successful captains in the industry, and much money lost by others not properly equipped for the task.

Various attempts among the manufacturers to co-operate in making prices stable and eliminating severe and at times ruinous competition, had preceded the advent of the trust. Some fifteen years ago, it was thought that at last the proper ground for assured profits had been found. A selling company was organized, and the goods of all the standard companies were to be sold through it for a period of years. Each company retained its separate and independent existence in all particulars, excepting that of marketing its product. Prices were radically advanced, and the trade could get none of the standard brands at any other terms than the arbitrary and uniform terms dictated by the new selling company. Everything opened auspiciously. There was to be a good profit in the goods sold, and on all the best brands the market was controlled absolutely.

Orders, however, failed to come to the selling company; instead, some half-dozen companies, manufacturers of cheaper and inferior goods, who had been deemed too insignificant to be taken into the combination, were soon swamped with orders, and for several months they did practically all the business. Then the forces of disintegration commenced to operate in the new combine, as they had in all previous ones. Two or three of the combination mills, finding themselves without business, began to make confidential arrangements with and deliveries to the biggest jobbers on their own account, in direct violation of their contract with the selling company. By the time the season was nearly over, this sort of thing became an open secret; and, at the close of its first year's existence, the selling company was by mutual consent disbanded and the old-time condition of open competition resumed. This proved to be the last attempt of the manufacturers of their own initiative to form a combination.

Ten years ago, a new factor entered the field; we will call him Mr. Promoter. He flashed into view, with a New Jersey charter under his arm, and with what was at that time the startling capitalization of $50,000,000. Mr. Promoter knew nothing of the industry, except so far as he had been engaged in selling to some of the companies a portion of their principal raw material. He was also connected with several financial institutions, and was not unknown as a manipulator in Wall Street. For several years, he dominated the trust; and, from the prominence he achieved in successfully consolidating this industry, he was hailed as the pioneer apostle of the new era of combination and co-ordination of effort. For a long time, he enjoyed continuous and conspicuous mention in the New York press, and his views and movements were chronicled with the utmost faithfulness. When the New York Legislature undertook to investigate trusts, Mr. Promoter was the star witness, and he completely overwhelmed the statesmen by his volubility in elaborating the marvellous results which were to ensue from the new era of combination. For a few years, he stood on dizzy heights in the consolidation world as the prince of promoters. Two years ago, he collapsed. But that is another story.

It is needless to detail all the particulars of the negotiations that governed the entrance of all the mills in the country into the new trust. Suffice it to say that all but the three giants of the in-

dustry had been absorbed by 1892, when the trust had control of eleven plants whose nominal capital was about $6,000,000, and whose sales equalled about twenty-five per cent. of the country's business. A price war was then declared, to force in the three giants of the business. In the spring of 1893, two of these capitulated; and the third, and biggest, while retaining its corporate independence, entered into an alliance whereby it agreed to follow the prices and terms dictated to the trade by the trust.

The first step of the trust, which now was practically in complete monopolistic control of the entire industry throughout the United States, was to force upon the jobbers a drastic contract system. In place of ordinary competition among the jobbers, each jobber was required to sign a contract which took his selling terms absolutely out of his hands. Before he could get any goods, he was obliged to sign a contract, the vital stipulation of which was embraced in the following words:

"The purchaser agrees to be governed in his selling price and terms to the retail trade by the instructions of this company, and hereby promises not to vary from the discounts or terms herein named. It is also understood and agreed that the above conditions as to prices and terms to the retail trade apply to all goods on hand April 1, 1893, as well as to present or future purchases under this contract. This company, on its part, will require purchasers to sign this agreement before accepting their orders. And the said purchaser, in case of his failure at any time to faithfully observe the foregoing conditions, hereby consents to the cancelling of all his unfilled orders in the hands of this company."

Then followed the terms and minute stipulations which were to govern every possible trade contingency. This general contract was followed by what was termed a "supplementary agreement," the substance of which is the following:

"This company, in consideration of a certain agreement between it and —— dated ——, hereby covenants and agrees with said —— that if he, the said ——, shall well and faithfully keep and perform all the undertakings on his part to be performed, in said agreement contained, and shall not directly or indirectly violate the same or any provision thereof while it continues in force, said company will as soon after the first of April, 1894, as said Company is satisfied that said agreement has been faithfully kept and performed by said ——, pay him or credit his account with 15 per cent. on the net amount of his purchases under said agreement, provided, however, that if, in the opinion of said Company, which is to be final and conclusive, said agreement has been in any material respect violated by said ——, he shall not be entitled to said discount

of 15 per cent., but shall pay for all goods purchased by him under said agreement, upon the terms and at the discounts therein mentioned without further discount or rebate. It is also mutually understood that —— is to be held responsible for any violation of said agreement by his salesmen."

On top of these then very novel restrictions and stipulations, there was an advance in prices over the season of 1892 of practically 33 1-3 per cent. That all this came as a sensation may readily be imagined. The resentment among the retailers was most intense. The jobbers, as a general thing, co-operated and sympathized with the new policy. It eliminated competition on price among themselves, gave them a steady market from the beginning of the season to its end, and an assured profit of about fifteen per cent.

The policy outlined in the quotations from the earliest contracts of this trust has been followed uniformly ever since, with the exception of the season of 1897, when there came an accusation of bad faith between the managers of the trust and its ally, the one big company that had stayed on the outside. In consequence of this quarrel, prices were severely cut and a trade war lasted throughout that season. The contest cost each a loss of a couple of millions of dollars, and in 1898 the last of the original competitors came under the trust's dominion.

What has been sketched above may be termed the public history of the trust. It is needless to say that every property acquired was purchased at highly inflated values, those which came in last getting astonishingly liberal terms.

To detail the internal history of this trust, would be only to reveal the struggles of the various factions to get control of the highest offices, and to show the cleverness of Mr. Promoter in successfully playing one set against the other, while he remained secure, ruling the company on the inside and manipulating the stock market on the outside. While Mr. Promoter, from the vantage point of treasurer of the trust, largely influenced affairs, the ablest men were withdrawing and starting competitive concerns. In the third president, Mr. Promoter secured a man of excellent character, but old and affable, at a salary of $25,000 a year. He was an uninquisitive old gentleman and naturally unaggressive, and for four years under him the trust drifted through a period of internal serenity.

During all this period, the trust maintained the high prices, making no provision for the rainy day; everything was done to squeeze out dividends, and the arbitrary contract system and price-control still prevailed. Competition kept increasing, and the trust's volume of business kept diminishing. The selling agents, who under the old-time conditions had been powerful factors and possessed of wide discretion in making prices and distributing the product of the mills, found themselves stripped of all authority and confined to the terms of a printed contract which was practically public to any one. An office boy was fully as competent to make a sale as any of the half dozen $15,000 salesmen employed.

The publicity of the trust's prices and terms to the trade, coupled with its contract system and high prices, made a situation most favorable to its competitors, who were all prosperous; while the trust, having essayed the hopeless task of buying up competing mills, put a premium on competition. To force the fighting on the survival-of-the-fittest lines, with the advantage of the splendid prestige the old trade-marks of the trust mills still enjoyed, was a policy the magnates refused to adopt. They hounded the salesmen to do the impossible, and kept raising the prices to get the profits wherewith to pay dividends and interest charges, and to make good the leakages in all departments.

At last, the big profit exacted on the rapidly diminishing volume of sales proved inadequate to meet the dividend charges, and the credit of the company began to be suspected by the banks. Nothing but heroic measures could save the company. Its competitors were stronger than ever. They had no such prejudice to work against as had the trust brands. "Not made by a Trust," was the cry of the outsiders. Loudest among those who used this cry was one of the original organizers of the trust, who had left it and become a competitor.

Once more, Mr. Promoter took the centre of the stage, with three more big New Jersey charters under his arm. With one, he proposed to organize a great international trust to control the world's supply of the prime raw material of the industry. With another, he proposed to organize another trust to absorb all the competitors of the trust already established. Under the third charter, the greatest of all, he proposed to organize all three. For a couple of months, the trade and the newspapers were filled

with the wildest rumors of what Mr. Promoter was going to do, and what he had done. But his bubbles were all pricked, and this all collapsed, as did Mr. Promoter. He was eliminated from the management. Those who had wrested the control from him forced the fighting to regain the lost business. At the opening of 1901, a cut of twenty-five per cent. was made in prices, this cut practically putting the goods on the market at cost. In 1902, the same policy of low prices was continued; and, while some little mills of inferior backing were crowded off the field, the chief competitors remain in 1904 in apparently undiminished vigor, fully as able, if not more so, to stand the contest as the trust.

Since July, 1900, the trust's stockholders have received no dividends, nor is there any immediate prospect of one. Of the twenty-five mills it controls, ten have been closed or dismantled, and these represent at least $3,000,000 of trust stock. Of the other fifteen, it is doubtful if more than half of them, under present conditions, can make ends meet. Only the best equipped in location, management and machinery can show profits under present prices; while the others, from loss of their competent superintendents or from the placing of incompetent men in authority, have lost the prestige their trade-marks formerly held, so that their production has to be marketed at special concessions.

To sum up briefly the trust's history. At the opening of 1893, it controlled absolutely the business of the country in its own line. Its position was apparently unassailable. The prospects could be expressed only in superlatives. All the great, successful men of the industry were under one management. No opposition was in sight. A surplus was in the treasury and a very large profit was in the business.

To-day, the trust's surplus is gone, and in its place is a bonded indebtedness of some $17,000,000. It is perhaps doing about sixty per cent. of the business of the country, and that at little or no profit. The gains of the best mills are largely wiped out by the losses at the others, not to mention the constant interest drain and the drag of dismantled plants. Instead of being owner of the field, it has about ten well established competitors, each of the competing mills being headed by some of the ablest men in the industry, all of whom were formerly in the trust. Those who were the great leaders in this industry and its chief fortune-makers are dead, retired or at the head of companies outside the trust.

The public's appreciation of the trust is fairly well reflected in the stock-market. Where the stock formerly sold at from 100 to 120 for the preferred, and from 60 to 65 for the common, it is now quoted at from half to one-third of those figures with no purchasers. The present managers are striving valiantly to put the trust on its legs again, but the task is herculean; while their newness in their positions, their uncertainty of tenure of office, the changes and rumors of changes of various sorts each year of late, coupled with the absence of any one dominating master mind equipped for the requirements of the trust, handicap the future excessively. Furthermore, the moment the trust again gets where it can declare dividends on its $50,000,000 capital, the field will offer too great an inducement for competition to be overlooked. This point is, perhaps, made clearer by the statement that the present live plants of the trust could be all duplicated, ready for business, for less than $5,000,000 cash.

Now, what has been the result of ten years' experience with this typical industrial trust, which produced a commodity that is necessary to almost every person in America? Has the original fear of the public, or the claim of the monopoly promoter, been realized? Does not this trust excite more titters than terrors among the trade to-day? Did competition remain suppressed, or did inflated prices continue beyond a comparatively short period? Its original managing board embraced all the ablest and most successful captains of the industry; but was the trust able to bring about and continue that subordination and co-operation among them, which was essential to its harmonious and successful development? Was it able to eliminate human nature in these men, and remove all traces of feelings generated during their careers of rivalry? This history seems to give answer to all these queries in a manner which suggests the absence of grounds for fear of continued industrial tyranny from any such combinations. Theoretically, a trust can become a monster of oppression; practically, trusts hurt only the confiding investing public. The average trust is as powerless for permanent harm as the bogyman of our childhood.

CERDIC SAXON.

IS THE HIGH PRICE OF COTTON THE RESULT OF MANIPULATION?

BY DANIEL J. SULLY.

BEFORE entering upon a discussion of this question, it is perhaps necessary to define the limits of speculation and manipulation in a general way. Ever since the fields of commerce and finance have broadened out—and even before, for that matter—speculation has been an element in business life. It has been quick to take advantage of conditions on one side or the other. But no scheme of speculation that lacked a sound basis for operation has been successful for more than a limited period. Speculation causes fluctuations, but does not long affect the general trend due to fundamental causes. With regard to the present price of cotton, no plan of manipulation, unless financed on a scale sufficient to take over a large portion of the crop, could have brought and kept prices at the present average level. There are times, of course, when acute conditions—such as a short crop, a small supply toward the end of a season and aggressive manipulation backed by large capital—have resulted in "corners" and thus kept up prices. But "corners" could not be planned and executed at the outset of a cotton year. No clique of speculators could be found with money enough and daring enough to attempt such a thing. They could not see far enough into the future, and the game would not be worth the candle.

If I were to be asked the bald question whether the cotton market had been the object of manipulation this year, I would say: "Yes; on both sides." One clique has believed cotton to be too low; another has taken the position that the price was too high. And the battle has been waged on the issues thus drawn. It has been a hard-fought struggle. There has been some bitterness. There has been money on both sides. If anything, the

advantage so far as money is concerned has rested with those who have tried to depress the price of the cotton. The powerful elements arrayed on the side of the mill interests of New England, Great Britain and the Continent, as a matter of course, always have insisted that it was to their financial welfare to have cheap raw material. On the other side has been the South just emerging from four decades of poverty, and for the first time able to take up the gage for King Cotton. Commission-houses and brokers have been about equally divided.

At the outset, I take the position that the high price of cotton has been due to unusual but entirely natural causes, and is not the result of manipulation.

Few persons realize the great importance of the cotton industry in the United States, when considered in its entirety. Cotton is the only fibre that grows already prepared for the spinner, and the only farm product of which the grower at first hand consumes no part. Its cheapness, ease of production and quality pre-eminently fit it to rank as the principal textile product of the world. Since its introduction, there has been a continuous increase in its use to the exclusion of other textile fabrics. New markets have been opened, and this, with the growing demand in old markets, resulting from increasing population and better habits of living, has led to a rapidly increasing demand for the staple and its manufactured products.

The world's annual consumption of cotton is approximately 14,000,000 bales. Of this amount, America furnishes by far the greater portion, and the staple grown in the Southern States is the world's great commercial necessity, so far as the textile industry is concerned. Egypt grows a long staple cotton that is used in the finer grades of goods. India produces a short staple that is used only in the coarsest fabrics. The American product is the intermediate grade, and is suited to nearly all classes of goods.

The cultivation of cotton in the United States probably began in 1607, when there is a record of seeds having been introduced. Very little was grown, however, until the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793, and from this invention, only a little more than a century ago, dates the birth of the cotton industry. In 1800, the product of the South was 120,000 bales. In 1859-60, the output had increased to nearly 5,000,000 bales, and in 1897 and 1898 the yield passed the mark of 11,000,000 bales. During

the last decade, we have exported some 30,000,000,000 pounds of cotton, valued at about two and one-half billions of dollars. This enormous exportation, payable in gold, is of the greatest aid to this country in preserving the financial parity between the United States and Europe. As an illustration, during November, 1903, according to figures compiled by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, cotton to the value of $67,964,774 was exported. The total value of all farm products exported during the same period is $105,809,986. This was the largest amount of cotton ever sent abroad from the United States during a single month, and is said to have been the cause of the collapse of the foreign exchange market during the month of November. The official figures for December have not been given out at the present writing, but in money value they probably will exceed those of November.

According to reports of the twelfth census, in value of the manufactured products, the textiles in 1900 stood third in the United States, being exceeded only by the value of food and kindred products and of iron and steel and their products. The total value of food and kindred products in 1900 is given as over $2,200,000,000; of iron and steel products as over $1,700,000,000. The value of manufactured textile products is estimated at $1,637,484,484. This includes products from wool and flax, but the cotton manufactures stand easily at the head of the textile industries proper. These figures are given to show the important position that cotton holds in the world's industries of to-day.

Strange as it may seem, the underlying causes of the present high price of cotton had their origin during the period of enormous crops and low prices in 1897-98 and 1898-99. The crops for both of these years were more than 11,000,000 bales, and the price of cotton fell to five and six cents a pound. There was great fear of overproduction, and every means was taken, by conventions of public-spirited men and by a campaign of education through the public press, to induce Southern farmers to plant more extensively of other crops, and decrease the amount of cotton produced. As a result of the low price of cotton and the enormous production, new mills started up on the Continent and in the Southern States. Within the last ten years, the mills of the world have increased their capacity by more than 17,000,000 spindles. In spite of the talk of curtailment that has been going

the rounds for the last year, the South has added 817,826 spindles and 16,313 looms, representing an investment of about $16,000,000, to its mill facilities.

Although the exact figures are not obtainable, the number of the world's spindles may be placed approximately at 109,000,000. Mills have sprung up everywhere throughout the South. Aside from the bare increase in the number of spindles, improved machinery has made possible larger consumption of raw material.

But this period of "bumper" crops and low prices did more than increase the manufacturing capacity. It created new outlets and new factors in consumption. People, the world over, were educated to new uses for cotton, and thus new needs sprang up. Cotton to-day enters into the manufacture of more articles than any other agricultural product. Its low price caused the staple to be used for things never before dreamed of. People bought the articles into which it entered, not only because they were cheap, but also because they were liked. With new needs thus created, new machinery had to be installed to meet them.

Then followed a four years' period of comparatively short crops. The world's consumption had been based on an 11,000,000-bale American crop. One factor tended to keep the mills running at practically full capacity, in spite of the falling off of raw material. This factor was the estimates furnished by crop experts of standing. As these men were, to a certain extent, identified with mill interests they always made high estimates. In 1897-98 and 1898-99, their predictions were fulfilled in a measure, and they acquired reputations in consequence. When the years of short crops began, they still made large estimates, and with a double result: the price of cotton was depressed, an outcome greatly desired by the spinner, and the mills did not curtail consumption. For the last four years consumption has been running a race with supply, and consumption, in my opinion, is now ahead in the race. The crop grown in 1899 was 9,436,416 bales; that grown in 1900 was 10,383,422 bales; that grown in 1901 was 10,680,680 bales, and that in 1902 was 10,727,559 bales.

In these four years, mill stocks have been decreasing and the visible supply has dwindled. Last year, there was a shortage that produced a panic among mill-owners. The same charges of manipulation and "gambling" were made. In this connection, I

quote from the "Commercial Advertiser" of December 31, 1903, a review of conditions for the cotton year of 1902-03 by Henry G. Kittredge, of Boston, an experienced observer in the cotton world, whose interests undoubtedly lie with the mill elements:

"Notwithstanding all that may be said about the effects of the manœuvres of speculation, there never was a time within the memory of the present generation when the prices of cotton were more absolutely controlled and regulated by the laws of supply and demand. The speculative manipulation of the price of cotton was anathematized without considerate discrimination, as a malignant factor in disturbing the even tenor of the cotton goods trade. While speculation undoubtedly had a potent tendency to advance prices beyond their legitimate level, it, after all, simply exaggerated conditions which naturally existed in an unusual insufficiency in the quantity of raw material. The leaders of the speculative movements that illumined and emphasized actual conditions, were more astute and discerning than many of those who were conducting the manufacturing operations of the country, and who in the majority of instances took the stand that the market for the raw material was in an artificial state that would right itself in due course of time. Never was there exhibited more ignorance of the underlying causes and agencies that govern the course of trade than was shown during 1903 on the part of the manufacturing community."

As a result of the condition described by Mr. Kittredge, prices of cotton were high last year; and the South, which for three years previous had been able to pay off some of its debts, grew into a strong financial position. Southern sentiment was unanimous in the opinion that cotton for years had gone to the consumer of raw material too cheaply. Heretofore, the movement of the crop had been financed not by the South but by the money interests of the North and East, viz., the mill element. The powerful mill interests were able to dictate, to a large extent, when the crop should move and what it should sell for. A great deal of blame was attributed to the planter for rushing his cotton to market. In the main, he responded merely to demand. Southern bankers depended largely on New York for aid in carrying the merchants, who, in turn, carried the farmers on the crop-mortgage plan. At that time, the money interests and the manufacturing interests were practically the same; and, when the demand came from New York for a return of money, the Southern bankers called on the merchants, and the merchants in turn urged the planter to bring in his cotton. The whole system tended toward rushing the shipments and overloading the market, to the

gain of the spinner and the loss of the producer. The situation was made decidedly different by the high prices last year. If prices had not been high during the season which began September 1, 1903, the South would have held to its cotton, and then there would have been famine indeed. This year the movement has been rapid—probably the quickest on record; but cotton has come in response to high prices, and not with the usual stampede produced by lack of funds on the part of the grower.

In my opinion, four causes have tended to decrease the production of cotton: (1) seed deterioration; (2) soil exhaustion followed by poor tillage; (3) increase in pests such as the boll-weevil; (4) lack of acreage expansion.

I shall go into a little detail as to the first cause. Seed deterioration, in my opinion, is largely the result of the sale of the best seed to the cottonseed-oil mills. The agents of these mills go about through the country at the beginning of the season engaging their supplies, and they usually get the early seed, which is the most vigorous for reproduction. For this reason the farmer too often takes the later seed, which is of low vitality, and expects to produce a full crop from it. Of late, the South has been waking up to a realization of this error, and it is probable that the future will see a system of seed selection founded on some plan, such as inspection of seed at the gins either by the canvassers for the Census Bureau, or by some other method equally efficacious.

These are the causes that have contributed to the low crops of the last four years. This year there were additional complications. The crop was planted from four to six weeks late. The season was backward. March weather continued until April, and April weather continued until the end of May. In the latter part of the summer, there was September weather in August, and October weather in September. On the 19th of October, a killing frost, followed by continual cold weather, descended upon a large portion of the cotton belt, and the plant was cut off before it had reached maturity. From all over the South came reports that there would be practically no "top" crop. Surely, such a condition was enough to warn consumers of a short crop.

The crop, as I have stated, was unusually slow in growth. The supplies from the crop of 1902-03 were insufficient to run the mills until the end of August, even if equally distributed. But

before the close of the season many mills had to shut down completely. This condition was aggravated by the lateness of the new crop and the tardiness with which supplies were replenished.

This is the condition that faced the cotton industry on September 1: The supplies of raw material had declined to almost nothing; consumption had encroached upon manufactured reserves, until the stock of goods was at an extremely low ebb; it was possible for the mills to get along with a crop of between eleven or eleven and one-half million bales, if it were equably distributed and the mills confined their demands to a normal output.

But conservative spinners do not like to run on so close a margin. In addition to engaging their actual requirements, they felt it safer, even imperative, to obtain a surplus stock sufficient to restore the parity between raw material and the manufactured goods. So low had the supply of actual cotton sunk, that a crop of 12,000,000 bales of the American staple would undoubtedly have been absorbed, at prices in advance of those of former years, by the mill interests of the world. Consequently, the producer was justified in basing the price of cotton, not alone on the probable consumption, but also on the necessity under which the mills found themselves of acquiring a surplus stock.

Conditions were somewhat aggravated and made puzzling to the spinner by the usual flood of big crop prophecies with which the cotton world has been inundated. Many mills delayed purchasing, especially those of this country. The foreign spinner learned a lesson last year, and he attempted to engage his requirements while the season was still young. Cotton rose steadily in price, despite "bearish" predictions of a crop of from eleven to twelve millions of bales. Opposed to these inflated estimates were the low visible supply, the adverse weather conditions and the killing frost weeks before it usually appeared. The position of the "bulls" was materially strengthened by the government crop estimate issued on December 3, 1903, which placed the probable production at 9,962,059 bales. This caused another advance in prices. With occasional fluctuations, the market has maintained an upward trend, until the price has hovered around the fourteen-cents mark.

Of course, it has been contended by the "bear" element that the price of cotton is purely speculative. In support of their views, they have called attention to previous inaccuracies in gov-

ernment estimates. They have pointed out the unprecedentedly large movement which, in spite of the late date at which it began, has already approximated the figures of last year to January 1. Also they have predicted heavy curtailment on the part of the mills, thus decreasing the consumption and rendering possible the creation of a surplus of raw material.

On the other hand, the advocates of high prices maintain that the heavy receipts and rapid and large movement in the early part of the season are elements that cannot be gauged by the precedents of other years. The cause they assign for rapid movement is the high price of cotton which has called forth every bale in the hand of the farmer as soon as it could be picked, rushed to the gin and marketed, while it was known that the picking season was unusually favorable. This position is substantiated by the report of cotton ginned up to December 13, 1903, issued by the Census Bureau on January 5 of this year. In spite of the temptation of high prices and exceptionally good marketing facilities, the amount ginned was approximately 400,000 bales less than that ginned up to the corresponding date of 1902. If the cotton had been in the country, it would have been rushed to the gins, and the figures for the year before would have been surpassed. In addition to this official confirmation, reports up to the middle of January from all over the South are to the effect that from thirty to fifty per cent. less cotton is in the hands of the farmer than at the same time last year. The "bull" element has been insistent in predicting an early dropping off of the movement. Almost on the date set, the dwindling began; and the interior and port receipts for the early part of January showed a falling off of several thousand bales a day as compared with the figures of the corresponding dates last year. Certainly, from a statistical standpoint, the advocates of high prices have been in an exceptionally strong position.

A word as to curtailment. In the latter part of December, a mass-meeting of the Master Cotton Spinners' Association was held in Manchester, England. An effort was made to secure co-operation with the spinners' associations of other countries. The replies received and read at the meeting were very discouraging to the proponents of the plan. From Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy came expressions of sympathy, but qualified by the statement that the mills of those countries had their output sold ahead

until the end of July. A prominent English cotton merchant is authority for the statement that the mills of Great Britain and the Continent are heavily engaged until the end of July, and these contracts are not covered by supplies in hand. On account of the high price of the staple, these mills cannot finance operations tending to the purchase of the actual cotton. Nor can they protect themselves by buying futures without danger of running the price to extravagant figures. Nor can general curtailment be resorted to in New England on account of future engagements. The hand-to-mouth policy of many of the American spinners was illustrated by the plight of several mills in January. Some expected consignments of cotton from the South failed to arrive on time, and the mills were forced to suspend. With this scarcity of raw material, assuredly, the holder is justified in demanding high prices for his cotton.

Here is another proof that the price is not speculative: In the latter part of December, 1903, complaints came from Fall River that, while the prices of futures on the New York Cotton Exchange were high, the actual cotton could not be obtained for those figures. Does this show that speculation has outrun demand? I hold that no price is speculative at which a commodity can be actually sold.

Another thing: New Orleans is the great "spot" cotton market of the world. New Orleans operators have every facility for judging the crop condition and crop movement better than any other set of operators in the world. Yet the prices at New Orleans, practically all season, have ruled from five to sixty points above those in New York. When one considers the question of freight alone, it is hard to see why the price of cotton in the heart of the cotton belt should be from twenty-five cents to three dollars a bale higher than it is at a point one thousand miles away.

Before leaving the subject of curtailment, I desire to make one point clear. Last year's consumption of American cotton was estimated by Thomas Ellison, Esq., of Liverpool, at 10,840,000 bales, falling 50,000 bales short of actual consumption in a year of radical curtailment. Last October, Mr. Ellison estimated the world's requirements of the American staple for this season at 10,870,000 bales. On November 10th, when cotton reached eleven cents a pound, he revised this estimate, and placed it at 10,500,000 bales, at the same time predicting even smaller consumption

in the event of higher prices. If the government estimate of 9,962,000 bales is approximately correct, and it is being substantiated every day by the dwindling of the movement, it is probable that the mills will curtail consumption, but this curtailment will be compulsory, as a result of insufficient supplies, and not of voluntary action or high prices.

When foodstuffs are high the consumer complains, but he pays the price. Practically the same amount of beef, mutton, wheat and corn is consumed whether prices are high or low, especially when the supply is barely adequate to meet the demand. Admitting that cotton fabrics will not be so widely used for certain purposes as they were during the years of abnormally large crops and low prices, the fact remains that there is not enough raw material on hand, or in sight, or probably to come, to meet the contracts entered into by the mills with their consumers. But the analogy between foodstuffs and cotton is not complete. If beef and mutton get too high, people can resort to eating other meats or adopt a vegetarian diet. But the machinery of the mills demands the same regimen and cannot turn from cotton to wool or silk.

At the opening of the present year, rumors of impending hostilities between Russia and Japan had a depressing effect on the price of cotton. This influence, in my opinion, is largely sentimental. As far as raw material is concerned, the small portion that goes to China and Japan has been practically all bought or engaged. The small remnant of the crop that is unsold will be far from adequate to meet the demands of American and European consumers. As far as the exporting of cotton goods is concerned, we are assured of our usual market. The cargoes sent to the Orient will sail under the flags of neutral nations; and, even if Russia desired to interfere with the commerce of Japan, her naval strength would not be sufficient for the blockade of ports or a serious disturbance of ocean traffic. The trading treaty negotiated between this country and China early in January opens the ports of Mukden and Antung to American commerce and gives us entry into Manchuria. With Japan we are too friendly to fear an interruption of trade from that country as far as this Chinese province is concerned, and Russia would think twice before trifling with the rights insured to us under the treaty, even if she had not given her assent to its conditions.

In closing I desire to put the situation in brief form. The high price of cotton is caused by the increase in the world's consumption, which has encroached upon the reserves of manufactured stocks; heavy engagements of mills, because mill-owners were deluded by "bearish" prophecies into the belief that there would be a large crop; the small stock of raw material on hand at the opening of the season on September 1st; the consequently great demand of mills upon a new crop; adverse climatic conditions, which showed that the demand would not be met; confirmation of this position by the government crop report and the census report on ginnings; additional corroboration in the official reports of light receipts and the sudden falling off of the movement.

Opposed to these evidences are comparisons with other years—precedents for an unprecedented condition; the argument that the government reports, both for the Bureau of Statistics and the Census, were untrustworthy; the declaration that the South could not be relied upon for accurate advices concerning its own staple; and individual prophecies of large crops.

Weighing the evidence on both sides, the disinterested observer can hardly avoid the conclusion that natural and unusual causes are responsible for the present price of cotton. Manipulation could not have taken the tremendous output of the South and maintained its price on an artificially high scale. No group of speculators that could be formed could sustain manipulation on so gigantic a scale. At least $500,000,000 would have been required for such an undertaking, if it had been put into operation at the time prices began to rise.

The present price of cotton is the result of the pressing demand for the staple and the inadequate supply—in other words the inherent strength of the market and the working of the laws of trade. As manipulation could not unduly raise the price of cotton, neither can manipulation lower it. The staple has "bulled" itself, and neither "bulls" nor "bears" have been more than puppets in the game played by King Cotton.

DANIEL J. SULLY.

CANADA AND RECIPROCITY.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.

AFTER more than thirty years of indifference and scant knowledge concerning matters pertaining to trade relations with Canada, the American people are now awakening to a sense of the importance of the question, and are becoming aware of the great volume of Canada's existing trade, and of future possibilities.

In the history of the two countries, there was a period of twelve years, from 1854 to 1866, when their trade relations were of a mutually advantageous character, and were exerting a powerful influence in the creation of community of interest and the broadening of mutual relations. The Civil War in the United States gave rise to circumstances that aroused unfriendly feeling toward Canada in that country, based upon misapprehension as to facts, for the great majority of Canadians were friendly to the Union. A mistaken impression that the treaty was much more favorable to Canada than to the United States was also entertained by the majority of Americans. For the period during which the treaty was in force, the balance of trade was decidedly in favor of the United States. According to Canadian trade returns, the total imports and exports, 1854 to 1866 inclusive, were:

Imports from the United States	$332,927,000
Exports to the United States	259,875,000
Balance of trade in favor of the United States	73,052,000

These returns did not include Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and British Columbia.

According to American returns, the total exports and imports to all of British North America, 1854 to 1866 inclusive, were:

Exports to British America	$343,326,000
Imports from British America	318,760,000
Balance in favor of the United States	24,566,000

It is true that for the last three years of the reciprocity period the balance of trade turned, at first slightly, and for the last year decidedly, in favor of Canada. This was due to the abnormal demand for horses and certain lines of agricultural and animal products, caused by the Civil War, and to the forced export of 1865--6, under the stimulus of the twelve months' notice of abrogation of the treaty; but the operation of normal conditions would have assured the maintenance of trade balances favorable to the United States. During this period of free trade in natural products, there was no extensive export of manufactures to Canada, as is the case at present; and the condition of things in this respect now existing would, with free trade in natural products, give to the United States a much larger relative balance of trade. Another circumstance that caused the favorable balance of trade to the United States to appear much smaller than was actually the case was, that no inconsiderable portion of the exports from Canada to the United States consisted of products passing through the United States for export, the direct export trade of Canada with Great Britain by the St. Lawrence route being at that time very small, as far as related to farm products.

Following the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, came an attempt to renew reciprocal trade relations in 1874 through a reciprocity treaty negotiated by the British Minister, Lord Thornton, and the Canadian Commissioner, George Brown, with the United States State Department. This draft treaty put natural products on the free list, and enlarged the provisions of the treaty of 1854 by putting upon the free list all kinds of agricultural implements, and a list of thirty-seven other classes of manufactures including gray cottons, denims, tickings, tweeds, satins, leather and leather goods, printing-presses and types, engines, cabinet ware, carriages, wagons, and other wheeled vehicles, iron bar, pig, nails, spikes, etc., locomotives, printing-paper, railroad-cars, steel wrought or cast, etc. Had this treaty gone into operation, it would have brought Canada and the United States into business and social relations so intimate that it is an interesting question to what extent the blending of the two people in interests and affinities, political and social, would have gone. The United States Senate took occasion to give an example of supreme folly, by refusing to ratify this treaty.

Succeeding this abortive attempt to secure a broadening of

trade relations between the two countries, came a period of absurd fiscal legislation by the United States, as relates to Canada, under which we are still living. This legislation dwarfed the export trade from Canada to the United States, which, after first eliminating from the returns gold, bullion, and coin, is scarcely greater in 1904 than it was in 1866. The scale of duties seems to have been designed to prevent the sale of Canadian products in the American market. During all this period, the Canadian fiscal policy has been liberal and the Canadian tariff rates moderate, so moderate indeed as scarcely to offer an obstacle to the growth of the American export trade to Canada. From 1866 to 1876, the duty upon the great bulk of Canadian dutiable imports was 15 per cent., and from 1876 to 1897, 17½ per cent. For the year 1903, the Canadian duty upon total imports from the United States was 12¼ per cent., and upon dutiable imports from that country 24½ per cent., while the average scale of American duties was 24 per cent. upon total imports, and 49 per cent. upon dutiable.

From 1874 onward, Canada was forced by her failure to gain admission to the markets of the United States, to secure markets for her products elsewhere. The great success attending her efforts in this direction is illustrated by the trade returns of 1903 as contrasted with those of 1866.

Canadian export of farm products.	*1866*	*1903*
To the United States	$25,042,000	$9,200,000
To Great Britain	3,544,000	97,200,000
To all other countries	inconsiderable	8,034,000
		$114,434,000

One of the unexpected trade developments of late years is the growth of an extensive demand in various parts of Canada for American farm products, and the fact that this demand has turned the tide of trade in this line in the direction of Canada. The Canadian market for American farm products is found in British Columbia and the Yukon and the Klondike region, in the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, and in the lumbering and mining regions of Ontario; and for Indian corn, hides, flaxseed, wool, tobacco leaf, etc., in all parts of the Dominion.

In the fiscal year 1902--3, the importation of farm products

into Canada for consumption, from the United States, was as follows: Dutiable farm products, $6,909,000; free farm products, $14,672,000—a total of $21,581,000. The same year the export of farm products to the United States was $9,200,000, the Canadian excess of imports above exports from the United States being $12,381,000. The dutiable portion of the imports was subject to the same rates of duty, substantially, as were imposed by the United States upon articles of the same class imported from Canada. This condition of the trade leads to the conclusion that if free trade in farm products existed, the importation by Canada from the United States for domestic consumption would equal export in the same line to the United States for consumption. This, of course, would not apply to wheat, flour and other articles of which both countries have a surplus for export, as the United States in importing such products would export either them or a corresponding amount of United States products, and they would thus practically act as a factor securing for American transportation routes, millers, dealers and commission men a profitable and in every way desirable trade.

The total imports of Canada from the United States for 1902-3 were $144,763,000; the total exports $71,209,000; the balance of trade against Canada being $73,554,000. Of the exports, $18,807,000 consisted of precious metals. The imports for consumption were $137,605,000, and exports the produce of Canada $67,766,000, which included Klondike and Yukon gold.

The total imports of Canada from Great Britain for 1902--3 were $59,080,000; the total exports $131,200,000, the balance in favor of Canada being $72,120,000. The imports of Canada from the United States for this year exceeded the imports from Great Britain by the sum of $85,683,000. The exports of Canada to Great Britain exceeded the total exports to the United States by the sum of $59,991,000. The total trade of Canada for this year was: With the United States, $215,972,000; with Great Britain, $190,280,000; the difference in favor of United States being $25,692,000. The Canadian free list for American imports last year amounted to $69,485,000, and embraced the following articles and amounts: manufactures, $23,000,000; forest product, lumber, etc., $4,986,000; Indian corn, $3,250,000; flaxseed, $1,303,000; tobacco leaf, $2,241,000; hides and skins, $2,612,000; wool, $307,000; sundry agricultural products, $2,030,000; sundry ani-

mal products, $2,267,000. The same year the American free list upon Canadian imports covered saw-logs, pulpwood, nickel-matte, hop-poles, undressed furs, grease, animals for breeding purposes, shingle-bolts, and a few more minor articles.

The non-progressive character of the Canadian export trade to the United States is shown by the fact that, while the export in 1866 amounted to $44,000,000, the export in 1903, less precious metals and articles not the produce of Canada, was no more than $48,959,000. On the other hand, a comparison of Canadian import returns from the United States will show remarkable increase as the subjoined table will demonstrate.

Canadian imports from United States for consumption.

1866	$28,794,000	1900	$109,844,000
1890	52,291,000	1901	110,485,000
1896	54,574,000	1902	120,814,000
		1903	137,600,000

The expansion has been a remarkable one since 1896.

The disparity of increase between the export and import trade of Canada with the United States is attributable directly to the character of the tariffs of each country. Since 1866, that of the United States has been practically prohibitive, the spirit in which it was formed being apparently the desire to buy little and sell much, and to refuse to meet all countries upon the basis of a fair exchange of commodities. During all the years since 1866, American tariff rates have not gone lower than 24 per cent. on total imports and 49 per cent. on dutiable imports, except possibly for the brief period during which the Wilson bill was in force. During the same period, Canadian tariff rates have not been higher than 12½ per cent. on total imports, and 24½ per cent. on dutiable imports from the United States, and in consequence of the operation of these tariffs, the antipodes of each in character, United States exports to Canada have swelled to a vast volume, and Canadian exports to the United States have been held at a standstill. It is the fruits of these two tariff policies that have given rise in Canada to a strong protectionist movement, which seems certain to result, so far as the United States is concerned, either in the adoption of the American system by Canada, or in a marked lowering of tariff barriers by the United States.

It is a significant fact that, while the exports of the United States to Canada during the Reciprocity period consisted to a

moderate extent only of manufactured articles, the exports for the last six years have consisted of manufactured articles to an extent of over one-half of the entire amount, thus clearly indicating that if the balance of trade from 1854 to 1866, with free trade in natural products and no demand in Canada for American farm products, was in favor of the United States, now, with a heavy Canadian demand for such products and with a vast demand for manufactures, free trade in natural products would not prevent a heavy annual balance of trade in favor of the United States.

The subjoined table, showing the Canadian importation of manufactures from Great Britain and from the United States since 1898, will be of interest, especially when taken in connection with the fact that Canada has given a tariff preference to Great Britain first of 12½ per cent., 1897 to 1898, then of 25 per cent. to 1900, and of 33 1-3 per cent. since that time.

Canadian Imports of Manufactures.

	From Great Britain.	From United States.
1898	$26,243,000	$41,510,000
1899	31,187,000	49,362,000
1900	37,328,000	60,473,000
1901	36,469,000	62,643,000
1902	41,675,000	69,536,000
1903	50,473,000	76,291,000

This great increase in the sale of manufactures by the United States to Canada between 1898 and 1903, in the face of the Canadian preference in favor of British imports, gives evidence of the strong hold that the American manufacturer has upon the Canadian market, and of his ability to meet all competitors in that market upon equal terms.

The Dominion of Canada is the third largest customer of the United States among the nations of the world, and is the largest customer for manufactured goods. In the year 1902, the exports of the United States to Canada exceeded by $36,814,000 her total exports to Mexico, the Central-American States, and all of South America from Panama to Cape Horn.

The question whether this great market is worth making an effort to retain, is worthy of the serious consideration of American statesmen. That there is danger of its being seriously curtailed does not admit of doubt. Canadians are restive under present trade conditions. Their purchases from the United States last year, leaving precious metals, coin and bullion out of the

calculation, were $280 for every $100 sold to that country. Their great balance of trade against Great Britain was used up in discharging the United States' balance against them. This state of matters cannot be continued. One remedy, that of broadening and making more liberal its trade policy, can be applied by the United States. Another remedy, that of making its own trade policy the counterpart of that of the United States, can be applied by Canada. In the near future, unless the United States applies the remedy at her disposal, Canada will be morally certain to imitate the American example and oppose stringent legislative restrictions to the natural course of trade.

The present importance of this question is great. Its future importance is infinitely greater. In the Canadian Northwest, as yet practically untouched, is a wheat-growing area as large as eight States like Illinois. Where now there are a few hundred thousand inhabitants, there will be teeming millions, and the 60,000,000-bushel wheat crop of the present year will be swollen to a figure that will make this great region the granary of food-purchasing nations. English statesmen comprehend the importance of the trade of Canada, and are evolving shadowy and theoretic schemes for preferential trade within the Empire, and possibly an Imperial zollverein, the fundamental basis of which is to be the creation in the Colonies of a preserve for British manufactures, from which foreign competitors to as great extent as possible shall be shut out; at the cost to Britain of preferential duties in the home market, as moderate as possible, for a limited list of Colonial products.

This preferential scheme is now engaging the attention of the Canadian public. Various circumstances predispose Canadians to look upon it with favor. There is soreness over the Alaskan boundary settlement. There is a sense of injustice suffered at the hands of the United States in the character of their trade policy toward Canada. There is a charm about the idea of receiving preference over foreign countries in the British market, and the proposed policy appeals strongly to the Canadian sense of loyalty. The day has now come for the United States to abandon a wrong position and retrace false steps, and it is already high noon of that day. No fear need be entertained of being too liberal with Canada. The greater the liberality of treatment the more satisfactory will be the results. The policy should be to draw Canada

to the United States and not, as heretofore, to repel the country and constantly widen the gulf of separation and estrangement. American statesmen should at once decide, without hesitation or haggling, to offer Canada reciprocity in all natural products, in return for the substantial continuance of present Canadian tariff conditions. This would be a return to the tariff conditions of the old reciprocity period, with general trade conditions so radically changed that now Canada is a large importer of farm products for consumption, and that the United States is an exporter on a large scale of finished wares to Canada—two conditions that did not exist in the period between 1854 and 1866.

American farmers and lumbermen have hitherto opposed the free importation of Canadian lumber and farm products. Their fears as to the reduction of prices consequent upon free importation is a bugbear. No such effect as they fear would follow. In the case of products of which both countries have a surplus, such as wheat, flour, meats, etc., free interchange would not affect prices in the United States, for market rates are determined by the price received for the surplus. Had the entire wheat surplus which Canada had for export last year been sent to the United States free of duty, prices would not have been depressed in the slightest degree. The Canadian wheat so imported would either have been exported or would have displaced a corresponding amount of American wheat and flour for export. The result would have been that the competition of American buyers in Canada would have resulted in higher prices for the Canadian producer, while American transportation routes, millers, dealers, and commission men would have benefited by increased trade.

In the case of Canadian products imported into the United States for consumption, it will be found upon examination that the volume of imports is so insignificant in amount, compared with the volume of American production, as to be incapable of influencing American prices. The total export of eggs last year from Canada to all the world did not amount to one per cent. of the American production, and would not have made two eggs *per annum* for each inhabitant of the United States. The total export of Canadian lumber to the United States, including what went through in bond for export, was only two per cent. in amount of the production of sawn lumber in that country for the same year. Taking, for the purpose of making a comparison, the

United States Census returns of 1900 and the Canadian export returns of 1902, the proportion of Canadian export to American production in various products was as follows: wheat, 1 dollar to 700; oats, 1 dollar to 5,500; barley, 1 dollar to 2,400; potatoes, 1 dollar to 1,700; hay, 1 dollar to 200. The Canadian export of live animals compared with the value of stock in the United States was as follows: horses, I dollar to 3,000; cattle, 1 dollar to 5,000; sheep, 1 dollar to 200. The absurdity of supposing that Canadian exports under these relative proportions, or even if the export was increased tenfold, can produce any appreciable effect upon American prices, is too apparent to need enlarging upon.

Free trade in natural products, and all other products, has continued in the United States since the Constitution was adopted. In that country, there is great variety of soil, climate, productions, and cost of production, but free trade has been found to be mutually advantageous to all the States. The same policy will apply with equal force to Canada.

The Chamberlain proposition for Colonial preferential trade creates a complication in the reciprocity issue at the present time. Last year Mr. Chamberlain spoke almost contemptuously of the Canadian preference in favor of Great Britain, of 33 1-3 per cent., and declared that its effects were disappointing, and that it was chiefly valuable as an evidence of loyal sentiment. This estimate of value was wide of the mark. The preference had actually rescued the British export trade to Canada from practical extinction. This trade had gone down from $68,000,000 in 1873 to $29,000,000 in 1897. The effect of this Canadian preference has been to bring this trade up to $59,000,000 in 1903. For the substantial benefits it has conferred, Great Britain has not made the slightest return, has indeed scarcely made an acknowledgment. Canadian cattle are scheduled and must be slaughtered upon arrival, and Canada was given no preference when the registration tax of about four per cent. upon grain was imposed. Now Mr. Chamberlain proposes a preferential tax upon certain articles for the benefit of the Colonies. He calls this proposed tax a moderate one, which it certainly is. The limit is to be two shillings, sterling, per quarter of eight bushels upon wheat, a corresponding tax upon flour, five per cent. upon eggs and dairy products, and a duty, amount not stated, upon fruit and wine, in neither of which would Canada have much interest. In return

for this preference, Mr. Chamberlain informed his hearers at Glasgow that Canada would be expected to abstain from entering upon new lines of manufacturing not already established, and to give Great Britain substantial advantages in competition with foreign states. No recognition is made of the present Canadian preference. It is, apparently, to count for nothing; and yet last year it effected a saving of duty to the British exporter of $2,700,000 from the regular tariff rates. The proposed Chamberlain preference on the Canadian exports for 1902 would amount to $3,600,000; but it is doubtful whether Colonial products would be enhanced in price to the amount of the duty, as compared with prices that would obtain if no duty was imposed; and it is probable that the present Canadian preference is a full equivalent for the preference proposed by Mr. Chamberlain.

In the event of Mr. Chamberlain's proposed policy being endorsed by the British electorate, so far as the proposal to protect British industries from foreign competition is concerned, Canadian sympathies and good wishes will go with him and his party, and it is not to be supposed that Canada will object to preferential treatment in the British market. All will turn upon the question of what the privilege will cost; and, when the time comes to attempt to adjust details, we shall step from the realm of sentiment to that of hard prosaic fact, and it is more than possible that the reconciliation of Imperial and Colonial expectations and views will be found to be a task that cannot be accomplished by the best efforts of those who will be called upon to attempt to harmonize Imperial demands with Colonial interests. At this juncture, there will also be the possibility of another complication arising. Sixty-eight per cent. of Britain's export trade is with foreign countries, thirty-two per cent. with her Colonial Empire, including India, less than three per cent. of this latter amount being with Canada. Is it not more than possible that the hostility of the United States and other foreign Powers will be provoked? No objection can reasonably be made to the adoption of the protective system by Great Britain; but a preferential system between Britain and her Colonies may not be viewed with the same degree of complacency, and, whether justly or not, complications may arise of a most embarrassing and undesirable character.

The advantages offered to Canada by Mr. Chamberlain's proposal for a moderate preference on half a dozen articles, would

be trivial compared with the advantages that would fall to Canada from reciprocity with the United States in natural products. Reciprocity is preference. If the United States removes the duty from any article in favor of Canada and retains that duty against other countries, then Canada has a preference in the American market to the extent of that duty. Under this view of the case, the American preference on wheat would be 25 cents, British 6 cents; American preference on flour 25 per cent., British preference 8 per cent.; American preference on eggs, cheese, and butter, an average of 25 per cent., British preference 5 per cent.; and, beyond the list of articles covered by the proposed British preference, would be barley and other grains, beans, potatoes, turnips, hay, lumber, ties, posts, telegraph-poles, cattle, horses, sheep, poultry, meats, garden vegetables and roots, fruits, ores, stone, lime, cement and many other articles upon which the American preference to Canada would be expressed by the rates of duty now levied. To sum up the matter in a sentence: the proposed British preference is sentiment; American reciprocity in natural products would be business.

In the future, the bearing of the relations of Canada with the United States will have much influence upon the relations between the United States and Great Britain. Under some circumstances, this influence may be a paramount one. With the question of better trade and political relations with the United States, is bound up influences that will in a marked degree influence the future of the English-speaking race upon the North-American continent. It is not the present or the immediate future alone that demands consideration. The day will come when four hundred million people who speak the English tongue will occupy the seven million square miles which the Anglo-Saxon now possesses in America. Shall this great future be one of harmony, where justice, truth, good-will and mutually advantageous relations shall prevail? Heaven grant that it may; and let all thoughtful, well-meaning men in the two countries realize that the words and actions of Canadian and American jingoes are not in the interests of the future myriads for whom we are now laying down the lines.

JOHN CHARLTON.

REAL CONDITIONS IN THE CONGO FREE STATE.

BY PAUL S. REINSCH, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

THE article by Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger, which appeared in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for December, confined itself so closely to the juristic and diplomatic aspects of the Congo question, and dealt with them in a spirit so lenient toward the management of Congo affairs, that, in view of this attempted defence, it would almost seem an injustice not to call attention to the conditions actually existing in the Congo Free State, as far as they appear from documentary evidence and from the unanimous testimony of eye-witnesses.

The policy of exploiting the natural wealth of the vast territories of the Congo Free State primarily for the benefit of the government itself—of the sovereign and his associates—has developed with constantly increasing force during the last decade. As early as 1885, when the Congo State declared, by the decree of the first of July, that all unoccupied land would be considered as belonging to the State, the main tendency of the exploitative policy of the Congo State authorities was already foreshadowed. The peculiar conclusions from this principle of state occupation were not drawn until after 1890, when the Brussels Conference had given the Congo State the right to impose a tax on imports, and had thus rendered it practically self-sufficing and independent of the good-will of European nations. In 1891, a decree was issued by the government to the commissioner of the Uelle district, directing him to secure all the domanial products for the State. As a result, the natives of the vast region occupied as public domain were forbidden to sell the rubber or ivory which they had gathered, to any but the State officials, while merchants

purchasing these articles were treated as having received stolen goods. In other words, the natives, who had by immemorial custom gathered the products of the forests from the unoccupied lands, were suddenly deprived of this right; and private commerce, which had by many sacrifices and at heavy expense established trade relations and trade routes, was declared illegal, indeed criminal, by a stroke of the pen.

The decree of October 30th, 1892, divided the State into three approximately equal zones. The northern third of the State constitutes the *domaine privé* of the State, within which the State is absolutely the sole proprietor and merchant. The second or southeast zone is the field of operation of the Katanga Company, in all the profits of which the State takes a share of two-thirds; in this zone, private acquisition of land and private commerce were forbidden until ordinances respecting these matters should be made, and such ordinances have not as yet been issued. The third or southwest zone, comprising the basin of the Kassai River, was nominally left open to private enterprise; but a license fee of 5,000 francs for every trading station, and a toll of one-fifth of all rubber gathered, are exactions which did not prove encouraging to private commerce. Still, fourteen Belgian companies operated for a time in the southern part of this zone. These fourteen companies were in 1901 consolidated into a large trust, the Kassai Company, in which the State owns one-half of the stock, the other half being distributed among the private companies. The latter no longer carry on commerce on their own account, the Kassai Company enjoying the exclusive privilege of exporting the forest products. In all really important companies which carry on the exploitation of the Congo, the State is interested, either as a large stockholder, or through a right to share the profits of the undertaking. The situation, therefore, reduces itself in fact to this: that the State exploits the natural resources of the Congo, either directly through its officials, or through Belgian companies in which it has large interests or in the profits of which it shares. That the sale of land to private individuals is not encouraged is apparent from the almost prohibitive price put on all the land, and from the fact that throughout two of the zones, and in one-half of the third, land will not be sold at all. The total income from the sale of lands in 1901 was only $14,000.

To argue that a situation such as this does not constitute an

interference with private commerce, manifests a total disregard of all facts, in consideration of the specious legal pretext that the State has a right to assume full property in, and control over, the million of square miles comprised in the Congo State, and to establish an *a priori* right to all the products thereof. Articles One and Two of the Berlin Congo Act of 1885, by which, though the Congo State may already have been established, its continued existence was made possible, provide that the commerce of all nations shall enjoy perfect freedom, and that none of the Powers that exercise sovereign rights in the Congo region shall there establish monopolies or privileges of any kind which relate to commerce. As the only export commerce that has ever existed in this region is the commerce in forest products, any legislation which restricts and virtually annihilates this commerce as far as private individuals and companies are concerned, certainly comes most directly within purview of the prohibition. That the British government, whose subjects were the first pioneers in exploration and commerce along the Congo, has a perfect right, nay, is in duty bound, to protest against this régime will hardly be denied by any one who is not blinded by quasi-legal forms. Mr. Boulger says: "I find the proportion of the British trade to the whole is about one-sixth, the same as in 1891." As a matter of fact, in 1902 out of a total commerce of 73,500,000 francs, Belgium enjoyed 63,700,000, while Great Britain had the paltry sum of 2,600,000, or about one-thirtieth of the whole.

We are told that "the flourishing condition of the finances and commerce of the Congo State is the crowning proof that it enjoys internal peace and prosperity." The inconsequence of this statement will become apparent at once if we analyze the actual figures of Congolese commerce and finance. In 1901, the exports were as follows, in francs:

Rubber	43,965,000	Hides	5,000
Ivory	3,964,000	Cocoa	6,000
Palm Nuts	1,372,000	Tobacco	1,000
Palm Oil	802,000	Coffee	61,000

It will be seen from this table that, outside of rubber and ivory, the export of which is practically monopolized by the State and by a few favorite companies, the total export of products from this vast empire—in itself as large as all of the United States east of Illinois—was but little more than 2,000,000 francs or

$400,000. Eighteen years of "material regeneration" have resulted in the export of a few thousand dollars worth of cocoa and coffee,—indeed a magnificent result. When we compare these figures with those of the neighboring colony of Kamerun, under a much-maligned German administration, a colony only about one-fifth as large as the Free State, we find that its exports of palm products and cocoa amount to 4,000,000 francs a year.

The imports of the Congo Free State amount to only 23,000,000 francs, or less than one-half of its exports,—a situation unprecedented in any European colony, and of itself indicating the rate at which the natural wealth of this territory is being drawn out. Among the expenses of the Congo Free State, we find the item of 7,700,000 francs for the public force, and 1,000,000 francs for public works. None of all these figures requires any commentary. Far too clearly to be concealed by any humanitarian manifestoes, they prove the true inwardness of the economic policy now employed in the Congo State by its agents under the direction of its exalted founder and sovereign. The lamentable consequences of this policy upon the condition of the natives have been attested unanimously by so many trustworthy witnesses, that it is no longer possible for the government to deny their existence. It is, therefore, now urged by the defenders of the Congo administration, with a cynic smile, "that we are all of us sinners," and that British, French, and German occupation of Africa has led to many instances of cruel treatment. No matter how true this is—and unfortunately the frequency of inhuman acts against the blacks cannot be denied by any nation—it is totally beside the point in this discussion; for, whatever the "admirable native code" of the Congo Free State may say, the economic system of the government itself puts a premium upon the exploitation and enslavement of the natives. The commissioners of the government have been instructed "to devote all their energies to the harvesting of rubber, and to proceed as far as possible by persuasion, rather than by force." The latter clause is, presumably, a part of the admirable code for the protection of the natives. The fact that the government officials are employed for commercial purposes indicates, of itself, that the Congo Free State is not a true political government, but a huge trade monopoly. It is one of the first principles of colonial government, as applied by civilized nations, that the public officers

should have nothing to do with commerce. In their work of procuring rubber and ivory for the government, the commissioners in the Congo State are assisted by the "public force," an army of natives, bloodthirsty, tyrannous, with the instincts of cannibals. These armed representatives of public order are let loose upon the native population to teach them the dignity of labor, and to initiate them into the beatitude of civilized life. The natives are forced not only to pay a heavy tax in forest products, but also to bring to the government depots a certain fixed amount of rubber every month. The admirable native code of the Congo Free State provides that the natives shall be paid liberally for their work. The payment, in fact, is five cents a pound, when the market price of rubber is as high as one dollar. No wonder that the finances of the Congo Free State are in a flourishing condition. If the quantity of rubber demanded is not promptly forthcoming, the uniformed savages of the State are directed to apply moral suasion to the delinquent villages. In order to give satisfactory proof that their duty had been conscientiously carried out, they have been wont to return to the commissioner the smoked and dried hands of men and children, which served as vouchers to the officials. That whole populations were driven in terror to take refuge in the distant bush, or that, according to the report of the former governor of the French Congo, 30,000 natives at one time sought safety across the frontier, is not, therefore, a matter of surprise. While, on account of the aroused European opinion, the government has attempted to restrain some of the worst abuses, and while among their agents there may be many who attempt to give the natives some kind of protection, it is evident that the latter must continue to suffer terribly as long as a system continues which makes it part of the duty of officials and soldiers to extort the largest possible amount of rubber and ivory.

"How is it possible," it will be asked, "that such conditions are tolerated by the Belgian nation?" The Congo system, it is true, has not escaped criticism in the Belgian Parliament, as is apparent from the following expressions taken from a debate in 1901:

"We are adversaries of the capitalist colonial policy which entails exploitation, theft, and assassination. The Congo Free State has introduced forced labor, tribute in kind, and a forced twelve-year military service. We protest against this disguised form of slavery." "Remember the thirteen hundred severed hands."

The reason why a system with such undoubted abuses has been able to maintain itself, must be looked for in the high profits obtained by the companies which are exploiting the Congo under the direction of the government. In 1901, a dividend of 900 francs per share was declared by the Abir Company, or ninety per cent. on the face value of the stock, which was at one time worth twenty-five times its par value or one hundred and twenty-five times the capital actually paid in. The profits of the *Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo* in two years amounted to four times its nominal capital. Dividends such as these are calculated to make men optimistic and tolerant. A government that can produce such results must be eminently successful; its work is indeed that of humanity and progress. The current reports of cruelty, bloodshed and enslavement are evidently due to the insinuations of jealous rivals! As the objections to the Congo monopoly come from British and German traders, who are most directly concerned, the political antipathies of Europe are allowed to enter, and the representations of the British government are interpreted purely upon this basis. We are thus in danger of having the Turkish situation over again; a native population subjected to inhuman treatment because the European nations, on account of their mutual jealousies, cannot deal effectively with the question.

That the policy of economic exploitation now employed by the Congo government is not calculated to lay the foundations of a lasting economic system is only too evident, when the facts are considered. The large demands made upon the natives for rubber necessitate the profuse bleeding of productive vines, and, consequently, their rapid destruction in ever-increasing areas. The immense profits of this exhaustive exploitation cannot conceal its ruinous nature. Even now, millions of hectares along the main rivers have been utterly devastated for the time being, and the Congo State is seeking to reach new territories by constructing, in company with a large corporation, a railway from the Congo to the Great Lakes. May that divinity which is so often invoked in the process of moral and material regeneration have mercy upon the natives of these territories about to be opened; for, from the savage levies of the Congo Free State, they have as little to expect as from the Arab slave raiders!

PAUL S. REINSCH.

THE POSTAL SERVICE.

BY E. F. LOUD.

THE postal system must always be an interesting topic, for its efficient service is forced upon our attention every day by the missions of love, hope, business and pleasure it brings to us. Nearly every one in this great land is a patron of the post-office. It is, therefore, a subject of personal interest to every one, and all classes desire that the system shall be successfully conducted.

During the past year, disclosures have been made of dishonesty and unfaithfulness on the part of a very few of the post-office officials, about fifty out of 150,000 employees being involved in the wrong-doing. The publicity given to this wrong-doing has stimulated some to characterize the entire postal system as inefficient and corrupt. A moment's reflection will convince the thoughtful that the wrong-doing, however much to be deplored, does not in any way reflect upon the integrity of the many thousands of efficient employees in the postal service. Nor does it disclose any defect in the postal system itself. It is simply a development of the weakness of human nature. Such peculations will continue so long as the nature of man remains unchanged.

The United States Postal Service is the greatest in extent, and is as economically and as well managed as any other postal system in the world. The representatives of other countries are visiting this country to learn its methods, with the view of applying them in their own countries. This vast system is conducted by as efficient and faithful a body of men as can be produced in any country. The operations of the Department involve the handling of more than a billion dollars every year; and the annual cost of conducting the business is about $150,000,000.

The postal service is extravagantly managed; but that is true of all government departments, as compared with private business

enterprises. One potent reason for this is, that a government department, particularly the Post-office Department, is organized to extend facilities to the people without regard to the result as a matter of profit or loss. A private corporation quickly eliminates every element that involves loss, and as far as possible transacts only such business as results in profit. Again, few men can, at once successfully and economically, manage an institution in which they have no financial interest or hope of reward.

I once heard that a Postmaster-General called a new postmaster at an important office to Washington for instructions, and the instructions were, "Turn in all the money you receive, and satisfy the people."

It is worthy of note that, while it has not been suggested by any critic that the postal service should be taken out of the hands of the Government, it has been unfavorably compared with the express business. I will not follow that course in treating the subject, but will briefly discuss, from the standpoint of one who has had some years' experience with and in the postal service, some of the criticisms which have been made upon it, and the additions to its present functions which have been proposed.

In discussing these questions, I shall do so with information and experience gained by contact with the postal service, and without prejudice or bias. If I differ from others who have written upon these same questions, the differences may be due to the fact that we have looked at the subject with different eyes and from different points of view.

Before I entered Congress in 1890, and with varying vigor ever since, constant efforts have been made to induce Congress to establish a parcels post, a postal telegraph, and a postal savings-banks, and to revise the railway-mail pay.

I will take up these questions in the order mentioned, and, so far as I am able, will treat them with that impartiality and fairness that their importance demands.

It is often carelessly stated that one man dominates Congress, or terms of similar import. Any one who has had experience in either the Senate or the House knows full well that such statements, however attractive in print, have no foundation in fact. Neither can a Member of Congress dominate a Department. Congress is composed of men who represent their people, and unless the will of the majority is in accord with his, a member can

accomplish nothing. The House of Representatives has never yet been influenced by any one man except in accordance with its judgment; and in the end the judgment and will of the majority prevail.

Neither the Post-office Committee, nor its chairman, ever has had, nor will have, any voice in the management of the Post-office Department, save such as may be involved in preparing and recommending the passage of the appropriation bills, criticising the service, and suggesting laws for the control of the business. The Post-office Committee may be criticised because it has not recommended the establishment of parcels post, postal telegraph, postal savings-banks, and a revision of railway-mail pay, etc. I do not believe, however, that these projects, if adopted, would prove advantageous to the interests of all the people.

PARCELS POST.

Congress has been urged for a number of years to establish the parcels post system, to be operated in conjunction with the postal service. It is true that many of those who have favored this service are considered practical business men; and it is equally true that there is hardly a sincere socialist who has not, in season and out of season, advocated it. To the socialist it is a step towards the attainment of the end he has in view—the ownership and operation of everything under one great centralized power of the people, for the people, and by the people.

An express business is not a proper function of the postal system, which is not organized to do that character of transportation. Its adoption would involve the organization of an entirely new branch of business, the providing of large and expensive warehouses in all the large cities of the country, the ownership and use of vast drayage and wagon systems, also an entirely new system of transmission, unless the advocates of the measure propose to carry the parcels post matter on fast trains with mails at maximum cost, which would be impracticable, because of delay in loading and unloading, etc.

I doubt whether any one advocating the parcels post has a clear idea as to the effect that the adoption of the system in this country would produce.

It is reasonable to expect that the proprietors of the great department stores would favor a parcels post, for it would probably

be much to their advantage; the country merchants, however, if consulted, would probably be just as earnestly opposed to it, because it would injure their business.

I will not advocate the cause of either; I am willing that the law of trade shall control both.

I believe in the cheap transmission of goods to the people, and of the transportation of the farmers' products to the market as cheaply as any one is able to do the service, and all will be transmitted, by the laws of commerce, as cheaply as the work can be done, for, while rates may be temporarily excessive, the laws of commerce will ultimately prevail. I want as cheap an interchange of goods and products as can be had, but I do not wish to be taxed to transmit the goods and products of others. Those who favor parcels post, say that England, France, Germany and other countries have the system, and that it works well. That is true, but the conditions geographically and socially are wholly different. In these countries, the dense population is concentrated and the distances are not great. These conditions might make the system practicable and profitable there, while our conditions would make it impracticable and unprofitable here. The officials in the countries named do not know whether the parcels post system is profitable or not. I have been credibly informed that, so far as England is concerned,—and that is the only country that attempted to find the cost,—so long as a separate account was kept of the service, it was found to be conducted at a considerable loss, and the only way in which it could be held to be a great success was to quit bookkeeping. A government that has the taxing power can do this, but an individual that has to furnish the resources could not maintain his credit long under this method.

It is not to be disputed that the Government cannot do anything as cheaply as the individual. Government is not constituted to do business other than such as it must do for national protection and defence. In the erection of public buildings, the Government invests two dollars where an individual would invest one to secure the same space. A vast number of buildings would have to be built if parcels post were adopted, and a vast outlay would result.

It is fair to assume that the express business is profitable; but what evidence is there that the Government could make it pay expenses, charging the same rates? There are many reasons why

it could not. It would cost many millions to prepare for the service. The system of government management is not founded on business principles.

We have a striking example for comparison in the money-order business. The Government and the express companies charge substantially the same rates. The Government nets a large loss. I assume the express companies make a profit, or they would discontinue the business. I do not overlook the fact that the printed reports give a large profit on the money-order business; it can be demonstrated, however, that only a portion of the expense attending the conduct of the business is considered.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH.

Many of those who advocate parcels posts insist that we should have a cheap postal telegraph, and among this class are most of those who make a failure of managing their own or other people's business, but are always confident that they could successfully manage any business for the people. They seem to think that some restrictions have bound them in conducting their own affairs; but once given a full field in some large enterprise unrestrained by the petty annoyances of private business, and with a confiding and indulgent people, they will have reached the sphere for which they were created. Without doubt, they could give us a very popular postal telegraph system, so long as the people furnished the money. The people are patient and long-suffering, and they would never know, under the government system of bookkeeping, whether a portion of the expense were paid from the general treasury, or whether all the expense was met by the receipts of the telegraph business.

Postal telegraph advocates also urge that European countries have made a great success of this system. The general impression seems to be that it is both cheap and profitable. I will make no comparison with any country but England, because no other country attempts to keep an account separate from the general postal business, and the charges are substantially the same, German rates being a little higher than those of France or England. The English charge is sixpence for twelve words, including address and signature. Address and signature for all cities would consume most of the twelve words, and a ten-word despatch would cost from twenty to twenty-five cents. Of course, you may register an

address for twenty-one shillings a year, which must be a great boon to the people generally, who send perhaps one message when some relative dies. To the large banks and firms who send hundreds or thousands of messages it means considerable saving. It must be borne in mind that England is no larger than the territory covered by the prevailing twenty-five-cent rate for ten words in this country, and the population is much more dense. Geographically, England may be compared to New England and the Middle States, and I have no doubt that the present telegraph management would make a reasonable profit in such territory at less than one cent per word, including address and signature.

In the face of the printed reports of the English postal telegraph service to the contrary, it is generally accepted that the service is profitable, or at least self-sustaining. Such I found to be the prevailing opinion among the English people at the time I made an official examination of the English postal system in 1899. There was published in my report on the foreign postal service an official report, giving the receipts and expenditures of the postal telegraph system from the time the Government took charge of the service in 1870, up to and including the fiscal year 1898, which shows that, at the time the Government took control, the business was profitable, paying a net profit the first year of its management of $235,000, and the second year of $25,000. Since that time it has shown an increasing deficit, which, in the year 1903, had reached $4,461,325, the total deficit for the whole period being $53,939,000, not including interest on the deficit.

The foreign rates are not cheap, and there is a very large deficit which must be to a large extent borne by people who seldom, if ever, use the service. There seems to be no just reason why conditions would be different here. We must assume that they would be worse. Our form of government I do not hold to be as well equipped for government management as England's. Conditions geographically and socially would also militate against us.

POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS.

It has always seemed to me that, if the Government owed any duty to the citizen, it was in the direction of fostering self-reliance; if any practices or teachings are to be inculcated, they should be towards the independence of the individual. It cannot be the duty of Government to look carefully after the interests

and welfare of every individual in every direction; and, surely, if the Government should take care of the money of the citizen, should it not loan him money, and set him up in business, and direct the way in which he should conduct it? I have watched carefully the progress of legislative efforts since 1888, during which year, also in 1890, Congress came very near enacting legistion establishing postal savings-banks. In that measure it was proposed to pay four per cent. interest on deposits, with restrictions as to amount of deposit, etc. That rate of interest was considered very conservative, as the savings-banks of the country were at that time paying a higher rate. Let us suppose such legislation had been enacted, in what class of securities would the money have been invested so as to pay the interest? Government securities have not warranted the payment of more than one and a half per cent. for some years, and no first-class municipal bonds much more than two. Of course the rate of interest could have been reduced by legislative act, but let us look at probabilities rather than possibilities. Does any one suppose that it would have been possible to reduce the rate of interest received by ten, or twenty, millions of people, some millions of whom had votes, and many others influence in all the States and Congressional districts interested—the widow and the orphan, the man with the hoe, the horny-handed son of toil, and all the elements which soften the hearts of Congressmen, and make them love their fellow man? This representation may seem sordid, but I am taking human nature, perhaps not in the ideal sense, but in the practical, common, every-day sense, as you find men when their interests are at stake; and I have found very little difference between the man who owns the bank, and is not agonizing about postal savings-banks, and the man who might have his little mite on deposit with the Government. They all want what is coming to them, which is generally all they can get.

The postal savings-bank would mean a large perpetual national debt; and to adopt the system would necessitate the purchase of the whole amount of outstanding bonds, which amount, no one contends, would be sufficient to cover the amount that would be deposited. This course would inevitably increase the price of the securities and lower the rate of interest. There is no man so wise that he can tell what the rate of interest will be five or ten years hence. Twenty years ago four per cent. looked

so small that it would have attracted few depositors; yet, once adopted, it could not be reduced. The citizen whose opinion is worth considering seeks the most of life; using his judgment, he always seeks the bank that pays the highest rate of interest; the less he has, the more income he naturally wants for a dollar. The Government is not constituted to manage a successful banking business, it must work by the written statutory law so safely guarded as to surround it with insurmountable restraint. A banking business requires quick perception and at times action in many of the details of the business; no successful business institution can wait years for legislation to determine whether the rate of interest should be raised or lowered, or whether securities should be bought or sold. Some discretion must be lodged somewhere, but it cannot be safely lodged in legislative acts to be carried out by men who have no financial interest in their actions. There are plenty of good savings-banks throughout the country, and people with the present means of communication have no difficulty in reaching them. The depositor who is looking for a very high rate of interest may find a weak institution; he, however, would not patronize the Government bank, but those who have reason need not go far to find a sound institution that will pay in interest what money can earn. Discarding, however, that line of thought, it is not the function of the Government to furnish facilities for the investment of the people's money, which is the life of commerce and must be kept in active work to fulfil its proper function. European countries that have many socialistic features have postal savings-banks, but why should we desire to follow them? Is it because those countries have made a great success? Of course, the Government has the taxing power and can issue more bonds to pay the interest, which would be the inevitable result here. Would it not be better to allow the people to do such business as is properly theirs, and confine the Government to its legitimate functions of attending to that which the individual cannot successfully do?

RAILWAY-MAIL PAY.

Some people lay down the basis of things they propose discussing in the Postal Department, pointing out its shortcomings and trying to arouse a sentiment which shall bring the people to realize its defects, and thus lead to improvements which shall

put the postal service on a par with that of other civilized lands. It would be immodest to suggest here that a person competent to do this subject justice should at least be familiar with the practical workings of the postal service, both at home and abroad; a few garbled sentences, recollections of a portion of a sentence some one has uttered who is or has been connected with the postal service, cannot convey much of value to those who are seeking information.

These propositions are contained generally in the following allegations:

1st. That the service is inadequate and makes no material advance.

This is untrue; the service has made more material advance in the handling of written or printed mail matter than any similar service on the earth.

2d. That postal business is managed with lack of efficiency, economy, and no appreciation of the needs of the country; that the Postmaster-General and Assistants are selected for political considerations, and are not required to have knowledge of the service.

In part this is true, but such is the result of all governmental operation; and this imperfection or fault, if fault it be, is not restricted to this Government, it is fundamental. In all Governments, the management of affairs has been, is, and must of necessity continue to be placed in the hands of men skilled in politics. Our Government, and the English as well, are controlled by parties, with some policies in opposition; these parties strive for control; and, as the mind of the people seems to change, the different parties come into and go out of power. This, if there were no other, seems sufficient reason why Government should manage no more enterprises.

3d. That the service rendered in some respects is less liberal than formerly.

Except as to some articles wrongfully admitted to the second-class privilege, this is mere general criticism, addressed to nothing, and no practical improvement has been suggested.

4th. That the rate of payment for transportation of mails has not been reduced in twenty years, while all other rates have been reduced.

This is in a sense true. As an abstract proposition, there has been no reduction in the scale of rates paid to railroads; that is,

a railroad receiving a stated amount for carrying two hundred pounds, or any other given amount of mail, over its line daily, receives the same amount to-day that it did twenty years ago. But it must be borne in mind that this is only true, providing the road carries only the same amount. There are very few people who seem to understand the law governing the transportation of mail. Nothing original is stated when the allegation is made that the railroads receive the same pay to-day that they did twenty years ago. But whoever makes this statement either deliberately seeks to mislead the people, or else knows nothing about the subject. In approaching a question of this magnitude, one should feel that he stands upon absolutely secure ground. The subject has been very fully investigated during the last thirty years by at least three separate commissions, none of which has reported in favor of a reduction. A Joint Congressional Commission, composed of four Senators and four Representatives, was appointed in 1898, continuing such investigation nearly three years, and reporting to Congress in January, 1901. The testimony and report, comprising three large volumes, is and has been since that date a public document, and accessible to those who desire to inform themselves. The writer of this article was a member of that commission. With a view of making comparisons as to cost, he visited foreign countries, and while any accurate comparison cannot be made, because no account is kept of cost excepting in England, it is plainly apparent that in England the cost of carrying mail is greater than in this country; and the writer is convinced, from what could be gathered in France and Germany, that the same conditions prevail there. The commission was very forcibly struck by the great ignorance of this question on the part of officers of the best railroads in the country. Upon reflection, and with some little knowledge gained in the investigation, it does not seem so strange. In money received, the railway-mail business is only three per cent. of the total business of railroads, and the present officers have no recollection relative to the fixing of rates. The commission employed an expert, Professor Adams, of the University of Michigan, who, for the first time, after many months of patient and intelligent work, laid the subject before it in a form to be as plainly understood as the alphabet, and I have never hesitated to say that this report is the most valuable ever rendered upon this subject.

While the scale of pay has not been changed since 1878, I sometimes think that the man who framed the law "builded better than he knew," for the Act itself takes advantage of the law that density of traffic should lower rates, and makes a constant automatic reduction. The maximum pay is $42.75 per mile of road yearly for two hundred pounds a day, and the rate descends by degrees until it reaches $21.37 per ton per mile of road a year. Or, to take it in a different way, the pay descends from $1.17+ per ton per mile, to $0.585+per ton per mile. On a very few routes, where the average weight carried is below two hundred pounds, the rate is even above the maximum here given, but it is so small that it is not worth considering. This system of payment takes full advantage of the density of traffic, as well as the many other incidental questions surrounding it—notably, the railroads are required to deliver mail to post-offices within eighty rods of the station, which, in some cases, is a tax greater than the total amount of mail pay on the smaller routes. The greater amount of mail carried is met by a corresponding reduction in pay per pound. The average rate of pay for the whole country, including postal-car pay, was 26+ cents per ton per mile in 1873, and had fallen in 1898 to 12-+ cents. Not including postal-car pay, it had fallen from 20+ cents in 1880 to 11+ cents in 1898. Whether this reduction is enough may be a debatable question, but the figures so far presented are simple mathematical facts upon which there can be no difference of opinion. These figures are furnished in Professor Adams's report to the commission, and they must dispose of the statement that there has been no reduction since 1878. It is going on every year, as the weighings are made to determine the rate of pay for the successive four years. Passenger rates have fallen since 1881 21 per cent., freight rates 44 per cent. and mail rates 39 per cent. The passenger mileage has increased since 1880 224+ per cent., ton mileage of freight 313+ per cent., and mail 555+ per cent.

It can readily be seen that the increased percentage of mail has been much greater than freight, and the fall in rates has been five per cent. less. It will also be observed that the decrease in percentages in passenger rates has not kept pace with freight. If the same increased economies can be utilized in the transportation of passengers and mail as are used in the transportation of freight, then the same reduction should be made in rates, that is, corre-

sponding with the increased density. But the tendency seems to be in the opposite direction. While, in the transportation of freight, twenty-five years ago a 20,000-pound freight-car would carry 25,000 pounds of paying freight, to-day it is common on most roads to have a 26,000-pound freight-car carry 60,000 to 65,000 pounds, and the latest freight-cars, weighing 33,000 pounds, carry 100,000 pounds of freight. The motive power, the wear and tear of track, wages of train-men, and many other things, do not distinguish between dead and paying weight. In passenger and mail traffic, the tendency is in the opposite direction. While a 60,000-pound sixty-foot car answered for the carriage of mail, a car the same length to-day weighs from 90,000 pounds to 100,000 pounds, and for through passenger traffic the weight and expense of the car are increasing all the time. The average weight of mail, and number of passengers per car cannot increase by reason of the demands of the times, the passenger demanding more of the comforts and frequency of service with increased speed, and the mail demanding the highest attainable rate of speed with a more thorough separation of mail *en route*. The reduction in passenger rates is legitimately chargeable to the large increase in suburban service, which permits of greater concentration and increased number of passengers per car.

The only question remaining to be solved, in order that we may have a clear understanding of the laws governing transportation, is whether the original rate was adequate pay or too high pay, and whether the earnings from the carriage of mail are such as to return a more than reasonable profit to the railroads. The first question cannot now be readily determined, but the latter can be answered with a reasonable degree of certainty by taking the earnings of each branch of the railroad business. As a transportation proposition, where the mail is carried outside of mail or apartment cars, and in bulk, the pay seems to be very high, but this is a small, what might be termed a retail, business; and the delivery of mail, the free transportation of Government agents under various titles, etc., may make it not a profitable business. I cannot discuss that portion of the business and obtain any mathematical result, nor can any one, so long as the payment is by weight, space being unknown. It is, however, an insignificant part of the mail business, below 5 per cent. of the whole. But where a part of a car or a whole car can be used, a reasonable

conclusion, by comparison with earnings of other service, may be reached. We know, with a reasonable degree of certainty, the average weight of mail transported in mail-cars of given space and weight, the average given us being two tons per car. It will be asked why they do not carry more, as two tons cannot be the maximum capacity. I believe a sixty-foot car can carry four tons of average mail and do the distributing that is necessary. But the car must run every day. Some days the mail is more than double the amount that it is on other days; and it must be borne in mind that the trend of mail from the great centres to the westward or outgoing is double what it is eastward or incoming. Hence, while in some sections and at times these cars are filled to the maximum, at other times they are not filled. For comparison, I will take a route across the continent, New York to San Francisco, for it embraces many different conditions. The earnings of a mail-car, with two tons of mail, would be $531.26, three tons $796.89; with twelve tons of first-class freight the earnings of the car would be $720, with eight tons of express $1,080. With ten passengers (The Interstate Commerce Commission gives this average), the earnings of car would be $817.50. The passenger and mail cars, with load, we will allow, weigh much the same. The weight of the freight and express car is less than one-third the weight of the mail and passenger car. The mail will not average much more than two tons per car on this whole route. Mail and passengers are transported at a high rate of speed, and it is safe to say that it costs more to transport and operate six mail-cars than eighteen freight cars. The earnings of exclusive mail trains are less than earnings from either freight or passenger.

To sum up: while railway-mail pay attracts attention as the largest single item of postal expenditure, we must admit that it represents the most important feature of the postal operations, and whenever a revision seems necessary in the laws governing the expenditure, it is of vital importance to the commercial and social interests of the American people, that the question be handled conservatively, and only after thorough investigation by postal and transportation experts.

E. F. Loud.

THE FIFTY MILES ORDER.

BY HISTORICUS.

WAS the fifty miles order given by the Secretary of the Navy on November 2nd, 1903, many hours before there was a revolt at Panama against the government at Bogota, an illegal order if tested by the Thirty-fifth Article of the New Granada Treaty of 1846? The answer depends upon a critical historical inquiry, the nature of which I can now only give in the merest outline.

The following is a transcript of one of the orders:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 2, 1903.*

GLASS, *Marblehead, Acapulco:*

Proceed with all possible dispatch to Panama. Telegraph in cipher your departure. Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption is threatened by armed force, occupy the line of railroad. Prevent landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, with hostile intent at any point within 50 miles of Panama. If doubtful as to the intention of any armed force, occupy Ancon Hill strongly with artillery. If the *Wyoming* would delay *Concord* and *Marblehead*, her disposition must be left to your discretion. Government force reported approaching the Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing if in your judgment landing would precipitate a conflict.

DARLING, *Acting.*

What will be the practical effect if the question shall be answered in the affirmative? That question is here irrelevant. It will be for Congress to hereafter consider. The present Congress can condone, as it probably will do, or it can condemn.

The effect of any diplomatic notes, or arrangements, between Washington and Bogota, since the Treaty of 1846 was exchanged, upon the right of the President to intervene in the internal affairs of Colombia, either by way of aiding Colombia to execute her engagements with the United States, or to prevent the landing of Colombian troops on the Isthmus under certain circum-

stances, will depend on the text of those as yet unrevealed notes, or arrangements, when they shall have been made public in conformity with Senator Gorman's very practical and explicit resolution of inquiry.

The theory first suggested on September 2nd, 1903, in "*Le Matin*" of Paris, by the present Minister at Washington of the republic of Panama, and upheld by the President in his recent special Message to Congress—which implies that the nations have, by their representatives, assembled in international conference, invented and proclaimed a new rule of public law in regard to the proprietary rights of Colombia, Panama, or Nicaragua, in the land and water of an Isthmian crossing, have empowered and requested the United States to be the representative of the nations in executing, in respect to a canal, a new article of the international code, and also to be the mandatory of "collective humanity," in the phrase of Mr. Varilla, or of "collective civilization," in the terms of President Roosevelt, to excavate a canal, by a preliminary process of condemnation of the needed land and water to the uses of the canal, by right of international eminent domain, or international socialism—will not be now discussed.

It is established by documents recently published, which accompanied the Treaty of 1846 when it was sent to the Senate by President Polk, that our *chargé d'affaires* who negotiated that treaty acted "upon his own responsibility and without instructions." Mr. Buchanan has made that assertion twice,—once as Secretary of State, and once as President when sending to the Senate on April 5th, 1860, a treaty with Honduras. It is also established by those documents that the Thirty-fifth Article was not proposed to New Granada by the United States in order to obtain a right of way over the Isthmus. The chief object which the American negotiator had in mind was to rid the United States of injurious preferential duties which were then levied by New Granada on merchandise imported into her ports in American vessels. As compensation for the abrogation of those preferential duties, New Granada proposed to grant to the United States an Isthmian right of way, but the United States was to protect the sovereignty of New Granada over Panama against the aggressions of Great Britain, and France, and also against the United States herself. President Polk hesitated to send the treaty to the Senate

on account of that proposed guarantee by the United States, and after he finally had decided to send it for ratification, and did make the transmission, it remained in the Foreign Relations Committee of that body for more than a year. The Whig opposition took no interest in the treaty. When it was finally presented for final action in the Senate, not more than a third of the Whig Senators took the trouble to vote on it. It was reported in the newspapers of the day as having received the full Democratic vote chiefly because it had been sent in for ratification by President Polk.

It was New Granada that pressed the Thirty-fifth Article upon the American negotiator, who does not appear to have asked from her any surety that the United States be secured in the things promised. He did not exact a stipulated right in the United States to enforce those things in Panama territory if New Granada failed in her engagement, and for the reason, probably, that he did not in 1846 appreciate the need. Indeed, it would not have been quite feasible to adopt a stipulation that the United States should have the right to enter within Colombian jurisdiction with her officials, in order to enforce Colombia's stipulations in the treaty.

One who carefully notes the character and variety of the several stipulations made by Colombia, will realize the impracticability of imparting to the United States such a right of supervision.

The first stipulation, for example, of the Thirty-fifth Article is "that the citizens, vessels and merchandise of the United States shall enjoy, in the ports of New Granada, all the exemptions, privileges and immunities, concerning commerce and navigation, which are now or may hereafter be enjoyed by Granadian citizens, their vessels and merchandise." It would have been unreasonable for the United States to ask that New Granada permit American officials to prevent in Panama a denial of that engagement.

The second stipulation is, "that this equality of favors shall be made to extend to the passengers, correspondence and merchandise of the United States, in their transit across the said territory, from one sea to the other." It would obviously have been impracticable to permit United States officials in Panama to identify the things and to execute that stipulation.

Another stipulation is, that no other tolls, or charges, shall be levied, or collected, upon the citizens of the United States, or their said merchandise, thus passing over any road, or canal, that may be made by the government of New Granada, or by the authority of the same, than is, under like circumstances, levied upon and collected from the Granadian citizens; that any American products thus passing to and fro, "for the purpose of exportation to any other foreign country, shall not be liable to any import duties whatever, or, having paid such duties, they shall be entitled to drawback upon their exportation." No independent government could be expected to permit a foreign government to enter its jurisdiction to enforce such an engagement.

In the middle of the Thirty-fifth Article, and intermixed with such stipulations, is the one declaring that "the Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way, or transit, across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States." There seems to be no reason why officials of the United States should have been permitted by New Granada to enter the jurisdiction of Panama to enforce that stipulation any more than to enforce any of the other stipulations already referred to.

Some three or four years after the New Granada treaty was signed, a concession to build and operate a railway in Panama was granted by Colombia to a New York corporation. The corporation did not claim that the treaty had given the concession. The treaty had stipulated that any future "road, or canal," over which a free transit should exist, must be one "that may be made by the Government of New Granada, or by the authority of the same." The railway was in 1855 completed and in running order. The New York corporation, receiving the concession, agreed to make to Colombia therefor an annual payment of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which sum Panama will now probably claim must be paid to her by virtue of the recognition of her independence and her succession to the former government of Colombia from which she has successfully seceded. It is said to be an historical fact that the negotiation of that concession by the railway suggested to the United States the need of obtaining, in future transit treaties, the stipulation of

a right in the United States to physically enforce the freedom of transit when obstructed. In a subsequent treaty concluded with Mexico in 1850, such a stipulation was inserted. On page ninety-eight of the second volume of Professor Wharton's "International Law Digest," it appears that Secretary Marcy attempted in 1856 an amendment in that direction of the New Granada treaty, but that government refused to negotiate.

Early in 1853, the Mexican Government authorized American citizens to construct a plank road and railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In order to secure the stable benefits of said transit, Mexico, by a treaty concluded with the United States in that year, stipulated that she would protect with her whole power the prosecution, preservation and security of the work, and also agreed to the novel stipulation that "the United States may extend its protection, as it shall judge wise, to it, when it may feel sanctioned and warranted by the public, or international, law." Had such a stipulation been contained in the New Granada treaty of 1846, the question now presented regarding the recent fifty miles order given by the Navy Department might not have arisen, provided that order had been given and executed in good faith, simply to protect the Panama Railway in its right under the treaty as a common carrier, and without ulterior purposes of self-interest and ambition which would have been "criminal aggression."

Fourteen years later, after a multitude of ineffectual attempts by previous Secretaries of State, a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua (and ratified, for a wonder), for similar preservation and protection of a transit route through that country. Therein it was stipulated that Nicaragua shall always employ the requisite force for that protection, and, upon failure to do that from any cause, the Government of the United States might, "with the consent, or at the request, of the Government of Nicaragua, or of the Minister thereof at Washington, or the competent, legally appointed local authority, civil or military," employ such force for that purpose, but for no other. And then came a novel stipulation, which is to the effect that, in the exceptional case "of unforeseen, or imminent, danger to the lives, or property, of citizens of the United States, the forces of said Republic are authorized to act for their protection without such consent having been previously obtained, but no power or duty imposed upon, or con-

ceded to, the United States by the provisions of this article, shall be performed, or exercised, *except by authority, or in pursuance of, laws of Congress hereafter enacted.*" Nicaragua seems, at that time, to have had more confidence that the Congress of the United States would act justly, and not in a filibustering spirit, than it had in the Executive. If a similar stipulation were in the New Granada treaty of 1846, many of the pending questions of treaty interpretation and international law would probably not have arisen. But there was no such stipulation, and the historical evidence is that New Granada refused to consent to give such power to the United States. Did she fear what came to pass last November?

How many Secretaries of State have within the last half-century endeavored to make treaties with one or another of the governments of Central America in regard to Isthmian crossings, and how many of those treaties have perished in the process of ratification by the legislative authority of one government or the other? Secretary Cass endeavored many, under direction of President Buchanan, but not one of them emerged into life out of the furnace of ratification.

The need of a stipulation with Colombia authorizing the United States to enter with its officers into the Department of Panama, in order to protect the railway, was, in April, 1856, very painfully brought into view by a riot at Panama after the arrival there of nearly one thousand passengers who had landed at Colon, had been transported across the Isthmus, and were at Panama awaiting the arrival of a steamer to take them to San Francisco. The disturbance began by an altercation, between a drunken passenger and a Panama negro who sold fruit near the railway station, over the refusal of the former to pay a dime for a slice of watermelon. A pistol-shot was fired. Thereupon, the riot began. Loaded cannons were used. Panama police took possession of the station. There was bloodshed and plunder. Twenty persons were killed, twenty-nine wounded, and there was a loss of over half a million dollars of property. Secretary Marcy demanded reparation under the Treaty of 1846, and expressed his expectation that, after what had happened, "New Granada will station a military force along the route of the railway, and at Colon and at Panama, such as will secure adequate protection." Negotiations to that end were not concluded while Marcy remained in office.

They were carried on by Cass, his successor. During those negotiations, it was not suggested by anybody that the United States had engaged to maintain uninterrupted, or unembarrassed, transit over the railway. New Granada conceded her obligation to do it, but insisted that the Treaty of 1846 had not enlarged, or varied, the duty of all governments, under the law of nations, to preserve peace and good order within their territories. She denied that she had engaged to be an insurer. Finally, on September 10th, 1857, a treaty was concluded at Washington, by which New Granada "acknowledges its liability arising out of its privilege and obligation to preserve peace and good order along the transit route," and stipulated that all claims, growing out of the riot at Panama shall be referred to commissioners for ascertainment of the damages and the sums due.

There was no intimation that the United States had engaged to protect the transit, or had any responsibility for preserving good order along the transit route. After a long delay, and the interposition of a second commission, New Granada made pecuniary reparation to the United States for the damages inflicted.

There were, about this time, many things done by Panama officials in violation of the treaty. Among others, there was an attempt to levy a tax of more than three dollars on every pound of mail matter transported across the Isthmus, the aggregate of which would have been more than two millions of dollars annually. Panama authorities undertook to impose tonnage duties on foreign vessels in Panama ports, and also to require American citizens, passing across the Isthmus, to pay a head-tax. Those attempts so exasperated Secretary Marcy that he wrote, on December 31st, 1856, to the American Minister at Bogota, a minatory note, to the effect that the United States would resist by its naval forces at Aspinwall and Panama any *forcible* attempt by New Granada to lay a tonnage tax upon vessels of the United States at those ports. President Pierce, in his last Annual Message to Congress, referred to those repeated violations at Panama of the Treaty of 1846, and said:

"I have deemed the danger of the recurrence of scenes of lawless violence in this quarter so imminent, as to make it my duty to station a part of our naval force in the harbors of Panama and Aspinwall, in order to protect the persons and property of the citizens of the United States in those ports, and to insure them safe passage across the Isthmus, and

it would, in my judgment, be unwise to withdraw the naval force now in those ports until by the *spontaneous* action of the Republic of New Granada, or otherwise, some adequate arrangement shall have been made for the protection and security of a line of interoceanic communication so important, at this time, not to the United States only, but to all maritime states both of Europe and America."

The Cabinet of Pierce had in it Marcy, Caleb Cushing, Jefferson Davis and Guthrie, who were not likely to endure patiently such conduct toward American citizens in violation of treaty obligations. Their strength in Congress was so great that they felt certain of ratification and approval by it of whatever might be done in the direction indicated by the President. At the same time, it will be noticed that Pierce did not either land, or propose to land, a military force upon the Isthmus, until he had been authorized by Congress.

The years 1855-6 seem to have been, for some reason, cyclonic years on all of the Isthmian crossings. There was a great deal of ill-feeling and improper conduct between citizens of the United States, going to and fro across the Isthmus between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the mixed races,—white, black, red, yellow, half-breeds and hybrids, who were the inhabitants of the Isthmus. In addition to that, there were pecuniary disputes between Central-American governments and American *concessionaires,* which were aggravated by filibusters from New Orleans and California who invaded some of those Central-American states under Kinney from New Orleans, and Walker from California.

Early in the first half of the last century, the Accessory Transit Company, under the head of Commodore Vanderbilt, had obtained a concession from Nicaragua for the transportation of passengers and freight, which continued in successful operation, with great advantage to the public, till 1856, when the route was closed by Nicaragua, and the grant to the Company, as well as its charter, summarily and arbitrarily revoked. The United States endeavored in vain to compose the strife. The result was war between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and that competition ceased between the rival routes of Panama and Nicaragua, and, in consequence, unjust sums were exacted for transportation to and from California. It was to that condition of things that Secretary Cass alluded, in the note to one of our Ministers in Central

America from which President Roosevelt quoted, and to which he referred in each of his recent Messages to Congress as if General Cass had declared that, in the absence of a treaty giving a right, the United States could lawfully force the opening of a transit route in defiance of the government having jurisdiction thereof. The quotation was explained, modified and interpreted by Cass in a subsequent note to be found on the sixteenth page of the third volume of the "International Law Digest." If the President had read that note, he owed it to Cass and Congress to invite attention to the interpretation given by the author. President Buchanan, in his second Annual Message of December 6th, 1858 (Vol. V., Richardson's Papers, page 515), referred to the petty controversies between the Government of Nicaragua and its *concessionaires,* and declared that:

"*Whilst their rights of sovereignty ought to be respected,* it is the duty of other nations to require that this important passage shall not be interrupted by the civil wars and revolutionary outbreaks which have so frequently occurred in that region. The stake is too important to be left at the mercy of *rival companies,* claiming to hold conflicting contracts with Nicaragua. The commerce of other nations is not to stand still and await the adjustment of such petty controversies. The Government of the United States expect no more than this, and they will not be satisfied with less. . . . If disputes arise between it (Nicaragua) and those with whom they may have entered into contracts, these may be adjusted *by some fair tribunal provided for the purpose, and the route must not be closed pending the controversy. This is our whole policy,* and it cannot fail to be acceptable to other nations."

President Buchanan did not express a purpose, on his part, or on the part of the United States, nor did his Secretary of State, to condemn, by right of eminent domain, land in a foreign jurisdiction. That would have been the doctrine of the "Ostend Conference" which Marcy rebuked.

The critical period in the relations between the United States and Central-American governments, growing out of the Isthmian crossings, was from March, 1852, to March, 1861, when the War of Secession began; and a clue to all that was done, under either Pierce or Buchanan, can be seen in their Annual, and in many Special, Messages to Congress relating to the subject, all of which can be found in the fifth volume of "Richardson's Papers," and especially on pages 368, 416, 518, 538, 569, 585 and 643. By comparing what Pierce said upon the subject in his

last Annual Message (page 416) and the opinions expressed by his successor, it can be discerned how much, if at all, the two differed in regard to the right of the President to enter upon the jurisdiction of a Central-American state in order to secure the execution of a guaranty of free transit. A single paragraph taken from Buchanan's second Annual Message to Congress (page 516) will sufficiently indicate his view of the constitutional relation between the executive and legislative authorities of the United States. He said:

"The executive government of this country in its intercourse with various nations is limited to the employment of diplomacy alone. When this fails it can proceed no further. It cannot legitimately resort to force, without the direct authority of Congress, except in resisting and repelling hostile attacks. It would have no authority to enter the territories of Nicaragua, even to prevent the destruction of the transit and protect the lives and property of our own citizens on their passage. It is true that, on a sudden emergency of this character, the President would direct any armed force in the vicinity to march to their relief, but in doing this he would act upon his own responsibility."

Buchanan in each Annual Message urged Congress to enact a law authorizing the Executive to employ the naval force at his command for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens passing in transit across the Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec routes, against sudden and lawless outbreaks and depredations; but Congress steadily refused to make such an enactment.

In his third Annual Message, he argued the question with Congress, saying, among other things, that "the chief objection urged against the granting of this authority is, that Congress by conferring it would violate the Constitution, that it would be a transfer of the war-making, or, strictly speaking, the war-declaring, power to the Executive. If this were well founded it would of course be conclusive. A very brief examination, however, will place this objection at rest." His argument was that Congress could as well confer power upon the President to exert force should a case occur in the future, as to wait until the mischief had been done and then confer authority, when perhaps the remedy would be too late, and that "to confer authority to make war in order to meet future cases, under circumstances strictly specified, is as clearly within the war-

declaring power, as such an authority conferred upon the President by an Act of Congress after the deed had been done."

Congress refused to confer the power.

Those opinions were expressed by President Buchanan after the treaty with Mexico of 1853 had been made, which authorized the United States to apply force in its discretion to protect the crossing at Tehuantepec, but he insisted, nevertheless, that Congress should authorize the President to use force even in the execution of such a treaty.

Looking back over the last half-century of events in Central America, and the collisions that have occurred between the governments of that part of the world and the United States, a great deal of toleration for Central America cannot fail to be felt, on account of the character of the inhabitants with which those governments have had to deal. If when the Spanish-American states to the south of us had obtained their independence of Spain, they had adopted a policy, in regard to the relation of the colored races to the new governments established, similar to that which the successors of those who landed at Jamestown and at Plymouth Rock established in North America, the result would probably have been very different. But they did not! They did not do that which Chief-Justice Taney declared, in the *Dred Scott* case, those did who framed the Federal Constitution, and the several State constitutions—which was, not to regard the black, red or colored races as citizens, or members of the body politic. That great and good Chief-Justice, "the purest of earth or sky," did not say that, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, "a negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect," which he has been so persistently quoted as saying; but he did say that a negro had been considered, for more than a century before that period, as a being of an inferior order. Mexico, Central America and South America have paid the penalty for adopting a standard, possibly more humane and philanthropic, for the selection of those fitted to vote, and to participate in framing and maintaining a political government.

HISTORICUS.

RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

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I.

Not only once, nor twenty times, but a hundred times during a recent trip in the United States, was the writer of these lines questioned about the politico-clerical agitation which for some years, with daily increasing and disquieting rapidity, has been troubling his native country, France. Americans, who are citizens of a free and tolerant country, are astonished that a great nation of Europe can still be absorbed in quarrels of such a nature. They cannot understand how a republican government in the twentieth century should put outside the pale of common law a whole category of people because of their way of comprehending life or of practising religion. They naturally ask how much truth there is in the news the telegraph brings of a systematic course of pursuits,—not to say persecutions,—undertaken by that government; and perhaps they would be disinclined to believe such news if, from time to time, they did not actually see members of Religious Orders of both sexes landing on their free shores, in quest of an asylum, of a means of livelihood.

In treating this subject, I am therefore certain of dealing with preoccupations that already exist in the minds of American readers; and they may be equally certain that my character of priest will not prevent me from writing in a spirit of perfect loyalty and independence. If, for love of liberty and justice, I happen to blame the government, it will not be because of any hostility on my part to the Republic, on whose side I have always declared myself; if I happen to speak in favor of the Religious Associations, it will not be because of any solidarity with them,

since my ideas have often been in conflict with the ideas expressed by some of their most powerful representatives,—the Jesuits; and since, also, at the very moment of writing this article, I am being attacked, in a reactionary paper, by a Religious, well known in the United States as the author of an extravagant pamphlet against the Paulist Fathers, Cardinal Gibbons, and Archbishops Ireland and Keane. Besides, in mentioning these details, I have no wish to furnish an additional pretext for the opinion that the secular clergy in France dislike the Religious Associations and refuse to recognize the great good they do. That such is not the case needs, as proof, but the statement of the following fact: When the Associations applied for their legal authorizations, out of eighty Bishops in France, seventy-five signed a petition to Parliament in their favor, collectively, four signed individually, and one, only, abstained. Therefore, out of eighty Bishops, seventy-nine were favorable; and the clergy think as do their chiefs.

But the question is not as to whether one likes the Associations, or not. I will go even farther and I will say that the question is not whether a small number of them may have contributed to the mistakes made by those French Catholics who formerly opposed the establishment of the Republic, and who on a certain notorious occasion, recently, gave proof of great intolerance. The question is: Have the elementary rights belonging to every citizen of a civilized country been violated, or not, in their case? Is the law that was made against them just or unjust? And was the law, when it had been passed, applied unjustly, illiberally, contrarily even to the intentions and public promises of its authors? This is what must be examined, and what we shall now examine.

II.

The law dealing with Associations generally, which was promulgated on the 2nd of July, 1901, contains two parts very different from each other. By the first part, all French citizens have the right to "associate together freely without authorization or previous notice given." I may say here that, since the time of Napoleon I., all such matters had depended on Article 291 of the Penal Code, which says: "No association of more than twenty persons, whose aim is to meet together every day, or on certain fixed days, to treat of matters religious, literary, political or other, can be formed except with the consent of the government, and

under conditions which the public authorities may be pleased to impose on the society." Such is the liberty France has had to be content with for one whole century!

The second part of the law of 1901, so liberal as regards the average citizen, is more tyrannical even than the Napoleonic Code where Religious Associations are concerned. Such Associations cannot be formed "without authorization given by a law determining the conditions under which they operate," and, supposing that they have obtained such authorization, "they cannot found any new establishment except by virtue of a decree given in the *Conseil d'État.*" But there is something more. These establishments, every one of which has had to be authorized in the *Conseil d'État,*—each Congregation has had to be authorized as a whole by a special law—are always at the mercy of the Executive! The text of the law here merits attention: "the dissolution of a Congregation, or the closing of any Establishment, may be pronounced by decree given in the Council of Ministers." Can Americans understand that an institution authorized by a law of Congress may be suppressed at the will of the Cabinet?

What steps is it incumbent on a new Congregation to take in order to obtain proper authorization? It must previously submit to, and afterwards always hold at the disposal of, the public officers an exact account of its income and expenses, an exact statement of the value of all its property, whether personal or real; the name, age, occupation past and present, of each one of its members, with a complete record of his history. And, even after all this, it is by no means a certainty that the authorization will be granted. Should it take upon itself to become a constituted body without proper authorization, every member may incur a fine up to 5,000 francs and be sent to prison for a period up to one year. The same penalties may be exacted from any person that lets out a room, a hall, a workshop to any member of a Congregation; and these penalties may be doubled in the case of a Founder or Director.

Are the conditions better of Congregations that were in existence before this law was passed? Although, for many years, these have had treaties with cities, or with the state, for schools, colleges, asylums, hospitals, and all sorts of public establishments, henceforward they are to be considered as non-existing, and they are obliged to take all the steps described above. If, notwithstanding

this, authorization is refused them, they are "dissolved by the very fact, and the liquidation of their property shall take place by public process." That is to say, all their property will be disposed of by forced sale; and if, after the expenses of liquidation have been paid, and after provision has been made for the maintenance of former works of charity, if then, by chance, there should remain anything over, the government *may* give whatever it considers proper to whichever member of the Congregation it considers worthy.

There remains one more point to examine. What will become of a member of a Congregation which has not received authorization? The answer to this question is very simple: he must starve, beg or emigrate. For he is prohibited from doing, even by himself, the only things for which he has either taste or ability. The greater part of Religious, whether men or women, are teachers; and, according to Article 14 of the new law, "no one shall be allowed to direct an establishment for teaching, nor shall any one be allowed to give instruction in it, if he or she belong to an unauthorized Religious Congregation." Any one transgressing this law shall be punished by fines and imprisonment as above; "and the establishment may be closed by virtue of the same judgment." Remark this word "*may*"; in many cases the law itself leaves the government absolutely free to act as it pleases. To-day, in France, one constantly comes into contact with such anomalies as this: of two schools, established and existing under identically the same conditions, one is for the moment tolerated, and the other is closed, especially if any local rancor or vengeance may be served by closing it. In the latter case, the Religious, if a priest, can no longer preach or perform any ecclesiastical function; and the secular priest who invites him to preach is punished by the government.

III.

Such is the severity of the law against the Congregations. But the manner in which it is enforced, even more than its text, will astonish readers who have the good fortune to belong to a free country. This law has been applied with so much vigor, so much arbitrariness and, I may say, with so much illegality, that its principal author, M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself, has been obliged, on two occasions, in June and in November, 1903, to declare in full Senate that the law has been completely warped. On the lat-

ter occasion, he gave battle to the Combes Ministry and was defeated by a majority of eleven votes, so powerless was he to arrest the blind forces he had himself unchained. In consequence of this, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, discouraged and disgusted, is retiring, at least for a time, from public life.

The first step taken by M. Combes beyond the limits of the law, was the closing of numerous schools directed by Congregations *duly authorized.* This act on his part was absolutely in opposition to the declarations made, during the discussion of the law, by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who, as Prime Minister, stated most emphatically in the Chamber of Deputies that this law would in no way affect Free Schools. Six months later, January 27th, 1902, the *Conseil d'État,* on the contrary, declared that an authorization was necessary every time a Religious, even if authorized and acting alone, wished to open a *new* establishment. Again, six months later, M. Combes, who had become Premier, decreed that schools founded without authorization *previously to the passing of the law* by an authorized Congregation, were in an irregular state; and he closed three thousand of them. It was because of this, and not for any other reason, that the peasants of Brittany and of Savoy attempted a revolt in July, 1902. Those persons who from afar blamed their conduct severely, were not aware, perhaps, that these same arbitrary acts provoked protestations in many other quarters. A former Prime Minister, an avowed Radical, M. René Goblet, wrote concerning this matter, and at this time, as follows:

"I persist in thinking that a régime of real liberty, joined to an exact application of the school laws, would be infinitely more serviceable to the cause of the Republic than a system of coercion (I refrain from saying persecution), which is as irritating as it is useless, and on which, I see with regret, that the Republican party is entering."

And M. Gabriel Monod, the celebrated Protestant historian, wrote to M. Viollet, member of the Institute, and President of the Catholic Dreyfus Committee (for there were a certain number of Catholics on Dreyfus's side):

"The government has taken several contradictory measures that have bewildered its supporters; and it has stirred up throughout France an agitation of which it is impossible to foresee all the consequences. Those persons who, like myself, favor absolute liberty of association, and, at the same time, the separation of Church and State, are frightened and

heartsick when they see the Anti-Clericals of to-day manifest towards the Catholic Church the same feeling and conduct that the Catholics manifested formerly towards Protestants and heretics of all kinds."

While previously authorized Congregations were being treated in this way, what was happening to the others? Called upon to solicit authorization, and to give to the civil authority a list of all their members and of all their property, they grew perplexed, and a scission took place among them. The greater part, yielding to the advice of the Pope, of the majority of the Bishops and of the most liberal laymen, consented to submit to the law, and to take all steps necessary for obtaining authorization. A small number of them, notably the Jesuits and the Assumptionists, and others like them, declared that the government had set a trap for them, and that they preferred to disband of their own will; this allowed them to disperse their members, close up their charities, and dispose of their possessions without rendering an account to hostile officials. Now, it is sad to admit it, events proved that these intransigent Congregations were right. The others, those who gave themselves over, tied hand and foot, to the justice of Parliament and government, were refused the authorization they had been compelled to ask for.

This is perhaps the most scandalous part of all the story. Because of an early irregularity, and one that called forth an unavailing protest from the author of the Waldeck-Rousseau Law, the requests for authorization which should have been submitted to both Chambers, were submitted to only one; the government asked the Senate to authorize four or five unimportant Congregations, and at the same time asked the Chamber of Deputies to refuse several hundred. But there is something else still more serious; the requests should have been, according to all justice, examined one by one, and M. Combes did at first take this course; but, seeing that the Chamber wished to get on faster, and preferred to reject the applications *en bloc,* M. Combes consented, and even asked for a vote of confidence on this point. The Congregations were divided into three series: teaching, preaching and commercial. Each series was despatched at a vote, without any examination of detail, and in such fashion that the names of the greater number of the Congregations were not even mentioned in the debate. In the Chamber of Deputies one of the former Ministry, M. Leygues, who had been instrumental in get-

ting the law passed, and in the Senate the head of that same Ministry, M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself, declared that the law would never have been enacted if it had been understood in this way. I will cite his own words, which are the more positive in substance as they are moderate in expression:

"From the day when the Chamber consented to group together the requests for authorization, and to reject them *en bloc* and by categories, instead of examining them on their merits, from that moment the application of the law seemed to become more irritating; and people have been in a position to say that, on that day, the Chamber of Deputies made a law that was destructive of the former law."

Thus, the requests for authorization of those Congregations which submitted to the law, were rejected all together; and we are face to face with this supreme injustice: they are in a far worse predicament than the Congregations which did not submit to the law. The latter, not having disclosed their membership nor their possessions, escaped, to a great extent, from administrative vexations. The former were unable to save a single one of their houses, or a single security of any kind. From the fact that their names were set forth in the requests for authorization, all the members were denounced individually, and existence became impossible for them in France.

It might be said that, as a last resort, they could have been secularized. But the government will not admit this transformation as valid, and it continues to treat them as Religious, even if they are not more than three, or two, or even one. The Religious who are priests are allowed, it is true, to accept functions from the Bishop of the diocese whence they came. But, this, if it were really practicable, would amount to nothing else than compulsory residence—a thing contrary to modern ideas of liberty. It is not, however, even practicable, since, usually, all Religious come from the same dioceses, that is to say, where Christian fervor most abounds; and in those districts there are more priests already than there is room for. Besides, this apparent resource is not one for the Brothers and Sisters; they have only to hide away like malefactors, or go into exile, or die of hunger. On the very day on which I am writing these lines (November 27th), I see in all the newspapers that, yesterday, condemnation was pronounced against two former Sisters who had given up their school, left off their costume, and taken refuge in the house of a baker, where

they gave lessons to two little girls, one the baker's daughter, and the other a neighbor's child. Another Sister, near Pont-Audemer, in Normandy, has been prosecuted for having become a cook in a school. At Lille, a Sister was prosecuted because of "having nursed sick persons gratuitously."

In vain is it that many judges (in France, judges are named by the Executive power, and depend for their advancement on it) refuse to be parties to such practices; all the just sentences they pronounce, in spite of menaces or promises, are quashed by the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal, which, unfortunately, as regards independence, has little similarity to the Supreme Court of the United States.

So vigorous an application of the law creates situations so extraordinary that to understand them from a distance is almost impossible. Laws cannot be pushed to this extent of violence and folly in a civilized country; the government, notwithstanding its great desire and effort, has not succeeded in obtaining complete obedience; it is exasperated at its own impotence, and constantly has recourse to new laws, to new decrees; and no one can foresee what will be the end of this venomous persecution.

I suppose the reader will now realize that the aim of the present French government is not to impose respect for the law on Congregations that are supposed to be in revolt against the law, but rather to attack and destroy them simply because they are Catholic Associations. M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who is so apt at finding expressive formulas, declared that "this is no longer to *confine* religious society within its own limits, but to *pursue* it within those very limits." That this is so, is proved by the action taken by the Senate in November against the authorized Orders. While new rules were being considered concerning the *enseignement sécondaire,* the equivalent, as nearly as possible, of American High Schools and Colleges, an obscure fanatic, named Girard, proposed that this course of instruction should never be open to any teachers who profess vows of obedience and chastity. This very grave measure is aimed at all authorized Orders and the Secular Clergy. The French Premier asked for delay to enable him to consult the other Ministers; and, after a cabinet meeting, he announced that he accepted, as a principle, the dominating idea of this amendment; that he reserved the question of the Secular Clergy for treatment when the subject of the Concordat came up

for settlement; but that he approved of excluding members of all Orders from teaching in these schools. The debate was animated and warm. M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself took an energetic part in it, and showed how odious it would be to deprive Orders that have been authorized for a long time of the right of teaching—that is to say, of fulfilling the very purpose for which authorization had been given them. All the Liberal Republicans spoke in the same strain, but in vain.

One more feature, and this already heavily charged tableau will be finished. As the last vote deprived the Orders of the right of teaching in the "*enseignement sécondaire*" only, M. Combes has prepared a bill forbidding the Orders, even those which are authorized, to teach in *any institution whatever,* from the Universities down to the Grammar-Schools. This is how the matter stands at present. No one in France doubts that the Government intends going further, and a campaign is already begun in the official newspapers with the aim of preventing from teaching any who have taken vows of chastity—or, in other words, all members of the Catholic Clergy.

IV.

All this must appear very strange to the inhabitants of a free and modern country, in whose Constitution it is written: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In France, we have not yet acquired either the idea of real liberty or the truly modern spirit; we have not yet shaken off the last remaining habits of a tyrannical Past.

M. Combes and his friends, who imagine that they are the leaders of all progress, are committing again the errors of the Middle Ages. That which Philip II. did in Spain, in his making use of the Inquisition; that which Louis XIV. did in France, in revoking the Edict of Nantes and in driving out the Protestants; that which England did, in her treatment of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Anti-Clericals in France are doing to-day, in their hatred of the Religious Orders. They are placing these Orders beyond the law; they are preventing members of these Orders from living as they see fit to live, and from earning their daily bread; they are practically forcing these members to leave France, all solely because of their ideas and innermost convictions. It is the old crime of heresy reversed. Since 1789, the French state has pro-

fessed no longer to recognize religious vows, either to protect, or to attack them; and in this it does well. But how illogical is it, then, to deprive certain individuals of their civil rights, merely because they take vows which it does not recognize! How does it concern the state if young men and women take the vow of chastity before God, and lead a life in common, devoting themselves to doing good in the manner they deem best? Is it not monstrous that, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Government of a great country should arrogate to itself the right of interfering in a matter of this kind, even that it should bring such subjects into the scope of its deliberations? Whether this vow be good or bad, is a question for one's own conscience. Let those who think it bad endeavor to turn others from it by means of persuasion; but to try to prevent it by brute force is the most retrograde course in the world.

The measure of true civilization is indicated by the degree of respect in which one person holds the rights of another; every man and woman, so long as not encroaching on the rights of others, is inviolably entitled to act, and, *a fortiori,* to think, to believe, to pray, as he or she wishes. The French Government, by preventing certain categories of citizens from assembling together, or from acting together, solely because their ideas are not its ideas, has gone backward several centuries on a capital point, and has resurrected one of the most shameful practices of the past, the misdemeanor of opinion.

I am well aware that many arguments have been used to justify the unjustifiable attitude of the Government against the Orders, but they are all based on false allegations. It has been stated, for example, that the Orders were growing too rich; but statistics prove that this is true of hardly any; while, on the other hand, it would have been sufficient (although a strange way of understanding freedom) to impose a limit upon their wealth.

It has been urged that it is dangerous to confide the education of young people to men or women who, by their vow of celibacy, are outside of family life. Now, experience proves that celibacy, without, of course, being necessary for, is on the contrary favorable to, the development of sentiments of devotion to other people's children, and especially when it proceeds from deep religious feeling. And even official statistics, of recent date, demonstrate that it is an additional guarantee in the matter of

morals; from 1894 to 1898, the average condemnations of religious teachers was 3.71 in 100,000; of lay teachers, 9.93.

It is further claimed that the Orders are a menace to the existence of the Republic. But if it is true that certain members of one or two Orders have tried to oppose the Republic (or rather, perhaps, the party to-day in power), are not the same means of defence available against them as against others? And, in any case, is that a reason for attacking a multitude of Religious of both sexes, whose lives are passed completely outside of all political preoccupation, and who often do not even know if France is a Republic or not? The exclamation of an old Trappist may be cited, who had been in his convent for forty years; when, in 1880, he was expelled by the decrees of Jules Ferry, he raised his hands to heaven, and cried out: "I never should have expected such treatment from King Louis Philippe!"

Neither the Nuns nor the Monks constitute a source of danger to the Republic. The Republic is, thank God, solidly established in France now, and, we sincerely hope, for all time. We Catholic laymen and priests of the new generation are, with very few exceptions, as much attached to it as any citizens; and we bitterly regret the mistakes of our predecessors who, by not accepting it at the very beginning, have furnished pretexts to the enemies of our religion. But there are those who, if they had their way for any considerable length of time, would end by compromising the cause of liberty and even the existence of the Republic. These are not the men who live in convents, but those who abuse the public power they wield to-day by attacking religious ideas, the foundations of duty, and the free exercise of personal convictions. If, in spite of the warnings of non-religious statesmen, like Ribot, Goblet, Waldeck-Rousseau and many others, they persevere in the baneful course they have marked out, they will surely, sooner or later, bind together the idea of Republicanism with the idea of Tyranny, and render possible the domination of a new Cæsar. All liberties are solidary; to destroy a single one, and, above all, one so supremely important as the liberty of conscience, is to shatter them all.

To-day in France, the enemies of Religion are the enemies of the Republic.

FELIX KLEIN.

THE ART OF THE STAGE-MANAGER.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS, PROFESSOR OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

As civilization becomes more and more complex, we can find increasing instances of specialization of function, as the scientists term it. Only a few years ago, engineering succeeded in getting itself recognized as one of the professions; and it has already split up into half-a-dozen branches, at least, and there are now not only civil engineers and mechanical engineers and mining engineers, but also electrical engineers — and even chemical engineers. The invention of the steel-frame building has brought into existence a special class of artisans known as "housesmiths," a word probably unintelligible to our British cousins. Sir Leslie Stephen, in his delightful "Studies of a Biographer," has a scholarly yet playful paper on the "Evolution of the Editor"; and Mr. W. J. Henderson, in his interesting book on the "Orchestra and Orchestral Music," traces the development of the conductor—that musician whose duties are as important as they are novel, and who is not now expected to be able himself to play upon any particular instrument.

"It is impossible to tell when the conductor made his appearance in music," Mr. Henderson asserts. "At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the conductor was at first nothing more than a leader; he was one of the performers whom the rest followed." An inscription in verse on an engraving of a conductor, published in Nuremberg, early in the eighteenth century, declares that "silent myself, I cause the music I control." In the nineteenth century, the conductor had won full recognition as an instrumentalist of a new type, who, without any instrument of his own, played on the whole body of musicians under his command. Of late, he has become so prominent in the eyes of the pub-

lic, and his personality has been so insisted upon, that there is danger often lest he may distract attention from the music to himself. As Mr. Henderson records calmly: "We have beheld the curious spectacle of people going, to hear not Beethoven or Wagner, but Nikisch or Seidl."

What the conductor is to a performance of orchestral music, the stage-manager is to the performance of a play in the theatre. His art is as special, as necessary, as novel, and as difficult; and, if it is as yet scarcely recognized and rarely appreciated, this is due in part to the conditions under which his work must be done. The conductor is not only visible but conspicuous; the audience is likely to watch him rather than any one of the musicians he is guiding; whereas the stage-manager must ever be invisible, and is, indeed, most successful if his existence is unsuspected. When the conductor brings a concert to a close, he bows to the applause and then lays down his wand; and all is over. The stage-manager has wrought his wonders, and his labors are practically concluded, before the curtain rises on the first act at the first performance. In this respect, he is like the trainer of a college-crew, who cannot go into the boat with them when the pistol is fired for the race to begin. But everybody is now well aware what it is that the trainer has done for the crew; his portrait appears with theirs in the newspapers and he shares their glory.

Only the expert ever thinks of giving due meed of praise to the hidden stage-manager who is responsible for a more arduous victory in the theatre than any ever won on the river. His face is not familiar on the posters; and his name is not in large type on the play-bill. All the credit he gets is contained in the single line which records that the play has been "produced" by him. Yet he has been responsible for the entire performance—for the acting and for the costumes, for the scenery and for the properties, for the lighting and for the incidental music; not so much indeed for any one of these things as for the harmony of the whole. If there has been a perfect co-ordination of all these elements, if there have been no jarring notes, if the spirit of the play has been brought out completely, if everything has gone right from beginning to end, if the whole performance has moved so smoothly as to seem spontaneous, the stage-manager deserves the highest praise for what he has wrought unseen. Yet his sole reward is his own consciousness of work well done, and the chance appreciation

of the scanty few who may be competent to estimate the worth of his achievement.

The "producer" of the play, the person who assumes the responsibility for the performance in all its details, may be the dramatist himself; M. Sardou and Mr. Pinero have shown surpassing skill in bringing forth all that lies latent in the inert manuscripts of their plays. He may be the actual manager of the theatre; the late Augustin Daly was a stage-manager of striking individuality. He may be the actor of the chief part in the play; Mr. Willard and Mr. Sothern have revealed another aspect of their talent by the artistic manner in which they have staged both new plays and old. He may be at once author and actor and manager, like Mr. Gillette, a past-master of this new and difficult art. Or he may be simply a stage-manager and nothing else, a craftsman of a new calling, not author, not actor, yet able on occasion to give hints to playwright and to player. Here, again, is another resemblance to the conductor, who can impose his own will on the orchestra, although he may not be able to play one of the instruments in it, and although he is quite incapable of composing.

That the task of the stage-manager is more difficult than that of the conductor is due to the fact that the composer has prescribed exactly what share each instrument shall take, the conductor having this full score in his possession; whereas the stage-manager receives from the author only the spoken words of the play, with but summary indications as to the gestures, the movements, the scenery and so forth. He has not a full score, but only a sequence of themes incompletely orchestrated, and with the missing passages to be supplied at his own discretion. And as the richness of the harmony depends largely upon his ability to amplify properly the hints of the author, the stage-manager is, in fact, almost a collaborator of the playwright; he is forced into a more intimate relation with the dramatist than that which the conductor bears towards the composer. To a collaboration of this sort, ordinary playgoers never give a thought, content to take the performance as they see it, and ready often to credit the actor, not only with the inventions of the stage-manager, but even with those of the author also. They accept the play as it is presented to them, just as though it had happened, with no suspicion of the forethought by which the performance has been made possible. Very significant, indeed, was the remark of a commercial travel-

ler to a comic actor of Daly's company with whom he fell into talk on a train. "I don't see how it is that you are always able to think of such things to say on the stage,—and all on a sudden, too. I just wish I could do it; it would be invaluable to me in my business."

Perhaps this anecdote is evidence in itself of the assertion of George Henry Lewes, in his stimulating essays "On Actors and the Art of Acting," that audiences are inclined to overestimate the genius of an actor and to underestimate his trained skill. We are prone to accept the fallacy of the "inspiration of the moment," and to give little credit to the careful preliminary rehearsing which is at once a humble substitute for inspiration, should this fail to appear, and its solid support, should it happen to present itself. For the thoroughness of this preliminary preparation the stage-manager is responsible; and it is at rehearsal that he seeks to bring about the perfect "team-play" which is absolutely necessary,—the subordination of individual display to the larger advantage of the whole performance. The reason why the so-called "all-star revivals" of old plays are often sadly disappointing, is to be found in the absence of this team-play, in the exaggerated self-assertion of the individual actors, whom the stage-manager has been unable to control. Few members of an "all-star" company can be relied upon for the "sacrifice-hits," which the best team-play may now and then demand. And this is why a wise dramatist, if he were put to the choice, would prefer to have his piece performed by a company of average merit directed by a stage-manager of skill and authority, than by far better actors under lax and inefficient stage-management. One of the varied qualifications needed by stage-managers is the insight to estimate the personality of the actors, so that the play may profit by what each of them can do best, while the exuberance of an aggressive individuality is restrained from interfering with the due proportion of the performance.

While it is the duty of the stage-manager to handle all the elements in his control so as to make the performance as perfect as possible, his most important function is to direct the actors themselves, to see that they read their lines intelligently, with just the emphasis requisite at that given moment in the unfolding of the story of the play, and to advise them as to the gestures and movements which should tell this story almost as plainly as

the words themselves. Some actors scarcely ever need a hint at rehearsal, reading their speeches naturally the first time and finding for themselves the appropriate by-play,—"business," as technical phrase terms it. Other actors, in no wise inferior in power of personation, need to be guided and stimulated by advice; even if not inventive themselves, they may be swift to take a hint and to wring from it all its effectiveness.

Two of the most prominent actresses of the English-speaking stage in the final quarter of the nineteenth century had little originality, and, when left to themselves, their performances lacked color and variety. But when they had been once told what to do, by a more inventive mind than their own, they would do it with an easy brilliancy, with an apparent spontaneity, which was as deceptive as it was fascinating. They were marvellously gifted instruments, flexible and resonant; and, just as the organist can now control his stops and his keys from a distance by electricity, so the hidden stage-manager evoked unseen the music of their art. Rachel, probably the greatest actress of the last century, was lost without the tuition of Samson, a comic actor himself, but a teacher of force, originality and taste. Mrs. Siddons, again, owed some of her most striking effects to her brother, John Philip Kemble. It was Kemble who devised for her, and for himself, the new reading and the business now traditional in the trial scene of "Henry VIII.," where the *Queen* at bay lashes *Wolsey* with the lines beginning:

"Lord Cardinal, to you I speak—"

Kemble suggested that the *Queen* should pause, after the first three words, as though making up her mind what she should say. While she hesitates, the other cardinal, *Campeius,* thinking himself addressed by a lady, steps forward. The *Queen,* seeing this, waves him aside with an imperious gesture, which sweeps forward to *Wolsey,* at whom she hurls the next words,

"To *you* I speak!"

and then the rest of the fiery speech pours forth like scorching lava.

If the older plays, either tragedies or comedies, seem to us sometimes richer in detail than the more modern pieces, we shall do well to remember that these earlier dramas have profited by the accretions of business and of unexpected readings due to the

unceasing endeavor of several generations of actors and of stage-managers. The plays of Shakspere that are most frequently performed, the comedies of Molière also, have accumulated a mass of traditions, of one kind or another, some of these being of hoary antiquity. In "Hamlet" for example, in the graveyard scene, it was the habit of the *Second Grave-digger* to take off his coat before beginning his work, and then to proceed to divest himself of an indeterminate number of waistcoats, to the increasing disgust of the *First Grave-digger*. Oddly enough, this same business is traditional in the "*Précieuses Ridicules*," the less important of the two comedians going through exactly the same mirth-provoking disrobing. Probably the business was elaborated for some mediæval farce long before Molière was born, or Shakspere either. Of late, it has been omitted from "Hamlet," but it is still religiously preserved in the performances of the "*Précieuses*" by the Comédie-Française, the company that Molière founded.

Many another tradition is also cherished at the Française, the origin of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the "*Malade Imaginaire*," for example, *Thomas Diafoirius* is always provided with an absurdly high child's chair, apparently the property of Louison; and in the "*Avare*," after the miser has blown out a candle twice and finally pocketed it, the custom is for his servant to sneak behind him and to light the candle once again as it sticks out of his coat. Regnier, the cultivated and brilliant comedian (whose pupil M. Coquelin was in his 'prentice-days), published a text of Molière's most powerful play which he called "*Le Tartuffe des Comédiens*" because he had recorded in it all this traditional business. M. Coquelin has told me that he hopes to be able some day to edit other of Molière's masterpieces on this principle. And it is greatly to be wished that some stage-manager of scholarly tastes should provide us with a record of the customary effects to be obtained in the performance of each of Shakspere's plays, as these have been accumulated in the theatre itself. Perhaps this book might be able to tell us why it is that tradition warrants the same rather trivial practical joke in the performance of the "Merchant of Venice," and in the performance of "Romeo and Juliet,"—the business of embarrassing a servant by repeated bows of mock courtesy and protracted farewell.

In preparing for a revival of one of the masterpieces of Shakspere, the accomplished stage-manager of to-day considers all

these traditions inherited from the past, discarding some of them and selecting those which appear to him worthy of preservation, and which will accommodate themselves to the general scheme of the whole performance as he has conceived it in his mind's eye. He makes such rearrangements as he deems necessary, devising wholly new effects to fit the more modern methods of presentation, which are less purely rhetorical than they were in the eighteenth century, and more pictorial. When Herr Barnay impersonated *Mark Antony* in the Meiningen revival of "Julius Cæsar," the novel stage-management gave freshness to the Forum scene and greatly increased its force. As *Mark Antony* ascended the rostrum, after *Brutus* had asked the mob to listen to him, the crowd was too highly wrought up over the speech they had just heard to pay heed to the next speaker. They gathered in knots praising *Brutus;* and the murmur of their chatter was all the greeting that *Mark Antony* received. Herr Barnay stood for a moment silent and then he began his appeal for their attention: "Friends—Romans—countrymen—!" but scarcely a citizen listened to him.

"Lend me your *ears,*" he begged, "I come to bury Cæsar not to praise him!"

And then the nearest group or two grudgingly turned toward the rostrum; and to these the adroit speaker addressed himself, coaxing, cajoling, flattering,—making frequent pauses, in every one of which the audience could see another band of citizens drawn under the spell of his eloquence. When he had them all attentive, he played on their feelings and aroused their enthusiasm; then, after a swift and piercing glance around to see if they were ripe for it, he brought forth *Caesar's* will, and after that *Brutus* was forgotten, and *Mark Antony* held the mob in the hollow of his hand to sway it at his will. It matters little whether the credit of this most ingenious rearrangement was due to Herr Barnay himself, or to the unseen stage-manager; the spectator could not but recognize that a great play had received new illumination by it, and that a certain richness of texture had been disclosed which had hitherto lain concealed and unsuspected.

Sometimes, it must be confessed, this craving after pictorial novelty overreaches itself. Perhaps the allowable limit was not overstepped when Sir Henry Irving gave *Ophelia* a fan of peacock-feathers, in order that *Hamlet* might play with it and have it in his hand when he has to say, "Ay, a very peacock!"

But it may be doubted whether the boundary of the justifiable was not crossed, when the same stage-manager had the duel-scene of "Romeo and Juliet" take place in an open square, with its raised fountain not far from the porch of the cathedral, so that *Mercutio* might be able to point right and left when he declared that his wound would serve, although it was not "as deep as a well or as wide as a church-door." Pretty as this is and clever, it seems a little petty. To suggest that *Mercutio* was in need of visible promptings for his fancy, is to diminish the quick-wittedness of Shakspere's wittiest character.

Yet, either of these instances will serve to show the searching thoroughness with which the stage-manager seeks to project the whole performance in all its minor details, having combined in advance the gestures of the several actors, the movements of each in relation to those of the others, the properties they make use of, and the scenery in the midst of which they play their parts. Although the scenery, the properties and the costumes are designed by different artists, it is the duty of the stage-manager to control them all, to see that they are harmonious with each other and that they are subdued to the atmosphere of the "production" as a whole. He subordinates now one and now another, that he may attain the more fitting contrast. Mr. Bronson Howard was one of the authors of "Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Amsterdam," and to his skilful direction the "production" of the play was committed. The first act took place in a Dutch garden ablaze with autumn sunshine; and, therefore, all the costumes seen in that act were grays and greens and drabs of a proper Dutch solemnity. The second act presented the New-Year's reception at night in the *Governor's* house, and then the costumes were rich and varied, so that they might stand out against the sombre oak of the spacious hall.

To the first rehearsal of a play, new or old, the stage-manager comes with all the salient details of the future performance visualized in advance. He knows just where every character ought to place himself at every moment of the action. He has decided where every piece of furniture shall stand, and how the actors will avail themselves of its assistance. One accomplished stage-manager of my acquaintance, an actor himself, works out with a set of chessmen the intricate problem of moving his characters naturally about the stage. Another, a playwright this one,

has a toy theatre in which to manœuvre the personages of the play into exactly the most effective positions. In one of M. Sardou's pieces, the manuscript of which I once had occasion to study, the chairs stand at the beginning of the first act in very different positions from those in which they are required to be at the end of the act; and the manuscript contained full directions indicating just where and exactly how one or another of the characters should seem accidentally to push a chair into the needed position.

Since modern science has revealed the influence of environment on character, and since modern fiction, following the example set by Balzac, has brought out the significance of the background before which a character lives, moves and has its being, the stage-manager has a more difficult duty than ever before. He has to see to it that the scenery and all the fittings of the set are congruous, and that they are characteristic, not merely of the place itself, but of the people also. The late John Clayton showed me the model for the scene of the first act of "Margery's Lovers," remarking with a smile of satisfaction that, when the curtain should go up, and before a word had been uttered, everybody in the house would know that the story was laid in Southern France. When the late James A. Herne brought out a play in which husband and wife took opposite sides on the slavery question, the curiously stiff and old-fashioned furniture used in the first act seemed to strike the key-note of the drama; the spectators could not but feel that those who lived amid such surroundings were precisely the persons who would behave in that way.

The stage-manager is encouraged to try for these pictorial effects, because the stage is now withdrawn behind a picture-frame in which the curtain rises and falls. It is no longer thrust out into the midst of the spectators, as it was in Shakspere's time; nor does it now project beyond the line of the curtain, curving out alongside the stage-boxes, as it did until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It is now separated from the audience by the straight row of footlights, within the lower border of the frame; and the electric-light which reaches every corner of the stage, has put it into the power of the stage-manager to modify his illumination at will, and to be confident that no gesture will be lost no matter how he may arrange his groups against his background. He can darken the whole stage, slowly or suddenly

as he sees fit. Much of the intense effect attained by Sir Henry Irving in the trial-scene of the "Bells" was due to the very adroit handling of the single ray of light that illumined the haunted burgomaster, while the persons who peopled his fatal dream were left in the shadow, indistinct and doubtful. Perhaps the most moving moment in Mrs. Fiske's production of Herr Paul Heyse's "Mary of Magdala" was after night had fallen, when the betrayer knocked at the door of Caiaphas, who came forth with a lantern and cast its rays full on the contorted face of the villain, —that face being the sole thing visible on the darkened stage, as the High-Priest hissed forth the single word, "Judas!"

The expert playwright of every period when the drama has flourished abundantly, has always adjusted the structure of his play to conform to the conditions of the theatre of his own time; and the more adroit of the dramatists of to-day have been swift to perceive the necessity for a change of method, since the thrust-out platform has been succeeded by the stage behind the picture-frame. They are relinquishing the rhetorical devices which were proper enough on the platform-stage, and which seem out of place on the picture-stage. They find their profit in accepting as a principle the old saying that "actions speak louder than words." They are abandoning the confidential soliloquy, for example, which was quite in keeping with the position of an actor in close proximity to the spectators,—in the midst of them, in fact,—and which would seem artificial and unnatural now that the actor is behind the mystic line of the curtain. They are giving up the explanatory "aside,"—lines spoken directly to the audience, and supposed to be unheard by the other characters on the stage.

In Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's artfully articulated play, "Mrs. Dane's Defence," a most ingenious specimen of story-telling on the stage, the harassed heroine, left alone at a crucial moment, did not express her emotion in a soliloquy, as she would have done even fifty years ago. She revealed her agitation solely by the sudden change of her expression and by her feverish movements, which not only betrayed her anxiety, but were really more eloquent than any mere words were likely to be. Even more remarkable examples of the skill with which significant action may be substituted for speech, can be found in "Secret Service"; and Mr. Gillette has explained that, in the performance of his own plays, he is "in the habit of resorting largely to the effects of natural

pauses, intervals of silence,—moments when few words are spoken and much mental struggle is supposed to take place," finding these methods "especially effective at critical junctures." Perhaps no other modern dramatist relies so frankly upon sheer pantomime as Mr. Gillette does; and, certainly, no other has ever made a more skilful use of it. But the tendency can be observed in all our later playwrights, and it will surely increase as the possibilities of the picture-stage come to be better understood.

What the stage-manager is forever striving to attain, in addition to these salient effects, is variety of impression. He seeks to achieve a harmony of tone and to create an intangible atmosphere, in which the spirit of the play shall be revealed. To secure this, he often calls in the aid of music. When Sir Henry Irving produced "Much Ado about Nothing," the note of joyous comedy that echoed and re-echoed throughout the performance, was sustained by sparkling rhythms, old English dance-tunes, most of them, that frolicked gayly through the evening. In Mr. Belasco's production of the "Darling of the Gods," the accompanying music was almost incessant, but so subdued, so artfully modulated, so delicately adjusted to the action, that perhaps a majority of the audience was wholly unconscious of the three Japanese themes which had been insisted upon again and again. To evoke the atmosphere of Japan as soon as possible, Mr. Belasco also had a special curtain designed for the play, which co-operated with the exotic music to bring about a feeling of vague remoteness and of brooding mystery.

But all these effects, audible or visible, may be resented as mere stage-tricks, unless they really belong where they are put, unless they are intimately related to the main theme of the play, and unless they are really helpful in evoking and sustaining the current of sympathy. They are excrescences if they exist for their own sake only; they are still worse if they interfere with this current of sympathy, if they distract attention to themselves. The stage-manager must ever be on his guard against the danger of sacrificing the major to the minor, and of letting some little effect of slight value in itself interfere with the true interest of the play as a whole. At the first performance of Mr. Bronson Howard's "Shenandoah," the opening act of which ends with the firing of the shot on Sumter, there was a wide window at the back of the set, so that the spectators could see the curving

flight of the bomb and its final explosion above the doomed fort. This scenic marvel had cost time and money to devise; but it was never visible after the first performance, because it drew attention to itself, as a mechanical effect, and so took off the minds of the audience from the Northern lover and the Southern girl, the Southern lover and the Northern girl, whose loves were suddenly sundered by the bursting of that fatal shell.

At the second performance, the spectators did not see the shot, they only heard the dread report; and they were free to let their sympathy go forth to the young couples. Here, once more, as so often in the art of the stage, suggestion was far more potent than any attempt to exhibit the visible object. The truth of this axiom was shown in the third act of the same play, during its earlier performances, when the playwright with the aid of a scant dozen soldiers was able to suggest all the turmoil and all the hazards of a battle only a little removed. At later performances, the author allowed the attempt to be made actually to represent certain phases of a retreat, with horse, foot and artillery on the stage all at once; and although the stage-management was excellent in every way, perhaps the total effect was less than when the far larger possibilities of a great battle had been simply suggested to the spectators, their own imaginations evoking the possibilities of war more completely than any stage-manager could set it before them.

So in the "Tosca" of M. Sardou, the torture of the hero, if we were to see it, might be received with incredulity, but we are far more likely to accept it as real when we perceive it only through the sufferings of the heroine at the sight of it. So again, in the "Darling of the Gods," the destruction of the little band of loyal Samurai, is far more effectively conveyed to us by the faint voices which call and answer once and again in the Red Bamboo Forest, than it would be by any actual presentation of combat and carnage. So, in the "Aiglon," the spectres on the battle-field of Wagram are much more impressive, if they are merely imagined by the poor little prince, and if there is no vain attempt to realize them concretely. So, in "Macbeth," there is a loss of interest if the ghost of *Banquo* struts in upon the banquet. Our modern incredulity doubts the existence of returning spirits, although it is willing enough to accept the reality of *Macbeth's* belief in them; but when the play was originally pro-

duced, the superstitious groundlings would have felt themselves cheated of an alluring spectacle if the sheeted ghost had not stalked out on the stage to shake his gory locks.

In the spacious days of Elizabeth, the half-roofed theatres were only a little less mediæval than the pageants of the mysteries had been; and the task of the stage-manager must have been very simple indeed. There was no scenery, and the performance took place by daylight, so that all the producer of a new play had to do was to arrange such elementary business as was possible on a platform encumbered with an indefinite number of spectators. Like all stage-managers, then and now, he had of course to direct the actors themselves; and *Hamlet's* speech to the *Players* gives us good reason to believe that Shakspere must have been an excellent trainer, however modest may have been his own native gifts as an actor. Molière, like Shakspere in so many ways, was like him in being author and actor and manager; and in the "Impromptu of Versailles" he has left us a most instructive record of his own methods of rehearsing his own company.

But, although the playhouse in which Molière performed was roofed and lighted, and although he had some scenery, yet there were spectators sitting on his stage as on Shakspere's, and the conditions were those of the platform and not of the picture. Oddly enough, the most pictorial of all the theatres that have preceded our own time is the theatre of the Athenians. Few spectacles can ever have excelled in beauty an outdoor performance in the theatre of Dionysus, when the richly apparelled chorus circled into the orchestra, to the sound of music, in the spring sunshine, with the breeze from the Bay of Salamis blowing back their floating draperies, that could not but fall into lines of unexpected delight and ineffable grace. Stage-management, which was necessarily neglected by the great Elizabethans, owing to the rudeness of their playhouses, was studied as an art by the great Greeks and held by them in high esteem. The dramatic poet was himself the producer, training the three actors, arranging the evolutions of the chorus, and accepting full responsibility for the perfection of the complete work of art. Silent himself, he caused the music he controlled.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

ZANARDELLI'S SERVICES TO ITALY.

BY DR. GUIDO BIAGI.

GIUSEPPE ZANARDELLI was the first Italian statesman to hold the office of Premier in the full meaning of the word. His predecessors in the Presidency of the Council were, one and all, merely heads of Departments, and enjoyed the questionable authority with which a *primus inter pares* is invested. The system held good as long as it was political sentiment which guided the steps of the lately united nation, just out of the revolutionary wave; but as soon as the increase of population produced prosperity at home and developed influence abroad, Italy took her place among the monarchies of Europe. The adoption then of the sound principle of division of labor became a necessity, and the Presidency of the Council acquired a new character of special responsibility.

Few contemporary facts are so remarkable as the economical resurrection of Italy after a depression that lasted ten years. Looking back to the financial year 1893-94, which closed with a deficit of fifty-eight million francs, and to that of 1897-98, when the deficit was reduced to one million, it seems almost a dream that, since that period, each year has closed with an annual surplus, of a maximum of forty-one millions in 1900-01, and a minimum of five millions in the preceding year. Now Italy looks forward to an annual excess of fourteen millions.

This happy result was not obtained by increased taxation, but as the natural result of the strenuous work of the people at large. According to the census of 1900, Italy had 32,966,307 inhabitants, and a short time ago, Signor Prinetti, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Zanardelli Cabinet, announced proudly to Parliament that at least eight millions of Italians resided abroad. Now the national currency, once so depreciated, is at par; and

the national income, which was 1,250 million francs in 1871, reached 1,857 millions in 1901.

Imports and exports have been gradually increasing, and reduction of taxation is contemplated by the Government.

It is evident that no single statesman, however exceptionally endowed, could effect such a thorough turn in the tide. Signor Zanardelli exerted in behalf of the economical reconstruction of Italy an amount of influence equal to that wielded by Mr. Gladstone in England in the sixties. But while the Grand Old Man began his political career as the hope of the stern unbending Tories (so much so that his first notable publication was a defence of the principles of the Church establishment of which he was in process of time so keen an adversary), Zanardelli never shifted his position substantially, remaining faithful to his strong belief in the all-healing properties of liberal principles. For this reason, by adherents as well as opponents, he was, more than once, called a doctrinaire and a Girondin.

Zanardelli was born in 1826. Brescia, his native town, has deservedly received from Italian historians the name of "Lioness," for the several stubborn defences that she opposed to successive besiegers. Ethnographers and students of comparative linguistics agree that, during the Longobard invasion of Insubria, the then Brixia district was peopled by an Anglic tribe, which followed their long-bearded kinsfolk from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Po. The Brescia people are to this day a hard-working community, easily moved to noble and daring enterprises. In the *Mille* of Garibaldi, the Bresciani were numerous. Pavia, the great university town of Lombardy, gave a still larger contingent: Bergamo came third. The Zanardelli family belonged to that middle class of North Italy among which the study of law was considered as the gate to riches and local influence. According to custom, Giuseppe Zanardelli was attending the University of Pavia when the revolution of 1848 broke out. Flinging aside the Digest and its comments, he enlisted in one of those volunteer corps which were rather strangely attired in homespun velveteen, in which they were much more picturesque than warlike, and distinguished himself in many encounters with the disciplined Austrian troops. After the defeat of the Sardinian regular army at Custozza and Milan, he repaired to Tuscany. There with Tenca, Colombo and Allievi (all Lombard refugees), he became a

journalist on the "*Constituente*," one of the few liberal newspapers then existing.

A few months later the Italian fortunes were wrecked utterly at Novara: Rome and Venice were, respectively, restored to the Pope and to Austria.

Tuscany was scarcely a free country. The volunteer of 1848, the journalist of 1849, came back to his native place that Haynau and Nugent had reconquered with much bloodshed from the insurgent citizens. Nugent, an Irish general, officer in the Austrian service, was fatally wounded in storming the place, and bequeathed a sum of money to the valiant town for the building of a hospital, atoning in a way for the cruelties perpetrated by his colleague, Haynau.

Those who took part in the Revolution were considered as black sheep by the Vienna administration. Giuseppe Zanardelli's application for permission to practise the profession of law was in consequence met with a refusal. He then became a private teacher of jurisprudence and a contributor to the "*Crepuscolo*" of Milan, writing essays on moral and political science. The political education of Signor Zanardelli took place during the period between 1849 and 1859; and, though he adopted Mazzini's theory, he abstained from inconclusive revolutionary movements condemned to certain failure. However, the inquisitive police of Austria considered the young teacher a dangerous man; and when he applied for the office of Secretary to the local Chamber of Commerce in Brescia, he was told that he could obtain it on condition of becoming a writer on the imperial and royal "*Gazzetta di Milano*," the organ of the Governor-General: this he refused to do.

His secret connection with the Liberal party in Piedmont afforded him excellent opportunity to render great service to the cause of independence in 1859. As soon as Brescia was evacuated by the Austrian troops and Signor Depretis was appointed governor of it, Zanardelli helped him in the settlement of the new order of things. In 1860, he set forth towards Naples, where he prepared the marvellous entrance of Garibaldi, of whom he became soon a most devoted friend.

From the year 1860 almost to the time of his death, the work of Giuseppe Zanardelli in behalf of the Liberal party continued uninterrupted, giving to the cause so dear to his heart the benefit

of his brilliant talent as debater, his sound doctrines as a classical scholar, his wide legal experience, his studies as an economist, and above all the exceptional power which he possessed of quickly assimilating the most diverse branches of general knowledge.

It was owing to this uncommon endowment that, after ten years of probation on the Opposition benches, when in 1876 the Conservative party was defeated and the Progressionists rose to office, Signor Zanardelli was chosen Minister of Public Works. In that office, he displayed a wonderful knowledge of the complicated machinery of administration, in the study of which he had lost no opportunity to master its intricacies during his long experience as a Member of Committees in the Opposition interest. He did not remain long in office, however, on account of the difference of opinion between himself and his colleagues on a capital question: viz., whether the railways were to be managed by the Government or by private companies. His ideas on the subject were too deeply rooted to allow him to give way, so he resigned; but in March, 1878, he returned to office as Minister of the Interior under Cairoli, who had succeeded the wily Depretis. In this new department, he had an opportunity to put into practice many of his beloved articles of faith—among others, the theory that "a liberal government should repress rather than prevent offences"; when, to disconcert him, Sassanante, an obscure and almost illiterate cook, attempted the life of King Humbert. The Conservative party took advantage of the event; and, although it could not recover the lead in Italian politics, it still possessed sufficient influence to eject from power the man who was unjustly held responsible for the insane act of a degenerate wretch.

Zanardelli then retired to private life for a period of three years, from 1878 to 1881, during which time he rose to the highest repute in his profession of law. He published then his volume called "*L'Avvocatura,*" which in Italy is considered a masterpiece of eloquence; and he so grew in authority in the estimation of his country that, on Cairoli's downfall from power, which happened in 1881, and which was succeeded by Depretis's return to office, Zanardelli was indicated for the post of Minister of Justice. Twice with Depretis, once with Crispi, then with Rudini, Signor Zanardelli was retained in an office congenial to the studies of his youth, and to which he brought all the weight of his experience as a lawyer. Italy is indebted to Zanardelli's activity during his in-

cumbency in office as Minister of Justice for the following reforms: the Penal Code, the present electoral law, the establishment of the Supreme Court of Cassation for the final adjudication of all things concerning penal law, and the Code of Commerce.

In the intervals between his falling and rising again to power, Zanardelli was three times President of the Chamber of Deputies, a most important office according to the Italian Constitution. He was actually presiding over Parliament in 1893, when, at the clamorous downfall of Signor Giolitti, King Humbert invited him to form a Cabinet. The Conservative party made such strenuous opposition that both the desire of the ever-lamented sovereign and the loyal efforts of the statesman were baffled. Crispi came into power again; and, with him, a gale of reaction blew over the country followed quickly by the tumults in Sicily and Lunigiana, of which the Socialistic party soon took advantage. After Crispi's death, Zanardelli formed the last link between the Italy which, under Victor Emmanuel II., made her way amid rocks and against wind and tide, and the Italy of modern days. This man of lifelong experience was then indicated as the choice of the new King, who is a keen observer and a studious prince, whose stern sense of duty is a promise of earnestness and of inflexible righteousness. So it happens that, when Signor Saracco tendered his resignation as President of the Council, His Majesty, of his own free will, sent for Zanardelli and commanded him to form a Cabinet. It was with a liberal and patriotic spirit that his administration addressed itself to the high duties entrusted to it, and both Houses of Parliament were forthwith invited to pass the following bills:

1. For the institution of a bureau and committee intended to regulate the mutual relations between masters and workmen, in order to substitute arbitration for friction and strife;

2. For reforming the law on the frequent accidents occurring in the execution of public as well as private work;

3. For consolidating the military budget;

4. For fixing the contribution of the Treasury to the City Council of Rome, in order to finish the new thoroughfares and other works.

King Victor Emmanuel III. could not but see that there was a possible compromise between the Conservative and the Radical programme. More than once, King Humbert's Ministers had,

under the solemn form of a Royal Message to Parliament, announced a series of bills implying reform in behalf of the masses, but under the pressure of the classes the bills never came to life. Moreover, between the North and the South, since 1860, existed an economical inequality: the former having become industrial, while the other still remained agricultural. Signor Crispi, a Southerner by birth, had unwittingly been the cause of the feeling between the two parts of the country, because the tariff war with France opened by him had ruined the Southern exports of wine, oranges, oil and sulphur. Consequently, all the products of the sunny South were purchased at the lowest price by the more advanced Northern people, and paid back in goods of their own manufacture. In a few words, the North drained from the South all the currency. The removal of those evils was greatly desired by King Victor Emmanuel, and was the constant aim of his Premier, who on the 7th of March, 1901, delivered one of the most remarkable speeches of his long Parliamentary career.

It contains the programme of the new reign, and its items have been each and all brought to executive form. Thus, no new debt has been made, even under the mask of railway construction. The rotten administration of some of our cities has been submitted to a severe inquest, resulting in the removal of the evil-doers. The *octroi* duty on flour and *pasta* has been abolished. As this reform, much desired in a country where bread and soup form the basis of nourishment for the working classes, entailed the loss of 21,000,000 francs for the Treasury, the inheritance tax was modified in such a manner as to assume a progressive character, as in France and in England. Subsequently, he induced the Conservative party to consent to a bill for the insurance of laborers, and to another regulating the work of children of both sexes employed in factories.

The moral points of likeness between Zanardelli and Gladstone have been already referred to. Perhaps in the Italian statesman they are more apparent. Like Gladstone, he had an implicit faith in the power of eloquence; and, endowed, as he was, with an easy, correct and dialectic style, he used it on all occasions, rather preferring to have as hearers his constituency than his Parliamentary colleagues. As a political adversary of Depretis and Crispi, some of his campaigns would form the subject of more than one brilliant chapter in the history of constitutional liberty in Italy. As

a Cabinet Minister, his faithful Iseo and Brescia electors were often the recipients of his plans for reform, as the Midlothian men were of those of Gladstone. Wishing to study in person the wants of Basilicata and Puglia, not only did he, in his seventy-fifth year, subject himself to the fatigue of a journey in a roadless country, but he stopped at the principal boroughs and there delivered long and well-constructed speeches with the fervor of a young man.

As Gladstone sought in the peaceful forest land of Hawarden a relaxation from his political toil, so Zanardelli used to repair to his villa of Maderno on the Garda, the largest of the deep blue lakes of North Italy, as soon as his numerous duties left him time for rest. There among the books of one of the richest private libraries of his country, and a precious collection of *objets d'art,* he received the warm homage of his fellow countrymen. No other man enjoyed the popularity which Zanardelli enjoyed in his native district, where everyone professed warm admiration for "Pi," such being the contracted form of his Christian name in the hard local dialect.

There he composed his treatise on "*Avvocatura,*" the Penal Code which bears his name, and many of those speeches of his which, delivered in a country where political eloquence is but the gift of a few and where debaters are more forcible than accurate, are remarkable for their literary form.

Zanardelli's artistic taste was a factor in his success as a statesman, because it urged him to promote the purchase of Villa Borghese, which under the name of "Villa Umberto I." is to become the Roman *Bois de Boulogne;* and it moved him to settle the complicated question of the state contribution to the City Council of Rome, in order to provide the capital with all the appliances of a modern city, without spoiling the remnants of its ancient splendor.

So Zanardelli did not deserve the reproach that the young generation justly addresses to the men of the Revolution. Indeed, energetic men of action as the men of the Revolution were, they were void of any sense of art. In the Italy of their time, there was room for hard soldiers, for keen political agents, even for wily and not over-scrupulous intriguers, but none for artists. Never had Italy been so devoid of writers, painters, sculptors, and architects as during the period between 1860 and 1880. Carducci, d'Annunzio, Monteverde, Morelli, came to their countrymen's

notice at the close of the century, with the dawn of a change in what the French call "*la mentalité nationale.*" Zanardelli, as a man of more refined education than Crispi, Cairoli, Nicotera and Depretis, was in close contact with the racial sentiment, which is essentially artistic.

In conclusion, the last survivor of the band of patriots who go by the common name of "Makers of Italy," Giuseppe Zanardelli followed to the letter the programme contained in the eloquent words that Mazzini addressed to the youth of his times:

"When your soul, my young Brothers, has discovered its proper mission, follow it, and let nothing arrest you; follow it, as far as your strength will permit; follow it, whether received by your contemporaries or misunderstood, whether blessed by love or visited by hatred, whether strong through your association with others or relegated to that sad solitude which almost always exists around the Martyrs of Thought. The way is clear before you: you will be cowards and you will sacrifice your future if, owing to delusions or misfortunes, you do not march in it to the end."

DR. GUIDO BIAGI.

THE POETRY AND POETS OF AMERICA.—II.

BY CHURTON COLLINS.

In Bryant, as we have seen, America produced her first poet whose work approaches classical merit. But for many years he stood alone, mediocrity surrounding as mediocrity had preceded him. His influence was great on the later works of some of the poets who have already been mentioned, and he had many disciples among the younger men, but they were all mere imitators. Among the poets, if they can be dignified with such a title, intervening between the period marked by the appearance of Bryant's first volume and the appearance of the characteristic work of the great New England group in the latter part of the century, a few may be noticed as, in different ways, typical. Street, the author of "Nature" and of the "Gray Forest Eagle," is interesting; for, though his work has very little poetic quality, his descriptions of Nature are remarkably minute and accurate, and he is certainly the best representative of the Nature school. How faithful and vivid, for example, are pictures—and his poetry abounds in them—like these:

> "The hemlock stands, an ivory pyramid,
> And the link'd branches gleam, like silvery webs,
> Trac'd on the glittering azure of the sky;"

and

> "The last butterfly,
> Like a wing'd violet, floating in the meek,
> Pink-color'd sunshine, sinks his velvet feet
> Within the pillar'd mullein's delicate down,
> And shuts and opens his unruffled fans."

In versatile and voluminous Charles Fenno Hoffman, we have Byron and Moore and Dibdin and L. E. L., variously and vigorously diluted, without a line of any distinction; and Hoffman is

typical of a then flourishing school. Lunt has vigor and mettle, as his "Lyre and Sword" testify. In Pike's "Hymns to the Gods," we have an excursion into classical themes, suggested, no doubt, by Keats's "Endymion," on which they are plainly modelled, and which they echo as faithfully as his "Lines written on the Rocky Mountains" echo Shelley's "Stanzas written in Dejection at Naples." Southey's intolerable epics found an imitator in Sands, who also paid the same tribute to Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming." But it is unnecessary to particularize further; and, perhaps, we may take N. P. Willis as most comprehensively representative of this period. Traveller, journalist, playwright, novelist, essayist, man of the world—a readier and defter pen and more versatile talent were probably never possessed by man. And all these qualities and accomplishments are reflected in his poetry. It has no depth; it has no concentration; it has no distinction; but it is always readable, and it is generally pleasing. His genius resembled those light, friable soils where every seed that falls takes root, shoots up, bursts readily into leaf and flower, and ends in producing a fruit, which is indeed fruit, but which is hardly worth picking. To originality Willis had no pretension. Every note he struck had been struck before with far more vigor in England, and with vigor equal to his own in America. In a word, if we except the poetry descriptive of native scenery, and that was modelled on Bryant, the verse of this period is merely the English poetry of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with inferior variations, over again in feeble echo. "I am tired," wrote Judge Story to his son, "of the endless imitations of the forms and figures and topics of British poetry." And what Judge Story complained of in prose, Paulding bewailed in verse. Apostrophizing the muse of his country, he asks:

> "How long in servile imitative rhyme
> Wilt thou thy stifled energies impart,
> And miss the path that leads to every heart?"

But this prodigious multiplication of mediocrities, and this tardy development of true poetry are not difficult to explain. All national poetry of a high order must have its root in life, in the propitious soil of such social and political conditions as are conducive to its inspiration and nutriment. It must have a past rich in tradition behind it; it must have a present throbbing with what

appeals to imagination, to sentiment, to passion; its energy must be concentrated, that spark may catch from spark, and flame from flame: it must have touchstones and standards, derived primarily from what was best in preceding achievement, mutually applied and mutually exacted by rival competitors for fame: it must have enlightened patronage: it must have response and sympathy from those to whom it appeals. None of these conditions existed in America; it would be more true to say that conditions the very opposite to these obtained everywhere. Where energy was concentrated, it was concentrated almost entirely on commercial and industrial pursuits. The extraordinary facility which the country afforded for the accumulation of wealth, was soon discovered and utilized. With material prosperity, came all that such prosperity carries in its train. The attainment of much, inflamed the passion for more. Each year increased the fever; and America, speaking generally, rapidly assumed the gross features so familiar to us in Emerson's portrait of her. National life there was none. Between the several States, which had each its own characteristics and its own interests, there was almost as little unity as there was between the Italian republics of the Middle Ages. Nor were other conditions more favorable to the development of poetry. As there was everything to depress it in social and political life, so there was no bond of union, no common centre; poets had no stimulus from mutual enthusiasm and mutual emulation. Without enlightened patrons, without public sympathy, without responsibility to any critical tribunal, each poet went his own way. There was nothing to encourage him to excel. He was in a country which had no literary tradition of its own, and where criticism was in its infancy. And this was not all. In everything relating to the humanities, he was an Englishman. He spoke as his native tongue the English language, he was nourished on the English literature. The schism which had severed all other bonds with the Mother Country only drew this intellectual bond the closer. England was, indeed, to America all and much more than ancient Greece was to ancient Rome; and, like Rome, America gloried in her servitude. The genius of Bryant had, as we have seen, succeeded in breaking these shackles, but only so far as extended to the treatment of Nature. Beyond this, the movement had not progressed; at that point it was arrested. And so remained, unexplored and unworked, all those rich

mines which were to yield so much precious ore to Whittier and to Longfellow, to Lowell and to the other poets of the Revival.

American poetry presents the extraordinary anomaly of having no infancy. Like the portentous child in Hesiod, it was born with gray hairs. Decrepit from its birth, it had in itself no principle of vigorous life. By re-creation only could that life inspire it. The process had been commenced by Bryant, it was now to be completed. America was to have a poetry of her own.

On the 31st of August, 1837, Emerson delivered an Address at Cambridge which sounded a trumpet note. Thus rang the thrilling strain:

"Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests. Events, actions arise that must be sung, that will sing themselves. Who can doubt that Poetry will revive and lead in a new age, as the star in the constellation Harp, which now flames in our zenith, shall one day be the pole-star for a thousand years? . . . We have listened too long to the courtly Muses of Europe. The spirit of the American is suspected to be timid, imitative, tame. Public and private avarice make the air we breathe thick and fat. The mind of this country, taught to aim at low objects eats upon itself. Young men of the fairest promise who begin life upon our shores, inflated by the mountain winds, shined upon by all the stars of God, find the earth below not in union with these. . . . We will walk on our own feet: we will work with our own hands: we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall no longer be a name for pity, for doubt and for sensual indulgence. A nation of men will, for the first time, exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men."

Noble words; as Holmes justly says, "Nothing like them had been heard in the halls of Harvard since Samuel Adams supported the affirmative of the question, 'Whether it be lawful to resist the Chief Magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved.'" It was, he says, the American intellectual Declaration of Independence. The response to this appeal was so immediate and enthusiastic that it must have fallen on sympathies prepared to meet it more than half way. And that, indeed, was the case. A reaction had begun to set in: a stir was already in the air, Channing's similar but less eloquent appeal, delivered fourteen years before, had sunk into many minds. Everett's Orations and writings had struck, and very powerfully, a

native note in prose, as Bryant and, in a minor degree, Whittier had done in poetry. If we glance at those who were to create the poetry of the next generation, and, where they had been already active, compare what they produced before 1837 with what they produced afterwards, we shall have some idea of what the movement, defining itself in that year, meant. Whittier and Longfellow were in their thirty-first year; the first had produced nothing of any value except "Mogg Megone"; the second, nothing at all but a few trifles contributed to magazines. Holmes, some two years younger, had given to the world a thin volume, which would have been forgotten long ago had it not been for his subsequent fame. Poe, an anomaly in everything, had produced some fine poems, but he was almost unknown. Lowell, in his nineteenth year, as yet guiltless of verse, was an undergraduate at Harvard. Whitman, of the same age, and equally silent, was a wandering schoolmaster. Taylor was a child of thirteen, and Miller and Bret Harte were not born. The history of American poetry, till quite recently, centres round these names. With Emerson is associated the transcendental school; with Whittier, the purely native school. Longfellow, Holmes and Lowell are the centres of what may be called the academic and eclectic group; Poe stands alone; so, happily, does Whitman. Taylor represents the cosmopolitan school: Miller, the poetry of the Pacific slope: Lanier, the poetry of the South, and Bret Harte was the founder and representative of what Mr. Stedman calls the transcontinental school.

In some respects, Emerson is among the greatest of American poets; but it is not by virtue of his poetry, but by virtue of his prose and by virtue of what in his verse is independent of the form of verse. If we take Wordsworth's definition of a poet as exhaustive, namely, that he is "an inspired philosopher"; or if we estimate the quality of poetry by a criterion furnished us by Emerson himself, that it is to be judged by "the frame of *mind* which it induces," then there can be no question about Emerson's eminent place among poets. But these criteria are not sufficient. Poetry must have other qualities, even those indicated by Milton; it must be "simple, sensuous, impassioned." Simple, Emerson never is, except in touches. Where his poetry does not move in a world of symbolism, it moves in a world of riddles; and what it discerns it so encumbers with the laces and jewels of recondite

fancies and phrases that we dwell rather on the ornaments than on what they adorn. He seems to think and feel in aphorisms. Some of his poems resemble necklaces of crystals, and have all the hard, cold glitter of crystals. They abound in passages of which the following is typical:

> "The kingly bard
> Must smite the chords rudely and hard,
> As with a hammer or with mace;
> That they may render back
> Artful thunder, which conveys
> Secrets of the solar track,
> Sparks of the super-solar blaze."

He seems to have modelled his style on that of the poets of our Metaphysical School, particularly Donne, of whom he has many reminiscences. His predominating characteristics as a poet are, if we may use the expression, intellectualized fancy and transcendental enthusiasm. But he had no attribute of the born singer. His verse, even where the themes are simple and natural, as in the touching "Threnody" and in "May Day," has a constrained awkward movement, and, what is worse, leaves us with the impression that it has only been by the greatest labor that such an effect has been produced. We feel that what Milton said of himself in composing prose, namely, that he had only the use of his left hand, Emerson might have said of himself in composing verse. Occasionally, he can be most felicitous, as in

> "Thou canst not wave thy staff in air,
> Or dip thy paddle in the lake,
> But it carves the bow of beauty there
> And the ripples in rhyme the oar forsake;"

or in

> "Though love repine and reason chafe,
> There came a voice without reply;
> 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the truth he ought to die;"

or in the justly famous

> "So nigh to grandeur is our dust,
> So near to God is man,
> When Duty whispers low *thou must*,
> The youth replies *I can*."

But such felicities are so rare that they come upon us, as Matthew Arnold remarks, with a sort of surprise, just as the "Concord Hymn" in point of composition stands almost alone among his poems. He was not a born singer. The moment we place his "Dirge," excellent as the first part of it is, beside Wordsworth's parallel "Extemporary Stanzas on the Death of the Ettrick Shepherd," or the "Fourth of July Ode" and the "Boston Hymn" beside Whittier's lyrics in a similar strain, we see at once the difference between Emerson and those who, in Juvenal's phrase, have "bitten the laurel." His ear, moreover, is so defective that, the moment he leaves the simplest measures, or attempts any variations on them, his verses become intolerably dissonant. Nothing could be more unmusical than his blank verse.

But his poetry is absolutely original; and, if we seek in it what we find in his prose, it is interesting and precious. There is enough thought in it, illumining and inspiringly suggestive thought, to set up a dozen poets. An intense lover of Nature, natural description is a very prominent element in his poetry. And his pictures and touches are always fresh, vivid and accurate, though he has nothing of the clairvoyance and magic of Bryant. Speaking of sea-shells, he says in one of his poems:

> "I fetched my sea-born treasures home,
> But the poor, unsightly, noisome things
> Had left their beauty on the shore,
> With the sun and the sand and the wild uproar."

It was so always with him: as a philosopher he could read Nature, and he was poet enough to delight in her and to describe her, but he was not poet enough to steal her beauty and catch her magic. He wooed, but she jilted him.

Among the most remarkable poems produced by the disciples of Emerson—and he had many, notably Alcott, Cranch, Ellery Channing, and Thoreau—are the sonnets of Jones Very, which, though not of the highest order, deserve to be better known than they are; and Cranch has written one or two striking poems in the same metaphysical strain.

In passing to Whittier, we pass to a poet of a very different order. Of Quaker descent, and of the Quaker persuasion; his early surroundings, those of a New England farmstead, his later, the storm and stress of the abolitionist struggle; with the Bible,

the "Pilgrim's Progress," the poems of Burns, and the current political journalism of his time as the chief sources of his literary education, he rapidly rose to eminence, some insisted to pre-eminence, among the poets of his country. His long life falls into two eras, the first closing with his sixtieth year in 1865, up to which time, he says, his poetry was something episodical, something apart from the real object and aim of his life; the second with his death, in his eighty-fifth year, in 1892. But in both these eras his genius moved in the same sphere, and was bounded by the same horizons. He improved in technique; his note grew mellower; and, as the cause to which his life had been so nobly devoted was won, he passed out of the fierce turbulence of aggressive polemics into a serener atmosphere. He said himself, when at the height of his fame, "I set a higher value on my name as appended to the Anti-Slavery Declaration of 1833, than on the title-pages of my books"; and the remark gives us the key to his character. His noble enthusiasm as a philanthropist cost him dear as a poet. It left him no leisure, from early manhood till past the prime of life, to do justice to his powers. It forced him to give to journalism and controversy what he might have given to fame, and to consider of secondary importance everything which was not subservient to the moment. The result was that the habits and defects peculiar to those who devote themselves to the production of ephemeral literature became confirmed in him. What was characteristic, and necessarily characteristic of the work which he produced under pressure and when he had no time for meditation and labor, is equally characteristic of the work which he produced when he had ample time for both. Whittier has left abundant proof that Nature had qualified him to take a much higher place among poets than the place he holds; and the reason for his failing to attain it may obviously be traced to what I have described, his monotonous insistence on the themes inspired and suggested by the cause to which he devoted his life, his too easy acquiescence, as an artist, in commonplace standards of aim and attainment, and his want of broad generous culture. His facility of expression and his deft and wonderful skill in spinning poems became a snare to him. Sensitive and restless, he knew no repose. Lowell describes him as having

> "A fervor of mind that knows no separation
> 'Twixt simple excitement and pure inspiration."

And, unfortunately for his fame, we owe almost as much of his poetry to "simple excitement" as to "pure inspiration." But when under this inspiration, his lyrics have a *verve,* swing and fire which are irresistible, and which fill us with responsive enthusiasm. The cause to which his Anti-Slavery lyrics were dedicated has long been won, and the incidents of the great struggle to which they refer are dim traditions now. But who can read, unmoved, such lyrics as "The Pæan," "Stanzas for the Times," "To Englishmen," "The Song of the Free," "The Farewell," "Massachusetts to Virginia," "The New Year"; or listen, unthrilled, to the crashing joy-bells of "Laus Deo?" There is great power in "The Slave-Ships," and true pathos in "The Farewell," while "Barbara Frietchie" is a little masterpiece. In his narrative poems his great infirmities as an artist are most conspicuous. "Mogg Megone" and "The Bridal of Pennacook," though interesting as anticipating Longfellow in dealing with Indian legends, are crude, diffuse, cumbrous; and "The Tent on the Beach," which is among his maturest works, has no pretension to unity. And heavily drags "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim." But of his ballads and ballad-lyrics the very least that can be said for some of them is, that they are among the best of their kind. "Maud Muller" is justly famous, and "Skipper Ireson's Ride" will always be among the classics of humorous song. But his most pleasing poems are those which fairly entitle him to be called the Burns of New England. His pictures of its rural scenery and life, such as we find in "Miriam," "Hampton Beach," in "The Tent on the Beach," in "Summer by the Lakeside," in "The Old Burying-ground" and above all in "Snowbound," which is his masterpiece as a poet, are truly delightful, and can never lose their charm.

Mr. Stedman tells us that Horace Greeley pronounced Whittier to be the best of American poets. It would surely be more correct to say that, among the eminent poets of America, he stands lowest. The profound respect which must be felt for him as a man; the noble object to which so much of his poetry was directed; its high moral and religious tone; its wholesomeness, its purity and its other most unquestionable merits must not seduce us into mismeasurement. Whittier's very best work is not work into which any high poetic quality enters. His average work is essentially commonplace, and scarcely rises to mediocrity.

His studies from Nature, truthful, fresh, and most pleasing as they generally are, are too diffuse, and produce their effect, not as the touch of genius produces it, but by the commonplace process of a faithful accumulation of superficial details. His style, even at its best, has little distinction, abounding in such feeble pleonasms as "The tear on her cheek was not of rain," and such grotesque lapses into prose as:

> "In him brain-currents, near and far,
> Converged, as in a Leyden jar."

His versification is correct and musical, and at times has real charm; but it has few notes, and on these notes it harps too monotonously. He owed nothing to study and books, had no touch of classical culture. In tone, in temper and in sympathies, for good and for detriment, spiritually, morally, and intellectually, he was a New England Quaker on whom Apollo had smiled, not ungenially, but with something of the constraint and reserve likely to be evoked by the homage of so unwonted a votary. But the annals of poetry would be poorer, had such a name as Whittier's not been inscribed on their pages. Noble example is nobler than the noblest poem, and the tradition of a life which was a poem, an inheritance more precious than a poem which is written. And therefore poetry itself, the poetry of the world, has room for Whittier's, for, impressed on what he wrote is the *character* of the man who wrought, his purity, his simplicity, his philanthropy, his uncompromising loyalty to conscience and duty, his cheerful piety, all that speaks in

> "The letter fails, the systems fall,
> And every symbol wanes;
> The Spirit, overbrooding all,
> Eternal love remains;"

—all that speaks in the beautiful verses which he addressed to those who had less confidence than himself in the faith which sustained him:

> "I walk with bare, hush'd feet the ground
> Ye tread with boldness shod:
> I dare not fix with mete and bound
> The love and power of God. . . .

"And so beside the Silent Sea
I wait the muffled oar:
No harm from Him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air,
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

"O brothers, if my faith is vain,
If hopes like these betray,
Pray for me that my feet may gain
The sure and safer way.

"And Thou, O Lord! by whom are seen
Thy creatures, as they be,
Forgive me if too close I lean
My human heart on Thee!"

Whittier was not the only poet inspired by the great abolitionist struggle and the events preceding and resulting from the great war of 1861. Of the innumerable lyrics, anonymous and appropriated, inspired by them, some became famous. The catch song, "John Brown's Body," has little to recommend it but the sonorous music to which it was set, and Randall's "My Maryland," as well as the anonymous "Blue Flag" have mettle and fire; but higher merit belongs to Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which has the power and enthusiasm of something more than rhetoric. Brownell's war lyrics have vigor, not distinction; but distinction certainly belongs to Mrs. Lynn Beer's vivid and pathetic lyric, "All Quiet along the Potomac," and to Forceythe Willson's most touching and dramatic picture of the death of "The Old Sergeant."

But to return to the main stream. If Whittier is the most purely native of American poets, Poe is the most purely alien. In no touch has he anything that recalls the temper and genius either of the North or of the South; in no feature can the features of his fellow countrymen be traced. Of morality, or of anything pertaining to morality, he has nothing; of patriotism he has nothing; of any concern or interest in the world around him, nothing. An anomaly absolutely unique, the poetry characteristic of him might have been produced in any country and at any

time. As he was an American citizen, and the descendant of American citizens, though his mother was an Englishwoman, America has a right to claim him. And, need it be added, America has a right to be proud of him, but for reasons very different from those which make her proud of her other poets. Poe is to her literature what Keats, in an infinitely higher sense and measure, is to ours,—an artist for art's sake, to whom little appealed but the Beautiful, and whose poetry, at its best, is the expression of exclusive homage to it. He was the first American poet to disassociate poetry from nature and life, from the world of men, and to transport it into a world of imagination and fantasy. An artist more consummate never existed; and, although the fascination and witchery of much of his poetry had its origin from mystic sources of genuine inspiration, and cannot be resolved into triumphs, into miracles of conscious art, yet, as we know from himself, he revelled in the display of mere mechanical craftsmanship. This he did in "The Bells" and "The Raven" obviously, and, almost as obviously, in "Ulalume"; and in this consists the insincerity of his poetry, "the two-fifths sheer fudge" of Lowell's well known sarcasm. Of no poet may it be said with more truth that he was the slave of music; hence some of his poems, like "Israfel," and the poem just mentioned, "Ulalume," resolve themselves into mere music; but it is a music which had never before been heard on earth. It is in such poems as "The Haunted Palace," "The Conqueror Worm," "The City in the Sea," "Lenore," "Dreamland," that, in his fantastic vein, he is at his best, because his magical power as an artist and musician is employed legitimately to body forth the genuine conceptions of imagination, weird and in various degrees touched with insanity as that imagination is. But the poems which come most home to us are the love lyrics and threnodies, whether represented by such a classic gem as "Helen thy Beauty" or by "Annabel Lee," with its pathos in quintessence and haunting harmony, or the magic of "Eulalie" and "The Sleeper," or the utterly unanalyzable fascination of the verses "For Annie." The contrast between Poe's lawless and turbid life and the purity and serenity of the world in which he moved as a poet, is not more striking than another contrast presented by his constitution and temper. With the æsthetic sensibility, imagination and enthusiasm of a poet he united a precise,

cold, logical intellect, in the exercise of which he delighted. His analysis of the *rationale* of "The Raven" is well known and is most significant. Of what may be traced to this characteristic there is too much in his poetry. Its enthusiasm, we often feel, is not wholly pure: its passion has not always the note of sincerity, nor is it always on the wing of inspired imagination that he soars to his weird realms. To this characteristic may be traced, also, his precise and clear-cut style, so lucid, so coldly chaste, so deliberately, so exquisitely finished. His marvellous tact as an artist taught him to blend most harmoniously and effectively the opposite extremes of studied simplicity and studied preciosity.

The poetry of Poe was a new creation. It owed something to Coleridge, something to Shelley, and something to Tennyson, but nothing like it as a whole had appeared before. If "The Raven" and "The Bells" are little better than *tours de force* they are absolutely original: if "Ulalume" and "Israfel" are tuneful nonsense, no such tuneful nonsense had as yet been heard. Every note which he struck he struck for the first time, and every note which he struck has since vibrated in the lyric poetry of America and England. It would be idle to institute any comparison between him and the other lyric poets of the English-speaking race whose immortality he will share, for he stands absolutely alone. Every generation will delight in his poetry, but it will never come home to men like the poetry of his brethren. They will be fascinated with the weird witchery of its music, and with the mystic beauty of its strange, wild fancies. They will wander with mingled emotions through its wonderful Dreamland, now radiant with the light of heaven, now lurid with a light which is the light in delirium's eyes. They will be touched with its pathos, so simple, yet so intense. They will marvel at its miracles of technical triumph. But they will draw no inspiration from it. It has nothing of the influential virtue of vital poetry: it carries no balm for the heart's wounds, no solace for life's cares. It never kindled a generous emotion or a noble thought. To rise from its perusal is like waking from a dream, a dream that haunts, but a dream that finally fades, leaving no traces from memory.

> "Not his the song that in its metre holy
> Chimes with the music of the eternal stars:
> Humbling the tyrant, lifting up the lowly,
> And sending sun through the soul's prison bars."

And now we come to that eminent and gifted trio in whose work the transatlantic poetry of the last century may be said in many important respects to culminate. It would be difficult for any critic, unless he wishes to be paradoxical, to say anything new about poets so long and so widely discussed as Longfellow, Holmes and Lowell. Each has his place assigned, and, no doubt, rightly assigned, to him, both in his native country and in Great Britain; and it is a proof of the intimacy of the relationship in all that pertains to the humanities between America and ourselves, that the estimate formed of them by their countrymen should differ so little from the estimate formed here. I am not speaking of the academic school of criticism which has ignored them, nor of the modern preciosity school which has affected, and still affects, to despise them, but of the audience and tribunal to which they appeal and by which they would desire to be judged,—general readers of culture and intelligence, and adequately equipped critics with catholic tastes and sympathies. The correctness of the estimate formed of their work is due to the instinctive good sense which has not expected more from them than they had to give, and thus allowed no discontent or querulousness to interfere with generous appreciation of what they did give.

These three poets have very much in common. All professors in the same university, they were essentially scholars and men of manifold accomplishments, profoundly versed in English literature and intimately acquainted with all the chief languages and literatures of Europe, where all had resided, not as casual travellers, but as students. They were thus men of cosmopolitan culture and of cosmopolitan tastes and sympathies. All delighted in society, and were almost as distinguished by their social qualities as by their literary accomplishments. For all, the composition of poetry was mere recreation, subordinate, in the case of Holmes, to the duties of a busy practising physician; in the case of Longfellow, to the duties of a Professor of Belles-lettres; in the case of Lowell, to vocations more various than had ever before, perhaps, fallen to the lot of one man. Their lives were easy and prosperous; two of them were humorists, delighting in such trifles as amuse good-natured *flâneurs,* and the third, if not a humorist, had the tastes of a refined dilettant. Nothing less like bards or prophets could possibly be imagined than these genial, polished and most accomplished men.

No great poetry ever appeared under such conditions, and from men so constituted and tempered great poetry we cannot hope to find. We find what we might expect, not a poetry rooted in contemporary national life and drawing its inspiration and nutriment from that life: not intensity, not passion, not enthusiasm, nothing of that homogeneousness and originality characteristic of a poetry which has the note of the *Zeitgeist,* and is the unforced and common product of propitious social and political conditions; but a poetry academic, eclectic, occasional, having its models in many literatures, deriving its material and inspiration from what happened accidentally to appeal to the poet as an individual, either in his private or social life, or in his studies. Thus, when it took an objective form, it ransacked the annals legendary and historical, not of America only but of almost every country in the world, without, however, transferring them, after the manner of inspired poetry, into symbols and analogues of the life pulsing round it. When it took a subjective form, it resolved itself into a series of fragments, as various in expression as in matter, sometimes serious, sometimes trifling, seldom original, never profound. It is a poetry which plays on the surface of life, catching its lights and shadows; dealing with its ordinary experiences, and giving most musical utterance to such reflections and sentiments as those experiences are wont to evoke from normally and healthily constituted men and women. But, being essentially composite, it has many tones and many notes, and ranges over a wide field. Now it is academic, and, seeking its themes in subjects dear to the scholar and student, affects classicism and the grand style, and here, as a rule, it is not successful; now, as in Lowell's Commemoration Ode, it kindles with noble moral fervor; now it is the perfection of simple idyll, pure nature with pure nature's note,

> "A certain freshness of the fields,
> A sweetness as of home-made bread,"

and here it has often inexpressible charm. Occasionally, it surprises us, as in the "Biglow Papers" and in other humorous and semi-humorous pieces, not only by its raciness, vividness and power in comedy and satire, but by its inimitable presentation of the idiosyncrasies of national character: a very long life may fairly be predicted for Parson Wilbur, Hosea Biglow and Bird o'

Fredom Sawin. But its excursions into such realms as these are the exception, not the rule. Its favorite sphere is the sphere which has been indicated, the sphere of Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea," of Schiller's and Heine's lyrics and legends, of Wordsworth's "ballads" and nature poems, of Tennyson's home idylls and "In Memoriam," of Prior's and Praed's *vers de société*. And this realm it, too, made its own, enriching and permanently enriching the poetry of the English-speaking world.

I have associated Holmes with Longfellow and Lowell. Had he been living, that most modest of men would probably have asked with surprise how any one who presumed to talk critically of poetry could have so mismeasured him. It would have been necessary to explain that he stood there rather for the convenience of tabulation than for any intention of assuming his equality. But even then he would have shaken his head. And, indeed, Holmes's most striking characteristics are those of the *improvisatore*, his extraordinary versatility and his not less extraordinary facility in composition. He has fire and mettle, witness his "Bunker-hill Battle" and his "Old Ironsides" and "Lexington": his fancy can be exquisite, with a touch of magic, as the "Chambered Nautilus" testifies; and equally exquisite and magic-touched his pathos, as in "Under the Violets." He can be impressive to sternness as in "The Two Streams"—how fine that poem is!—and "The Living Temple": he can catch the deep religious fervor of his Puritan forefathers, as in his Hymns. His humor can be delightful, as in "The One-Horse Shay" and in "Parson Turell's Legacy." His tact and grace and his felicity of charming and appropriate expression as a poet of social functions, of anniversaries, and of all such occasions as call for the wreath of the moment, are quite unsurpassed. But we love him best as the poet of the changes and chances of man's life, and as the tender laureate of the memory-consecrated past; as the cheerful optimist, when night is nigh—as the poet of such poems as "The Last Survivor," "The Shadows All Here," and of that poem which for all time deserves to be bound up with its sister poem in prose, Cicero's "*De Senectute*," I mean "The Iron-gate." We love him, as we love Horace, for his genial humanity, his mellow wisdom, such as find expression, for instance, in such an unforgetable quatrain as this:

"Man judges all. God knoweth each:
We read the rule, He knows the law;
How oft His laughing children teach
The truths His prophets never saw."

And this is typical of many more.

In passing from Holmes to Lowell, we pass from charm to power. In originality, in virility, in many-sidedness, Lowell is the first of American poets. He not only possessed, in nearly equal measure, many of the qualities most notable in his fellow poets, rivalling Bryant as a painter of Nature, and Holmes in pathos, having a touch too of Emerson's transcendentalism, and rising at times to all Whittier's moral fervor, but he brought to all this much beside. The first part of the "Legend of Brittany" in its sensuous richness reminds us of Leigh Hunt at his best: "The Sirens" and "Irene" recall Tennyson too nearly, perhaps, but they are no discredit to their model. In one vein he produced such a masterpiece of mingled pathos and nature painting as we find in the tenth Biglow letter of the second series: in another, such a lyric gem as "The Fountain": in another, "The First Snow-fall" and "After the Burial": in another, again, the noble Harvard Commemoration Ode. And the author of these poems was the creator of Parson Wilbur, Hosea Biglow, and Bird o' Fredom Sawin, as well as the author of "A Fable for Critics." This is a wide range; but we must distinguish between the degrees of success with which it has been attempted. No work produced before a poet has found his natural level, has found himself, can form any factor in an estimate of his work as a whole, in an estimate of his place among poets. At least two-thirds of Lowell's earlier poems, however pleasing and eloquent, have something of the note of falsetto. Many of them are simply eclectic experiments. The more ambitious poems "Prometheus," "Rhœcus," and "Columbus" are mere academic exercises, and not of a high order even in that rôle. "Sir Launfal," except for the beautiful nature pictures, scarcely rise above the level of an Ingoldsby Legend. The truth is, that Lowell was in constitution and temper a humorist and moralist touched with æsthetic sensibility, with the fancy not with the imagination, with something of the fervor, not with the enthusiasm, of the poet. Much which, as a poet, he should have owed to Nature, he owed to culture and to the sympathetic study of preceding masters, notably Keats and Tenny-

son. A cultivated taste is a poor substitute for instinct; for the one is as fallible as the other is infallible. Hence, we are never sure of Lowell. He deserts Keats in "A Legend of Brittany" to collapse into melodrama expressed in the language of melodrama, just as the "Indian Summer Reverie," with its exquisite nature pictures, trails off into flat bald prose. Except in his earlier poems and in his pictures from nature, his poetry has little sensuous charm. He had plainly a most defective ear for rhythm and verbal harmony. Except when he confines himself to simple metres, we rarely find five consecutive lines which do not in some way jar on us. His blank verse and the irregular metres which he, unfortunately, so often employs, have little or no music and are often quite intolerable. Of the distressing effect of clogged consonants, sibilants and cacophonies of all kinds, he appears to be as unconscious as Browning. Some of these defects or, at least, their exaggeration are perhaps to be attributed, like his jumbled metaphors and other faults of expression, to carelessness and impatience of the work of correction. No poetry owes so little to the file.

But, after all the deductions which the most exacting criticism can make, it still remains that, as a serious poet, Lowell stands high. As a painter of Nature, he has few superiors, and, in his own country, none. Whatever be their æsthetic and technical deficiencies, he has written many poems of sentiment and pathos which can never fail to come home to all to whom such poetry appeals. His hortatory and didactic poetry, as it expresses itself in the Harvard Commemoration Ode, is worthy, if not of the music and felicity of Milton and Wordsworth, at least of their tone, when that tone is most exalted. As a humorist he is inimitable. His humor is rooted in a finer sense of the becoming and in a profounder insight into the character of his countrymen than that of any other American writer. "The Biglow Papers" will live as long as *Hudibras;* and, as long as Butler's crystallizations of shrewd wisdom and ethic truth, will live and appeal the similar aphorisms with which Lowell's poems are studded.

CHURTON COLLINS.

(To be Continued.)

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART II.

IX.

THE dance was coming to an end, and the girls, some of them, followed by as many young men, strayed out between the waltzes into the conservatory, to escape the heat; after trying the air, they said it was no cooler, only damper, and rushed back at the first strain of the music for the last figure of the dance. Hope Hawberk stayed, and Langbrith stayed with her. "Why don't you go back and look after your guests?" she challenged him.

"The guest that needs looking after most is here." He broke a rose from the vine at his hand, and threw it across the little fountain at her, where she stood with her head framed in the pale greenery of a jasmine bush. She lifted herself, haughtily. "May I ask what you mean, Mr. Langbrith?" Suddenly, while he stood, mystified and sobered, by the severity of her tone, she brought one hand from behind her, where she had been keeping both, and dashed a rose in his face. She tried to escape by the path that led up to the dining-room door past the callas in the oval bed about the fountain. He was instantly there to meet her, to catch her by a slim wrist and hold her fast.

"You witch!" he panted. "Oh, Hope, may I go home with you? The way we used to?"

"Before you were such a great person?"

"Why do you say that to me?" he entreated.

"Because—because you are hurting my wrist," she answered with a child's wilful inconsequence.

He released it with all but his thumb and forefinger, and bent over it as if to see what harm he had done, while she stood passive. He kissed the red marks his fingers had left.

"What next, Mr. Langbrith?" she said, with a feint of cold impersonality.

"You know! Will you let me go home with you?"

"You're making me break your mother's lilies!"

"I don't care for the lilies. I care for you, you, you! May I go home with you?"

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Another dash of the fitful April rain, which seemed to have gathered again, smote the glass roof; then it began to fall steadily. "You may lend me an umbrella," she said.

"Well, if I may go along to carry it."

"Oh, if you're afraid of not getting it back!"

"Yes, I can't trust you."

"You're hurting me again. Don't make me cry. Everybody will know it," she pleaded, releasing her wrist and passing her handkerchief over her eyes, with her face turned from the doors.

"Ah, Hope!" he tried to catch her hands, but she whipped them behind her, the handkerchief still in one of them, and ran, while he followed slowly.

The rain stopped again, before the dance was ended. The old people had gone home before, and the dancers now sallied out together into the air that had softened, since nightfall, under a sky where the moon sailed in seas of blue, among islands of white cloud. The girls started chattering, laughing, with meaningless cries, massing themselves at first, and then losing themselves from the group, one by one, and finding their way homeward with the young men who seemed to fall to their share, each as by divine accident.

Langbrith and Hope Hawberk were the foremost to put a space between themselves and the others, and he pressed closer and closer to his side the hand she let lie on his arm. "Will you say it now?" he was insisting.

"No more now than ever. What good would it do, I should like to know?"

"How delicious! All the good in the world!"

"Well, I shall not. Why should you want me to be engaged to you?"

"Oh, if you'll only say you love me, we'll let the engagement go!"

"Thank you! Well, we'll let it go without my saying anything so silly."

"But I may say that I love you?"

"Yes, so long as you don't mean it."

"But I do mean it—I do, heart and soul. Hope, can't you be serious? May I write to you from Cambridge when I get back?"

"How can I help that? I suppose the mail will have to bring your letters!"

"But will you answer them?"

"Perhaps they won't need answering."

"Oh, yes, they will. I shall ask questions."

"Well, I never could answer questions. That's the one thing I can't do."

"Then you don't want me to write to you?"

"What an idea! I thought it was you that were doing the wanting."

"And I may?"

"Well, you may write *one* letter."

"Oh, how intoxicating you are, Hope!" He tried in his rapture to put his hand on hers, but it had slipped from his arm, and she was flying up the path before him. He followed after a moment of surprise; but, because she was fleet of foot, or because she had that little start of him, or because he felt the chase undignified, he did not overtake her till she had reached her gate. The little story-and-a-half house, overshadowed by two tall spruces, under the shoulder of the hill, was withdrawn only a few yards from the street, to which the gabled porch at the front door brought it a few feet nearer.

She put her hand, panting, on the gate, and he had his on her shoulder, laughing, when, with an instinct of another presence, rather than a knowledge, she turned vividly toward him, and put her hand to her lip. He checked his laughter, and at her formal "Good night," he said reluctantly, "Well, good night," and faltered outside the gate which she shut between them.

"Won't you come in, Jim?" a voice called huskily from the darkness of the little portico, and before he could formulate his "Oh, no, thank you, Mr. Hawberk, it's rather late," the figure of a man advanced from its shadow. Around this figure Hope faded into the shadow it had left.

"It's only nine," Hawberk said. "Come in, and we'll have a bottle of champagne together. I'm just up from Boston, where I've been passing a week, with some of your father's old friends: gay people. I was out at Cambridge, where I met some of the college grandees. They gave me great accounts of you. I was coming round in the morning to see your mother. She'll like to know direct from the university authorities that you are regarded as the most promising man there. I've been looking after an invention of mine, that I've succeeded in getting into good hands in Boston, and that will probably give me more money than I shall know what to do with. Have you ever thought of parting with the mills?"

"I don't believe I have, Mr. Hawberk," Langbrith responded.

"If you ever do," Hawberk said, "let me know. I've had an idea of taking them over, lately, and the income from this invention of mine will enable me to run them as they should be run. Your father and I were pretty close together in their management, at the outset, you know."

"Yes," Langbrith assented, while he retired a few steps from the gate, on which Hawberk was now lounging. In the moonlight, Hawberk's face had a greenish hue, and his eyes shone vitreously.

"There is something fine about these gloomy autumn nights," he suggested. "I sold him the mills, you recollect, and it would be sort of evening things up if you sold them back to me. Yes, your father and I were great friends. He liked to go off with me in my yacht. We made the trip to the Azores, together. I think I was the first to own a steam-yacht in Boston. I lived most of the

time in Boston, then: looked after the city end of the business. Often had your father down. I was always giving dinners, and he used to enjoy them. You and Hope been at the play? Fine company, I'm told. Pity we don't get them oftener in Saxmills."

"Ah—I think I must say good night, Mr. Hawberk." Langbrith moved a little farther away, backing. "It's rather late—"

"Is it?" Hawberk took out his watch, and held it up to the moonlight. "Why, so it is! Nearly morning. Well, good night." He did not offer to leave the gate, but remained lounging across it, while Langbrith turned and moved down the footpath toward the village.

X.

In the morning, the dissatisfactions which are apt to qualify the satisfactions of the night before, made themselves felt in Langbrith. He had wanted to talk the satisfactions over with Falk, whom he found in bed, on his return from seeing Hope Hawberk home, with the disaster of meeting her father; but Falk was either sleepy from the fatigues of the evening, or cynical from the excess of its pleasures, and would not talk. He met Langbrith's overtures to a confidence with a prayer for rest, with a counsel of forgetting, with an aspiration for help in his extremity against him from the powers which he did not often invoke. Langbrith was obliged to go to bed himself, without the light of Falk's mind on the things which kept him turning from side to side till well toward morning. Then he slept so briefly that he woke to hear Falk still asleep in the next room, and went down alone to his breakfast.

He found his mother in the library ready to join him, and he said, rather crossly, that they would not wait for Falk, who would anyway not want anything but coffee. At first, it seemed as if he would himself not want anything else, but after he had drunk a cup he helped himself to the steak which his mother refused, and then to the rice cakes, which Norah brought in relays, till he said, "I sha'n't want any more, Norah," and then she ceased to bring them, and shut the door into the kitchen definitively after her in going out.

If Mrs. Langbrith expected her son to begin by saying something of the pleasure she had tried to give him the night before, she was destined to disappointment, less, perhaps, from his ingratitude than from his preoccupation. "Mother," he asked, in pouring the syrup over the last relay of cakes that Norah had brought, "do you know whether there was ever anything unpleasant between Dr. Anther and my father?"

She caught her breath in a way that was habitual with her at any sort of abruptness, and had a moment of hesitation in which she might have been deciding what form of evasion she should employ. Then she asked, "Why, James, what made you think so?"

"Something—nothing—that happened, or didn't happen, last night, after you left us smoking in the dining-room." Langbrith frowned, in what was resentment or what was perplexity. "It

might have been my fancy, altogether. But he seemed to receive a suggestion I made very dryly, very coldly. I had always supposed they were great friends."

Mrs. Langbrith quelled her respiration into long, smooth underbreaths, and said nothing.

Langbrith went on. "I had been thinking of something I meant to mention to you first—putting up a medallion of my father, with some sort of inscription, in the façade of the library, and last night I happened to come out with the notion in the course of some general talk, and Dr. Anther received it so blankly that I couldn't help feeling a little hurt."

"Perhaps," Mrs. Langbrith said, with a drop of her eyes, "he didn't take it in."

"That was what I have been trying to think. People began to come for the dance just after that, and the subject couldn't go any further. But, before Judge Garley and Mr. Enderby, Dr. Anther's blankness had time to be painful. Well!" he broke off from the affair. "He may not have taken it in, as you say."

Mrs. Langbrith rubbed her hand nervously up and down on the smooth, warm handle of the coffee-pot, in the struggle with herself, rather than with her son, which was renewed whenever it came to any sort of question of his father between them. She was long past the superstition of her husband's right, through the mere fact of his death, to her silence, her forbearance. Except for their son, she would have been willing that he should be known to the world as he was known to her and to Anther. But with reference to the dead man's son, it still seemed to her that the truth would be defamation, as much as if his memory were really pure and holy. It always came to some sort of evasion. But this morning, somehow, it did not seem to her as if she could consent to that any longer. It was on her tongue to say, No, his father and Dr. Anther were not friends at last, and give, swiftly and unsparingly, the reasons why they could not be. But when she spoke, she got no further than saying, and it was with tremendous effort that she got so far from her wonted reserve, "If you think there was ever anything unpleasant between them, why don't you ask Dr. Anther himself?"

There was a desperate challenge in her eyes, which she would have been miserably glad to have him see there, if only some counter of his would then push her past the silence which she could never traverse of herself alone. But he was looking down into his cup, and he did not see what was in her eyes. He stirred his coffee, and said: "It was not serious enough for that. Very likely, it wasn't anything at all. He may not have been giving the matter close attention, or he may have had something else on his mind. Doctors often have, I suppose; or he may have been vexed at something in my manner—what Falk calls my patronizing. Possibly, he was thinking from his knowledge of my father that such a thing would

be distasteful to him. But he might have left it all to me. Well, it doesn't really amount to anything."

She drew a long deep breath, in the desperate relief of postponement, and he looked up affectionately. "It's all a very old story for you, mother, and you can't take much pleasure in knowing how the evening went off. You did manage it wonderfully."

She flushed at his praise. "I tried to carry out your instructions."

"You bettered them. It was a great little triumph. Don't you think people enjoyed it?"

"Yes, I think so. But if you enjoyed it, that is quite enough for me."

"Oh, for you, mother! But I'm unselfish enough for you to wish the rest had a good time. I thought the girls all looked very pretty, and they behaved prettily, too, which doesn't always follow. Country girls—village girls—don't always know the difference between being lively and being rowdy. I'm bound to say that sometimes city girls don't, either. The latest blossoming of buds in Boston—well! Don't you think Hope is very beautiful?"

He seemed quite in good humor, now, and was smiling retrospectively. His mother said, from that remote caution, doubtless, which is in every woman where her son's relations with other women are concerned, "She is a very good girl."

Langbrith laughed out. "Well, I wasn't thinking about the goodness, exactly! But I dare say she is good. What I'm sure of, though, is that she's stunning. Mother!"

"Well, James?"

Langbrith's face, so like her own face, in its contour and features, flushed as hers always did with any strong feeling; but, whatever his feeling was, he did not put it into the words which followed as from a second impulse. He gave himself time to lose his flush, and to knit his brows, which approached very nearly together, before he asked, "How long has her father been an opium fiend? I mean, how long have people known that he eats opium?"

"A good many years, I'm afraid."

"As long back as to my father's time?"

"Yes—quite. Why, what makes you ask?"

"Oh, I saw him last night, when I went home with Hope."

"I thought he was away at the Retreat."

"It seems not. At any rate he was at home, and she didn't seem surprised at his being there. It isn't like alcoholism, is it? It doesn't make him violent? So that he ever hurts them?"

"Oh, no, not at all. Did Hope seem troubled?"

"No. She slipped into the house behind him, when he came out to the gate to talk to me. He was disposed to be rather expansive. Just in what way do you understand that he has been an affliction to them?"

"He has kept them poor."

"Well, that might be remedied. And it isn't the worst thing

that could happen. A great many people are poor and happy. You don't mean that they're ever in anything like want?"

"Oh, no," Mrs. Langbrith sighed. "He has some of his inventions in the hands of other people, who pay him a percentage on them, and it is secured so that it goes to his family, instead of to him. The worst of him is that they can't put the least dependence on him. They can't trust anything he says. He is very kind to them when he is with them, and he is proud of Hope. But they can't believe a word from him."

"He got off twenty inventions to me, in as many sentences, while we stood talking over the gate. I had a notion of something of the kind you say. Doesn't he ever blunder into the truth? He said my father and he used to be great chums. Was there nothing in that?"

"They were friends at one time, certainly."

"Until he began to give way to all kinds of invention? Then, of course, it had to come to an end. Well, it's interesting to know that he can sometimes make a straight statement. Don't think I don't feel the awfulness of it, mother. I do, and I pity Hope, and I can understand how she can't help thinking that she is put wrong by it with—people. I suppose it's that that makes her a little defiant, a little doubtful of— Have you ever, or has she ever, mentioned the subject?"

"Not to me, James, or to any one that I know of. Everybody knows it. It's an old thing, and nobody talks of it, except newcomers. And there are not many newcomers here."

"No," Langbrith assented with a smile. "Saxmills is static."

His mother may not have known just what he meant, or it may have been from the country habit of making no comment in response to what was not a question. She asked, "Will you have some more coffee, James?"

"No; but have them keep it hot for old Falk."

"I will have some fresh for him."

"There never was such thoughtful hospitality as yours, mother," Langbrith said, rising and going round the table to where she had risen too, and putting his arm fondly across her shoulders. She was almost as tall as he, and their likeness showed as he laid his face against hers and rubbed his cheek on her own. "I believe that when I wake up in the other world, you will be there to offer me something nice to eat. Old Falk is having a tremendously good time, don't you think?"

Mrs. Langbrith said, "Everything has been done for him that could be, by everybody."

"And I'm glad it's happened to Falk, too. A great many of the fellows don't know what a good fellow he is. They don't get hold of him. Falk is proud, and that makes him shy. Last year, I wouldn't have thought of bringing him here, or getting him to come here. His people out in Kentucky are Germans, and they've

always gone with the Germans. If Falk hadn't come to Harvard, he never would have got into American society. Fellows from out that way, where the Germans are rather thick, say that the third generation gets in, and sometimes the second if the first has got rich. But Falk's father is only a very musical doctor with a German practice, and no social instincts or aspirations. Of course, it's Falk's work in *Caricature* that's brought him forward with the best fellows. He's going to be a great artist, I believe, and I want to have a hand in helping him. It's difficult. He would rather say a nasty thing than a nice thing to you, and that doesn't cement friendship with everybody. But the way is not to mind it. He's all right at heart, if he wasn't so proud."

"I don't think it's very polite," Mrs. Langbrith ventured.

"Well, no," her son owned, "but it's better than being slimy."

XI.

Langbrith and his friend took the Northern Express in the afternoon, which would bring them to Boston just in time for dinner. Mrs. Langbrith gave them such a heavy lunch, that, what with the sleep they had still to make up from the night before, they drowsed half the way to town in the smoking-car which they had to themselves, until the train began to stop at the suburban stations. Before this happened, they woke, and Falk took a sheet of crumpled paper from his pocket, and spread it on the little stationary table between them which the commuters used for playing cards.

"How would that do for the next cartoon?" he asked.

He pushed it toward Langbrith, who smoothed it out again, and examined it carefully. "I don't know what it means," he said at last.

"Neither do I," Falk said. "I want you to joke it, so that I shall."

Langbrith continued to look at the drawing, but apparently with less and less consciousness of it. He returned to it in pushing it away. "I don't know that I feel much like joking, to-day."

Falk crumpled the drawing up in his hand, and threw it on the floor. "There oughtn't to be any to-morrows. There ought to be nothing but yesterdays. Then we could manage."

"What do you mean?" Langbrith demanded.

"You're thinking you went too far."

"How do you know that?"

"I saw you going."

They were silent, and then Langbrith said, with a laugh, "Well, if I went too far, I wasn't met half-way."

"He laughs bitterly," Falk interpreted. "He has got his come-uppings."

Langbrith looked angrily at him. Then his look softened, if that is the word, into something more like sulking than anger, and he said, "Sometimes I think you hate me, Falk."

"No, you don't. You merely think you deserve it. What have you been doing? You might as well out with it now as later; I don't want you coming in to-night when I've got into my first sleep."

"If I could only hope to make you understand!" Langbrith sighed. "It isn't merely our having known each other since she and I were kids, and always been more or less together. And it isn't the country freedom between fellows and girls. You could appreciate both those things. But you're so confoundedly hard that you wouldn't see why I should feel a peculiar tenderness—a kind of longing to shield her and save her: I don't know!—when I think of her home life, and what it must be. I know what a brave fight she puts up against its seeming any way anomalous, and that makes her all the more pathetic. It makes her all the more fascinating—to a man of my temperament. She knows that, and that is why she is so defiant. I never knew she was so beautiful till this time. Weren't you struck with it yourself, Falk?"

Falk nodded, and smoked on.

"The complication of qualities in her, and the complication of her conditions, are what make it impossible to decide whether one has gone too far or not. Her way of taking it doesn't help you out a bit. She takes everything as if you didn't mean it. Of course, she knows that I'm in love with her. Everything I do tells her so, and so long as it isn't put into words, it seems all right. But when it comes to words, she won't stand it."

"She threw you down? Is that it?"

Langbrith frowned, and then smiled, as if forgiving the slang that might well have offended against the dignity of the fact. He even adopted it. "Not just threw me down, I should say."

"What happened, then?"

"Nothing. But I was in the mood for making her answer something more than she would answer, and I shouldn't have left her without, if it hadn't been for her father coming on the scene. He was an element that I hadn't counted on, and he made the whole thing luridly impossible. He seemed to cast the malign shadow of his own perdition over her."

"Good phrase," Falk murmured.

"Oh, don't mock me, old fellow!" Langbrith implored. "Of course, his being what he is wouldn't make me give her up, though I believe it would make her give *me* up. Poor wretch! You can't think how amusing he was, with the wild romances he got off to me by the dozen in the two or three minutes we talked together. Do you remember that wonderful liar in one of Thackeray's stories, or sketches, who says he has just come from the Russian embassy in London, where he had seen a Russian princess knouted by secret orders of the Czar? It was something like that. That fellow must have been an opium-eater, too. One good thing about it," Langbrith resumed, after a pause not broken by Falk, "my mother

thinks the world of Hope. She's always having her at the house, when she will come. I think she does it because my father was his friend in his better days, and she feels that he would like to have her do it. She is just so loyal to his memory. If she could imagine any wish for him, now, after twenty years, I believe she would want to carry it out, the same as if he were alive."

Falk still said nothing, and Langbrith broke off to say, "There was something that gravelled me last night, a little. I don't know whether you noticed it."

"What was it?"

"Well, Dr. Anther's snubbing way of meeting what I said of that medallion of my father which I suggested for the public library. It embarrassed me before the judge, and Dr. Enderby; it made me feel like a fool. He had no business to do it. But, perhaps, he was merely not noticing. All the same, I'm going to do it. I think it's a shame that in a place which a man has done so much for as my father did for Saxmills, there shouldn't be any public record of him. I'll do it to show them they ought to have done it themselves, if for nothing else. But I know all this bores you," Langbrith ended, vexed with his evident failure to interest his friend.

Falk yawned, but he said, with more than the usual scanty kindness he showed for the wounds of Langbrith's vanity, "No, no, I'm just stupid from last night. One doesn't have such a good time for nothing."

"It *was* a good time, wasn't it?" Langbrith gratefully exulted.

Falk said, "Fine." He yawned again, and Langbrith lapsed into a smiling muse, in which he was climbing the hill with Hope Hawberk, flattered in the fondness she suffered him to show her, and sweetly contraried by her refusal to say the words which would have sealed the bond between them. Was it, he wondered, with a swelling throat, because she wished to let him feel himself wholly free, in the event of some disgrace or disaster to herself from her father? He would live to prove that he would not be free: that he was hers as she was his, and nothing on earth could part them. That would make right, it would consecrate, all his past love-making. Once he would have thought that no harm, if it had come to nothing. But now, in his knowledge of another world, with a different code, it was not to be thought of but as part of a common future for them which it began. He wanted to put the case concretely before Falk, but he could not. He could not generalize, as he would have liked to do, on that difference of code between city and country, with the risk of Falk's making his abstractions concrete in some such way as only a blow could answer. Falk had his limitations. After all, he was only half an American, and he could only half understand an American's feelings. He retreated from the temptation, and lost himself in a warm revery of the future, which he forecast in defiance of every obstacle.

He thought what friends Hope and his mother had always been, and he knew that there could be nothing but glad response in his mother's heart to the feeling that was in his for Hope. Then he began to think of his mother apart from Hope, and of what she might have been like when she was a girl. She was not much older than Hope when she was married. She had been many more years a widow than a maid; and, in the light of his own love for Hope, he wondered if his mother had ever thought of marrying again. His father had been twice her age when he married her. Langbrith knew this in the casual way in which children know something of their parents' history, and his father must have been an uncommon man to have won her with that difference of years between them, and to have kept her constant to his memory so many years after his death. After all, how little she had ever said of him! Langbrith romanced her as not being able, from deep feeling, from a grief ever new, to speak of him, and he ached at heart to think how his father's personality seemed buried in his grave with his body. A tender, chivalrous longing to champion his forgotten father, to rehabilitate this vanished personality, replaced his heartache, and again he was indignant with Dr. Anther for his indifference, his coldness. He said to himself that he must have an explanation from Dr. Anther; he would write to him, and ask just what he meant. Perhaps, he meant nothing. But he must be sure. Then he would see that young sculptor, that Italian, and tell him what he wanted; talk it over with him; find if he had any notions of his own.

The train slowed into the North station about five o'clock, just when he knew that his mother would be talking with old Norah about the supper, to which, in his absence, she would revert from the late dinner. She would be bidding Norah tell the cook that she did not want anything but a cup of tea and a little milk-toast. Poor old mother! What a savorless, limp life she lived there alone! Yet it could not be otherwise, when he was away. How much she depended upon him. Somehow, he must manage for her to live with Hope and him. She must go out to Paris with them, where they should go after their marriage, and when they came back to Saxmills, where they would always have their summer home, she must be put back mistress in the old house.

XII.

The neighbor over the way who saw Anther drop the hitching-weight of his buggy in front of the Langbrith house, late in the afternoon of the lengthening April day, decided that Mrs. Langbrith had been overdoing. She watched for him to come out, until she could stay no longer at the window without making her own tea late, but she did not see him come out at all.

In fact, it was the doctor who appeared to have been overdoing. He looked so tired to Mrs. Langbrith, that she asked him if he would

not have a cup of tea. Upon second thought, she asked him if he would not have it with her. Supper would be ready very soon; and, without waiting for a refusal, she went into the kitchen to hurry it, and to have the cook add something to the milk-toast for the man-appetite, to which her hospitality was ministering with more impulsiveness and spontaneity than the wont of village hospitality is.

When they sat down together at the table, he did not eat much and he talked little; but he seemed to feel gratefully the comfort of the place and presence. She came into authority with him, as a woman does when the man dear to her is depressed. Her affection for him came out in little suggestions and insistencies about the food. Like most physicians, he kept his precepts for himself and his practices for his patients. He now ate rather recklessly, and he preferred the unwholesome things. At first, she had to press him, and then she had to check him. At last, she had to say to Norah, who came in with successive plates of the hot cakes which he devoured, "That will do, Norah," and, when he had swept the final batch upon his plate and soaked them in butter and syrup, and then cut their layers into deep vertical sections, and gorged these with a kind of absent gluttony, while she looked on in patient amaze, she rose and led the way from the table into the parlor.

It lay beyond the library and had windows to the north and east. The library was lighted from the east alone, like the dining-room in the wing. The main house was square, and divided by an ample hall from front to back. Beyond the hall, the two drawing-rooms opening from it balanced the parlor and library. There was a fire of logs burning on the parlor hearth, and its glow alone lighted the place when the two came into it. He went first to the window and looked at his horse. When he came away, she pulled down the curtains, and shut out what was left of the pale day and the disappointment of the neighbor who had been waiting for the reappearance of the persons of a drama not played for her.

Mrs. Langbrith took the chair at the corner, and invited Anther to the deeper one in front of the fire by her action.

"I oughtn't to stay," he said, looking at his watch. But he sat down. Neither of them made haste to take up any talk for the entertainment of the other. What they were to say was to come because they were both thinking the same things, from interests that were no longer separable. Yet he began with as great apparent remoteness as possible from their common interests. "Hawberk is at home again," he said, as if that followed from his saying he ought not to stay.

"James told me," she responded. "He saw him last night."

"And he has begun again."

"Yes, I knew that from the way that James said he talked. It doesn't seem much use his ever going."

"It prolongs his life, if that's any use. If he hadn't pulled up

completely, from time to time, he would have been dead ten years ago. It is a curious case. Mostly they keep on and on, till they kill themselves, but Hawberk seems disposed to see how much relief can be got out of it with the least danger. At the rate he is going, he can live as long as anybody. Of course, the moral effect always follows the indulgence of a morbid appetite. What did he say to James?"

"He just told him some of his wild stories. He boasted of being Mr. Langbrith's greatest friend."

"So he was, in a kind of way. An involuntary friend," Anther said, with a smile. She smiled too, strangely enough, but as people can smile, in dealing with an old wrong when it offers an ironical aspect to them. But she said, "Sometimes I wish it could be known what a deadly enemy Mr. Langbrith had been to him. Why shouldn't I tell it? I ought to feel guilty for not telling it. He robbed him, as much as if he had taken his money out of his pocket."

"No doubt about that; and once it might have been best to own the fact publicly. But sometimes it seems to me that time is past. A wrong like that seems to gather a force that enslaves those who have done nothing worse than leave it unacknowledged through a good motive. You haven't been silent for your own sake."

"I am not sure it hasn't been for my own sake."

"I am."

"I wonder," she said, "that Mr. Hawberk hasn't told it himself."

"Well, possibly, he thinks that it wouldn't be credited, that it would be regarded as one of his wild inventions; that is, he thinks that when he is in his soberer moments. When he is under the influence of the drug, he likes to make pleasing romances, and has no desire to mix a tragical ingredient in them."

"Then Mr. Langbrith has ruined a soul!"

"Yes," Anther admitted, "he has done something like that. And the most terrible thing is, that he holds the man in bondage now much more securely than he could have held him living. If they were both still alive, there would be some means of righting the wrong that has been done. Some pressure could be brought upon him to make him do Hawberk justice."

"No, no, he would know how to get out of that." She rose and closed the door opening into the library. She had meant to do it quietly, and without self-betrayal; but, in the nervous stress that was on her, she brought it to with a clash, and then she felt obliged to explain: "It always seems as if it were listening," and Anther knew that she meant the portrait over the library mantel.

"At any rate," the doctor resumed, "he makes it hard for you to do him justice now. You do the best you can, and perhaps it is the best that any one could do. I suppose that a moralist, like Enderby, for instance, would say that the secrecy which Hawberk's

misfortune promotes is the worst part of it. You pay Hawberk an income from a stolen invention, and he goes about bragging of the inventions which he has in the hands of Boston capitalists. Perhaps, it is not even possible for him to tell the truth, in the perversion of his nature through his habit."

"What was he like before he took to it, Dr. Anther?" she asked, from the security she felt in shutting out the portrait. "I know that he took it up in the misery he felt at being trapped and robbed, and it was his only escape."

"Do you mean, whether he was inclined some such way?"

"I have sometimes wished that he were."

"He may have been," the doctor mused. "I knew him very little before I came here. But there is a sort of crime, isn't there, in pushing a man in the direction of a natural propensity? You don't want to palliate what was done?"

"Mr. Langbrith was capable of any crime," she answered. "Sometimes I have to shield his memory. But I don't wish to do it when I needn't. That is the comfort, the rest, of talking with you. I can't tell you what a kind of awful happiness it is to say out to you the things I cannot say to any one else. You will think I am crazy, but the next greatest happiness I have is in hoping that his fancy is taken with her, and that somehow it can be made up to them in that way. And yet there is a ghastliness in that, too, that is awful."

He knew that now she was talking of her son and of Hawberk's daughter. When she added, "She ought to know, at least," he said:

"Oh, everybody ought to know. But it is no more possible for her to be told than for any one else. I should be glad if he could get so good a girl. She is a beautiful creature, too, as well as good. Well!"

He rose from his chair, but from hers she entreated almost unawares, "Oh, don't go! Or, I oughtn't to say it!"

"No, Amelia, you oughtn't. If you said something else, I need never go." He looked at her sadly, and her head drooped. "You let me see an image of home, like this, and then you take it from me. Well! I must submit. Good night." He put out his hand to her, but she would not take it.

She lifted her eyes to his, "You haven't asked me if I tried to speak to James. I didn't!"

"I knew that."

"Perhaps I should—perhaps I should have tried, this morning, when we were alone, if— But perhaps I couldn't."

"If what?"

"If he hadn't fancied that you did something last night that showed dislike of Mr. Langbrith."

"What was it I did?"

"Something in the way you received his suggestion of the memorial tablet."

"Oh, he noticed that? Well, I couldn't help it."

"I know you couldn't. Do you think I blame you?"

"I believe we don't blame each other, Amelia."

"And you don't feel hard towards me for not trying?"

"I didn't expect you to try."

"But why shouldn't we go on like this—the way we have gone on for twenty years? Why shouldn't you be just my friend as long as you live? We are not young, and we couldn't expect what young people expect of marriage."

"I expect a great deal more," he said. "You are solitary, and so am I. I have never had a home, and you could give me one. I have never had companionship at the time when a man wants it most, and you could be my companion. I want some one to talk to and to be silent to, when I feel the need of either. You could be my daughter, my mother, my sister. Why do you make me say these things to you?"

"Well, then, why not come and let me be it here? Why not come and make this your home? I know James wouldn't object. I believe he would like to have you live with us. He has always been used to you—" Anther shook his head.

"Yes, yes," she persisted. "We could give you all the room you wanted in the house here, and you could have Mr. Langbrith's office for your office, out there by the gate. I have thought how it could be done—"

"It couldn't be done, Amelia. The talk it would make in a place like Saxmills!"

"There wouldn't be any talk. You have been here so long, and you are so respected. You have always been our doctor, and you have been in and out here day and night. You are like one of the family. You could come now, when Mrs. Burwell is going to give up her house, and you will have to go somewhere else, anyhow. It hasn't made talk your living there with her all these years, and why should your living here do it? Sit down now, and let me tell you—"

She had put her hand, unconsciously, on his arm and was nervously pinching the sleeve. He took her hand away and held it in his own. "I never think of Mrs. Burwell, nor she of me; but we two would always be thinking of each other. It wouldn't do, my dear, and you know it."

She broke out piteously, "I am so afraid of James!"

"Yes, I understand that, and I should be afraid of him, too, if I came here to live with you, unless I came as your husband. In that case, I shouldn't be afraid of him."

"Ah, you hate him! I can see it by the way you say that. What shall I do?"

"Nothing, Amelia, except be reasonable. I don't hate your son; how could I? Of course, your fear of him stands in our way, but I am not at all sure that *he* does. He might have done so, a few years ago, but there is less probability that he would, now."

"How do you mean?"

"He is more rational. He is of a nature that matures late; he is like you, in that, Amelia. That friend of his, that young man told me how slowly James has won upon the liking and understanding of his college mates. They did not like him at first, but now, in his last year, they are beginning to value him, to make allowances for what repelled them, to see how he has changed, and to have an affection for him." In his gloss of Falk's laconic terms, Anther did not feel that he was misinterpreting his statement of Langbrith's Harvard standing; his mother eagerly accepted the version, and imagined it insufficient. "I say this," the doctor went on, "merely to illustrate my meaning. He is now at the age when the mind acts with an insight unknown to it before, and besides—" Anther broke off, and then asked, after a moment, "What reason have you for thinking that he is seriously taken with Hope? How is it different with them from what it has always been?"

"I don't know. Perhaps it is his being away, and then coming back, and finding her changed into a new person. Girls change so suddenly at her age. If he had stayed at home, they might have gone on being boy and girl together always. But as it is— Perhaps it is partly the way I have seen him look at her—with a kind of surprise. And, this morning, he spoke of her with so much— Oh, if it only could be, what a load it would take off my heart!"

"It would take the main obstacle out of our path, too," Anther responded. "He would judge you somewhat more from himself."

Mrs. Langbrith colored faintly, with a kind of shame, which he saw and resented.

"You think it isn't the same thing!"

"No," she owned. "How could I? It is as right for us, though it is different, as it is for them. But—"

She stopped, and even after he had said "Well?" she did not go on immediately.

Then she shook her head, and added, "It wouldn't get over the great obstacle. There would still be—Mr. Langbrith."

"Then," said Anther, harshly, "we must remove that obstacle, that incubus, ourselves. That man's memory mustn't be allowed to be a lifelong nightmare to you. You suffered enough from him when he was alive. We must tell James about him."

"I couldn't."

"Then you must let me."

She slowly turned her head away. "It's too late," she sighed.

"No. Now is just the time. Before this, it would have been too soon. While he was a child, you could not have told him; I understand that; and you had to let him grow up in the superstition of such a father as he imagines. But now he is old enough and strong enough to have his fetish taken from him. You owe it to him to take it. Put me out of the question entirely. I will never speak to you again of what I wish—"

"Oh, do you think that would be any help?" she lamented.

"At any rate, it is the boy's right to know the truth now."

"I always," she tried to evade him, "hoped that some accident—"

"But it never did. And it never will. That isn't the way of accident. It doesn't manage beneficent surprises."

"It is too late. I can't let you tell him the truth, and I can't myself. It must be covered up, more and more! It must be hidden forever. But there is something—something you might do, and you could do it."

"For you?"

"For him—for me."

"Of course, I will do it."

"I don't know. You could help him—help me. What harm would there be in your humoring the child?"

"How, humoring him?"

"Why shouldn't you encourage him—why should you oppose him in putting up that tablet? Or not that! Why should you be so cold with him about it?"

Anther walked out into the hall, and got his hat and coat from the rack there, before he spoke. "Amelia!" he cried with a sternness that he let die out of his voice before he added, "Oh, poor woman! That scoundrel has had power to corrupt even you, even now."

He opened the outer door, and, while she stood on the threshold of the parlor, with entreating hands stretched towards him, he closed the door behind him without looking back at her.

XIII.

Mrs. Burwell came to call Dr. Anther to breakfast as soon as she heard him in his office. He had been up late overnight, and, with the fretful patience which had not failed her in twenty years of obedience, she had obeyed his instructions not to call him in such a case at the established hour of seven. His breakfast was always ready at seven, and it would have been some consolation to give him his breakfast cold, if he ever noticed whether it was cold or hot, but he did not, and she failed of this comfort. Among the reasons which had decided her at last to give up housekeeping and go to live with her married daughter in Nashua, the irregularity of Dr. Anther at breakfast would have been found first by any one who cared to study them, but it was one which she urged last upon the inquirer's attention. She said that it had been clearly agreed upon at the beginning, and that she was not one to take back her word.

He sat before his desk opening his letters, with his revolving bookcase by his side, and, in the long case between the two windows behind him, the pendulent skeleton which he had bought with his practice, from his predecessor. When the case was closed, it looked like a grandfather's clock in shape, and when it was open it still suggested the intimate relation of time and death. There

was a table in the room, and over this were scattered medical periodicals, and other publications more suited to the taste and intelligence of patients waiting for his return when he was out. There were some hard chairs which did not invite their fancy from the stern realities of life by luxurious appeals to the senses.

"Lorenzo Hawberk's b'en here," Mrs. Burwell complained to the back of the doctor's bowed head. "He said he would call in again. I don't know but what you'll find your coffee pretty cold," she lamented farther.

"I'll be there in a minute," Anther said, still without lifting his head, and, when he had quite finished with his morning's mail, he followed her vanishing into the hall without, and thence into the dining-room.

If he had been the sort of man to realize the order of facts to which any article of food belonged by its condition, he would have found not only his coffee cold, but his biscuit and his steak cold too. But he was only vaguely aware of something wrong, as a child is, when it is in discomfort, and his sense extended itself still more vaguely to an impression of the room, and of Mrs. Burwell herself. They were both severely neat, and they were both of the same material and spiritual spareness. Beginning with the hard little knot which Mrs. Burwell's silver sanded hair was tightly drawn up into, away from her face, a more than classic temperance of ornament was characteristic of both. In her and in the room, everything was designed and disposed with a view to not catching dust. The clock on the mantel, supported by two Japanese fans, and the four prints on the four walls, representing severally the Lincoln Family at Breakfast, the Battle of Gettysburg, the long-extinct husband of Mrs. Burwell, and the United States Senate listening to the speech of Mr. Webster of Massachusetts in reply to Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, united with the sideboard, on which there was nothing that could not be shut away in its drawers the moment the breakfast things were washed up, in preserving a condition which not only would not catch dust, but in which there was no dust to catch.

"Did he leave any word?" Dr. Anther answered, not troubling himself to name Hawberk in his question.

"No, he just said he would be back; there was nothing particular the matter. I suppose he's begun again."

Hawberk's habit was so notorious in Saxmills that Mrs. Burwell felt it no violation of that other convention between herself and her tenant, dating from the beginning, like the agreement in regard to breakfast, that she was not to offer any sort of comment upon his patients, their characters, their ailments or affairs. All the same, he snubbed her by his tacit refusal to enter into the case of Hawberk with her.

"Have you heard from your daughter again, Mrs. Burwell?" he asked.

"No, I hain't," she said with an effect of being resolved to have no concealments. "But, as far forth as that goes, I don't know as I expected to."

"Then you are still decided to go to her?"

"Well, yes, I suppose I am," she said as little decidedly in words as a woman well could.

"Supposing won't do," Anther pursued. "I must know whether you really intend to go or not, for I must find some other quarters if you do, and I want time."

"Well, then, I *am*. I suppose I said 'suppose' because I didn't want to seem to be hurrying you up any."

"You'll hurry me up if you don't give me due notice."

Mrs. Burwell's hard mouth and hard eyes joined in the adamantine response which she made. "I'm goin' to leave this house the first day of July, no sooner and no later, as far as I can humanly fix it."

"Oh, well, then," Anther said, "that gives me plenty of time to look about. I thought you were going in June."

"Well," she admitted reluctantly, and without that bravado of frankness which she had shown before, "I did some think of goin' in June, and I did think I might as well stay the summer out here. It's full more comfortable than what it is in Nashua, with the heat, and it's easier to begin in a new place where you've got to be shut up a good deal, anyway, by beginnin' in the fall of the year."

"Yes, that is so," the doctor granted, and Mrs. Burwell chose to read a sympathy into his words which they did not express.

"I presume that I shall feel the change, and I presume you will, some."

"Yes, I shall hate the moving."

"That's what I mean. And I wonder you want to move. Why don't you take the house yourself? It 'll be to rent when I give it up. You could keep your old rooms here, and get somebody in to do for you—I don't know but what Orlando himself could. He's real handy about a house, and he knows your ways—till you could get somebody to take the rest of the house. You could meal out; you're so irregular, anyway. I declare I feel bad about breakin' you up here, and I don't like to have anybody comin' in that I don't know."

"Thank you, Mrs. Burwell," Anther said to the part of her speech that demanded thanks from him.

"I don't, one bit," she continued with the other part. "And still I don't want to have it, as you may say, layin' empty."

"No, it would be a certain expense, and you would get no return from it."

"Yes, and a house wears out faster when it's empty. I'd be willing to let it to anybody that would take good care of it for two hundred and fifty a year."

"That would be reasonable."

"Why, it wouldn't hardly more than pay the repairs and taxes,"

Mrs. Burwell urged. "I shouldn't expect to make anything on it, though goodness knows I need to, with everything as dear as they say it is to Nashua. I expect to pay good board to my daughter, though I presume I shall do enough about the house to make up without payin' anything."

"Well, I'll see about it."

"So do." Mrs. Burwell did not rise, but stretched her long arm across the table for the doctor's plate; she cleaned it into her own, and began to put the table in order for his uncertain dinner before he left the room. He went out of the side door upon a back porch, where Mrs. Burwell considered it neater to do certain parts of her housework than indoors, and more convenient for the disposal of pea-pods, squash seeds, and all kinds of cores and peelings, as well as those bits of refuse from fowls and butcher's meat, which she could throw to the hens, netted into their yard beside the stable, without having contaminated her kitchen with them. She preferred to work there not only in summer, but as far into the winter as she could bear the cold, and wrapt up as to her head and shoulders she defied the elements till after Thanksgiving and well towards Christmas. Her back yard, between this porch and the stable, was as clean as the front yard, which dropped from the terrace where the house stood, and sloped three yards and no more to the white paling fence in the gloom of four funereal firs, cropped upwards, as their boughs died of their own denseness, till their trunks showed as high as the chamber windows. The house was painted of a whiteness which age had never been suffered to soften, but was as coldly fresh as the green of the shutters; it had been there thirty years, but it stood as prim and new to the eye in every detail as if it had been finished the week before. Mrs. Burwell herself never appeared in the front yard except to pick up the fir twigs dropped in the spindling grass that bearded the terrace; in the immediate shadow of the trees no grass grew, and the ground was matted with the dark-brown decay of their spray and spills, and looked as if it were burnt over.

Dr. Anther, noted that his buggy must have been driven to the front gate, since there were no signs of it at the stable door, and he walked round the house, and looked up at its frigid façade with a novel interest. It had been long since he had looked at it, though he had daily gone in and out, and had slept in the northeast chamber, ever since he had been Mrs. Burwell's lodger. A certain shallowness of the structure now appeared to him, and he realized that the front was but one room deep on each side of the door, and that it shrank behind into the ell which imperfectly supported its pretensions of squareness, by stretching into an indefinite extent of kitchen and woodshed beyond the dining-room. He perceived that he had the two best rooms, but that the parlor, and the chamber above it, which was kept as a guest-room, though he could not remember when there had been a guest in it, were as large, if not as

pleasant, as his own. From the fact of back stairs, he had always inferred a chamber over the dining-room, and he had conjectured something of the sort in the sloping roof of the kitchen. There were then eight rooms in all, and it did not seem to Anther, though he gave the matter no very distinct thought, that there were too many for the money that Mrs. Burwell proposed getting for it in a place like Saxmills. He dropped his cursory glance from the façade to the front door, and noted with the sort of novel interest that the whole had inspired, the name of Justin Anther, M.D., on its small, glass-framed plate, and then he went indoors.

There was some one waiting for him in his office, and he said "Ah, Hawberk!" in greeting of the presence which he had inferred from the legs he had first seen, as they stretched across the perspective of the doorway.

The man got to his feet with a certain alertness, which was more like a reminiscence of past activity than an actual fact, and offered the doctor a wasted hand. He looked shrunken within his clothes, and his greenish-brown complexion, blotched with patches of deeper brown, where the skin showed above the lustreless beard, was lighted with eyes which were still beautiful, though their black was dimmed by the suffering through which they had sunk into their cavernous sockets.

"Good morning, Doctor," Hawberk said, and he added courteously, "I hope to see you well?"

"I'm fairly well," Anther said, facing round in his swivel-chair, which he had taken at once. "Sit down, won't you? When did you get back?"

"Oh, I've been back some time—about a fortnight, I should say. But I've been pretty busy, with a little thing of mine that I'm working at, and I haven't been about the town much."

"I hope my old friend Fredericks was able to do for you what you wanted?"

"Oh, yes, oh, yes," Hawberk answered, nervously, but with a vagueness that did not seem to belong with the quickness. "He set me up. I'm all right now."

"Gone back to it since your return?"

"Well, no. I can't say that, exactly. Still I don't think it's well to make an entire break. I think the tonic effect is good, don't you?"

"Perhaps. If you don't make it too tonic. How much have you got back to?"

"Well, it ain't worth mentioning. Two or three spoonfuls after meals, and as many more at night."

"Dreams all they ought to be?"

"Oh, yes, they're all right, now. I'm out of that pit that used to give me so much trouble. I don't have to keep digging at it the whole night now, as I used to before I went to the Retreat. Dr. Fredericks pulled me out of that fairly well. There is a small

matter of old bones and a skull or two," Hawberk added with a jocosity that did not make Anther smile. "But the great thing is that I understand it's a dream even while I'm dreaming it, and I guess I shall be able to break it up if I keep realizing it. And it doesn't seem to last so long. I think that's a decided gain, don't you?"

"It's not a loss," the doctor admitted.

"It's a fighting chance, and I'm taking all the fighting chances there are. I've fairly got the upper hand. If you were to tell me to leave the whole thing off, I could do it, and not turn a hair."

Anther made no answer, and Hawberk sank from his bragging note into a dull, confused tone, as he rubbed his hand over his forehead tremulously. "There was something I wanted to tell you about—"

The doctor prompted him after a moment's wait, "Anything about your condition?"

"No, no." As if he could not recall the thing he was groping for, Hawberk said, with a sort of provisionality, "I stopped in Boston on my way up yesterday, and saw that man who has my new patent in hand. He's a great fellow, and he's working it for all its worth. He's sold territory over the whole country, and up into Canada. Why, Doctor, he's got twenty thousand dollars for the Canadian rights alone, up to date, and I come in for a clean half of the money! I'm going to build, this spring. I've as good as bought that hill back of my house—got an option on it—and I'm going to build up there and keep the old place where we are for a shop. Have a walk slanting down to it over the corner of the hill, but have the main entrance to the new place by a flight of stone steps from the street. Have the whole front of the hill terraced. I've got a landscape architect in Boston studying it out for me. I was telling Jim Langbrith about it last night. He brought Hope home from the party at his mother's, and we got talking, and— Oh, yes. Now I know what it is I wanted to speak with you about, Doctor. It's a very confidential matter, and I don't know anybody that I'd like to trust with it except you. You at their house last night?"

"Yes," Anther owned.

"Well, all right. I couldn't go with Hope myself, for I had that man up from Boston that's handling my new patent. Had to send Mrs. Langbrith an excuse by Hope. But you saw them together, didn't you? And what did you think? Think there was anything serious? I mean in Hope. Because I know there is in him. He asked me last night if I had any objections to their getting married as soon as he is out of college. I haven't talked with Hope, and I don't know, except from him, how she feels."

Hawberk tried to fix Anther with the dull eyes that had once been brilliantly black and bold, but now seemed to slip in their glance, and he paused in the monologue which was like sleep-talking, a continuous babble, unbroken in its flow by the questions that interspersed it.

The doctor rubbed his chin and stared back at him. "Are you sure of what you say, Hawberk?"

"Sure!"

"Because, you know, you sometimes can't tell the facts from the dreams."

"Oh, but I can this time. I couldn't be mistaken about a thing like that. What do you advise me to do? I've got plenty of means to meet the Langbriths half-way on any money proposition. As things are going with me now, I could give Hope a hundred thousand dollars the day she was married. And Jim Langbrith comes of good old stock. I consider his mother the finest lady I ever met, and he's his mother all over again—looks like her, talks like her, *walks* like her. I haven't forgot how she used to come up and nurse my poor wife, and it would be kind of appropriate having the two families brought together again, the same as Langbrith and I used to be in business. Well, now I'd like to get your opinion, doctor. I haven't spoken to my mother-in-law yet, because if the thing doesn't strike you favorably I don't want it to go any farther. I want to stop it right here." He lowered his voice from the high note to which it had been climbing back, and looked round him furtively. "You don't think there's any likelihood of that little green fellow coming back? I can get along now with the bones and the skulls, but that dwarf—"

"Have you seen him again?" Anther asked, soberly.

"No, not what you may call *seen*. But I feel as if I might, any minute."

"Well, you know there's no more reality in him than there is in those other things."

"Yes, I understand that."

"But you *will* see him, if you get to letting yourself go."

"Yes," Hawberk assented with a long breath. "If he wasn't green—kind of mouldy—" He stared, and after a moment he said, "What I want is something that will take me out of myself, good and strong."

Anther was apparently not heeding. He said sharply, "Hawberk! Can you carry your mind back to that old difficulty between you and James's father?"

Hawberk glanced at the doctor, slyly. "What old difficulty?"

"You must know. When you first began to lose sleep, and took up this habit."

The slyness passed into vagueness, then the vagueness gathered itself into a look of fury, which lost itself with the words in which it exploded: "Damn him!"

"Yes. Just what was it?" Anther pursued.

The vagueness came back, and then the slyness. "Why, there wa'n't anything that you may call a difficulty, doctor. All that's past and gone. We both agreed not to say anything more about it. He never did, and I haven't. Ever strike you that that skull of

mine—that one I've had so much trouble with—looked like— Well, I've been thinking, since I saw Jim, last night— "

Anther shook his head, kindly. "That's your fancy, Hawberk. But you did feel injured, badly used at the time, didn't you? Try to think. You know you used to tell me things very different from those you have got to saying since, and I have a reason for wishing to find out the original facts, just now. They may have a bearing on an important matter—important to us both. You put in your invention, didn't you, and then he forced you out?"

Hawberk looked down and passed his hand over his forehead. "There was something like that. But he paid me a good round sum for the invention, and a big bonus for going out, didn't he?"

"You ought to know. Was that really the case, or is it what you've imagined since?"

"Why, I should say it was the case." A fear, the look of a man at some time deeply intimidated, supplanted the slyness in Hawberk's blotched-brown visage. "It's a thing I've agreed not to talk about. He lets me alone because I don't. He's got my promise, and I've got his. If I didn't keep my word, he would be over the wall the first time I fell asleep. You don't catch *me*."

"Come! come!" Anther said, severely. "You mustn't talk that kind of nonsense to me. I tell you, I am quite in earnest, and I would like to know the bottom facts. You needn't be afraid of trusting me with them. You know, as well as I do, the unreality of those troubles of yours. They come from opium, and from nothing else. Now, was there any hold that Langbrith had on you, enabling him to force your consent to going out of the business, and giving him the entire usufruct of your invention? I want you to answer that fairly and squarely. Was there, or wasn't there?"

Hawberk passed his hand over his tormented brow again. "There was something, Doctor. It's strange. It seems as if there was a hold I had on him. But it must have been a hold he had on me. I can't straighten that out. That appears to be the trouble with me. I don't see why I didn't use the hold if I was the one that had it, unless—unless it was something about Mrs. Langbrith. Do you suppose it was? She had been good to my wife; she took care of her in those last days— Oh, my God, how they come back! Doctor, do you wonder I took to it? To get a little sleep! Once I went a fortnight without knowing I had any, if I had any. It was hell. Nothing since from the opium— Ah, I can't think it out!"

"Try," Anther insisted. "It is very essential." He rose from his chair, and began to walk restively up and down the room, while Hawberk lay dreamily staring at the windows, which Anther's person showed itself against, now one and now the other, as he paced to and fro. "I—I don't know but I'm getting it," he began. The doctor's foot struck a plank that gave under it, and the door of the long case fell softly open. Hawberk scrambled to his feet with a shuddering cry. "Oh, for God's sake, what's that?"

"You know—you know well enough!" Anther shouted. "Don't be a fool! It's that old skeleton that you've seen a hundred times. I've had it ever since I've been here, and Hillward before me. Now, do have a little sense. It's a *real* one, and it can't bother you like those fancy ones of yours."

He went up to Hawberk, and put his hands on him to stay his trembling. "What—what does a man want to keep a thing like that around for?" Hawberk faltered out, helpless to take his eyes from the quivering thing that slightly turned as it dangled. "Shut it up!"

Anther obeyed, and Hawberk dropped nervelessly into his chair. "Lord, I don't see how I'm to get home."

The doctor looked at him grimly, then pityingly, then despairingly, as to any hope of further light from him then on the point he wished to clear. "I'm driving up your way. I'll take you. There's my buggy at the door."

"Oh, thank you, doctor," Hawberk said, and he found strength to follow him out into the hall where his hat and coat hung, and got out of the house first.

(To be Continued.)

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WHY JAPAN RESISTS RUSSIA.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY KOGORO TAKAHIRA, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM JAPAN TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE task of explaining Japan's motives in resisting the accomplishment of Russia's aims in the Far East is not a difficult one. Nevertheless, I undertake it with some hesitation, because the causes which brought about the present situation have been so frankly explained by my Government that further comment seems almost superfluous. Possibly, however, there may be an impression in some minds that Japan has gone to war from motives of ambition, or that her success would endanger the interests of friendly nations; and, to controvert even a problematical belief of that kind, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to recapitulate the facts.

The fundamental purpose of Japan's action has been to safeguard vital interests which would be seriously menaced if Russia absorbed Manchuria, and followed that by the inevitable sequence of such action, the absorption of Corea. There is no reason to doubt that the latter step forms part of the general scheme of Russia's advance in the Far East. Her course in Manchuria points to the conclusion that she intends to make its provinces, sooner or later, a part of the Russian Empire. Russia once in

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undisputed possession of Manchuria, the Corean peninsula would be an easy prey; and there is nothing in what we know of the rules that govern Russian policy in the Far East that suggests the belief that the temptation would be resisted.

To Japan everything affecting Corean affairs is of the gravest consequence. Occupancy by a foreign Power would mean, at the very least, the restriction of the commerce and of the peaceful activities of her people in the most promising field for their development on the continent of Asia. If the occupying Power were Russia, it would mean far more; because it would certainly entail measures of self-protection which could not but become a serious drain upon the national resources. I am speaking now, of course, of the political control of Corea by another Power. So far as commercial and other legitimate enterprises are concerned, Japan has never had the slightest desire either to prevent their introduction or to hamper their growth. On the contrary, if she had a deciding voice in the matter, such influences would be welcomed and fostered, as they contribute to the development of an independent, enlightened and prosperous nation; and that is precisely what Japan wishes Corea to be. Near neighborhood and the distribution of power in Asia make the welfare of the peninsular empire a matter of such vital concern to Japan that, from motives of policy, if for no other reason, she must favor anything which raises Corea in the scale of civilization and tends to prevent the recurrence of those chaotic conditions which endanger Corean and Japanese interests alike. Corea's first modern treaty, the treaty which introduced her into the family of nations, was made with Japan. It was based on principles of mutual equality and removed Corea from the anomalous position she then occupied, which rendered her a tempting object for aggression and conquest. The Japanese treaty was followed by one with the United States, and that by others with European Powers. Japan welcomed each one as another safeguard to the maintenance of the national entity of Corea so essential to her own repose and security. The relations of the two countries since that time have grown in importance. Notwithstanding several stormy episodes, these relations have been, on the whole, amicable and mutually beneficial; and, I firmly believe, an impartial verdict would be that Japan's conduct toward her weaker neighbor has been considerate and helpful. The war with China was the direct result

of Japan's desire to maintain Corean independence, by preventing the continuance of a state of affairs which gave rise to the most serious complications. While one of the results of that war was, happily, the establishment of more cordial relations between Japan and China, in nothing that followed can there be found a trace of diminution of any of Corea's attributes as an independent State.

I have dwelt upon this phase of the question because, as I indicated at the outset, Japan's relations with Corea furnish the keynote of the situation. It is true that Japan has commercial interests in Manchuria, to the profitable development of which under normal conditions she had every reason to look forward with confident expectation. It is true, also, that under the policy inaugurated by Russia since her occupation of Manchuria this commerce has been threatened, if not with extinction, certainly with serious restriction. But considerations of this nature, and the injustices they entail, grave though they undoubtedly are, could never be regarded as sufficient reason for a resort to war. Other nations have important commercial interests in Manchuria which are affected injuriously by Russia's action in the same manner as those of Japan. But to no nation, except to China and Corea, has the trend of Russian policy in the Far East during the past few years been of such moment as to Japan. What was the ultimate object of that policy? Viewing the steadily widening area of Russian encroachment, a definite answer to that question became imperatively necessary. If Russia's ambition was as voracious as her actions, if not her words, indicated, there was no time to be lost in at least attempting to secure guarantees of safety. It has been said of Russia that she moves along the line of least resistance, but always moves, slowly, irresistibly, like a glacier. But since 1895 she has moved by leaps, and not always along the path where resistance was least to be expected. She effected the retrocession of Port Arthur, on the ground that its occupation by a foreign Power was a menace to the peace of the East and the integrity of China. Within three years, she held Port Arthur herself, under a nominal lease; and since then, by the expenditure of millions, she has made it a second Gibraltar. She obtained China's consent to shorten the Siberian railway by the construction of a line, under her own and China's joint control, south of the Amur. That simple concession quickly led to

others; until, finally, a system of railways was evolved which gave Russia strategic control of the whole of North China, the share of China herself in the direction of the project having meanwhile dwindled into insignificant proportions. These symptoms of almost feverish activity in the extension of the Russian sphere of domination in the Far East culminated in the armed occupation of the whole of Manchuria, upon pretexts for which the Boxer troubles furnished occasion. Coincidently, there were indications of similar activity in Corea. Russian agents, official and unofficial, were pursuing a course that plainly indicated a design to gain control of important strategic points. In particular, there was an endeavor to widen a concession obtained by a Russian Company for cutting timber upon the Yalu into a project not unlike that carried out under the Manchurian concessions. The Japanese Government could not fail to view these movements with grave concern. It had shared in the settlement of the questions resulting from the Boxer disturbances on the same footing with other Treaty Powers, and had sought to gain no special advantage for Japan. Russia, on the other hand, retained possession of Manchuria long after the disturbances in China had ceased; and, although she had bound herself by treaty to withdraw her troops, signs were not wanting that she did not intend to keep the pledge except upon conditions still undivulged.

Such was the situation in the spring of last year. It then became known that the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking, M. Plancon, was endeavoring to obtain additional pledges from the Chinese Government preliminary to the Russian evacuation. Denial was made at the time that such conditions had been proposed with the sanction of the Russian Government; but the fact remains that they were embodied by M. Plancon in an official communication, and that the Chinese Government regarded them as an expression of the wishes of Russia. Their plain intent was to place Manchuria as firmly under Russian control as would have been the case had Russia possessed the actual sovereignty. One stipulation, in particular, is of especial interest to Americans in the light of recent events. It read as follows:

"That the Chinese Government will not make any decision with regard to the opening to foreign trade of any new treaty-ports in Manchuria, and the establishment of foreign Consuls there, without previous consultation with the Imperial Government."

M. Plancon was not successful, however, in obtaining China's assent to this, or to any other of the proposals he had made as conditions precedent to the fulfilment by Russia of her pledge to withdraw her forces from Manchuria. Then M. Lessar, the Russian Minister, returned to Peking, and there is incontrovertible proof of the fact that, soon after his return, he began negotiations identical in purpose with those which had been carried on by M. Plancon. Russia was, apparently, not willing to perform a treaty obligation originally unconditional, except upon terms not mentioned when she first incurred it. The nature of those terms can be judged from the demand made by M. Lessar upon the Chinese Government, as late as last September, that all mining, forestry and other similar concessions in Manchuria should be granted to Russia. Whether the Russian Government was aware of M. Plancon's original demands or not, or of M. Lessar's practical revival of them, it finally conceded the fact that negotiations were being carried on at Peking to "safeguard" Russia's interests preliminary to the evacuation of Manchuria. In July it informed the Treaty Powers that it had no intention of objecting to the opening of new treaty-ports, without "foreign settlements," for the development of trade.

The curious uncertainty which these occurrences disclosed regarding Russia's real intentions with reference to the future status of Manchuria, was the immediate cause which induced Japan to take the initial step to obtain from her a definite and binding understanding as to their respective interests in Corea and Manchuria. This step was taken in obedience to a duty which it would have been folly to disregard. In the presence of a situation that was becoming acute, and in the light of events hastening to a culmination that could not but be disastrous to her interests, self-protection demanded immediate action on Japan's part.

The first note formally embodying the views of the Japanese Government was sent to the Russian Government on the 12th of last August. I do not think I can do better than to quote in full the first three articles proposed therein as the basis of an agreement, since they embody the substance of Japan's case. They are as follows:

"*First.* A mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Corea;

"*Second.* A mutual engagement to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries; and

"*Third.* Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria; and mutual recognition of the right of Japan and Russia, respectively, to take measures for the protection of the above-mentioned interests, *in so far as such measures do not violate the principles enunciated in Article I.*"

These articles embraced, in principle and scope, Japan's representations, from which there was no variation on her part during the progress of the negotiations. I desire to correct, at this point, the impression which seems to have been formed in some quarters, that the Japanese Government insisted upon its right to fortify the Straits of Corea, and thereby to menace not only Russia's line of communication between Vladivostock and Port Arthur, but also free navigation by the commerce of the world in those waters. The question was raised in one of the Russian counter proposals, and the Japanese Government in reply professed its willingness to engage not to interfere with the free navigation of the Straits of Corea. It could not, however, bind itself not to use any part of the territory of Corea for strategic purposes, especially in view of Russia's insistence upon a free hand in that respect, as well as in other respects, in Manchuria. In fact, the only agreement Russia would make regarding Manchuria was, not to impede the exercise of Japan's treaty rights, provided Japan would recognize the provinces as without her sphere of interest, and consent, moreover, to the establishment of a neutral zone comprising practically one-third of Corea, two conditions to which Japan had refused to accede before the proposition regarding Manchuria was made.

It is needless, however, to dwell further upon the details of the negotiations. They are now open to the world, and I firmly believe that the most careful scrutiny will show that my Government acted throughout in a spirit of moderation and conciliation. Each side may be confident of the justice of its cause; but, for our part, we can point to established facts as proof of the sincerity of our motives. If stress is laid upon the fact that Japan made warlike preparations during the progress of the negotiations, it need only be answered that, before negotiations began, Russia's military establishment in Manchuria and elsewhere in the Far East was out of all proportion to any apparent necessity, and that

thereafter there was no cessation in the effort to increase its strength and efficiency. In view of this, it would have been folly on Japan's part not to prepare for the most serious eventuality.

I trust I have offered some proof of the suggestion with which I began this article, that there is no foundation for the belief that Japan was prompted to war by ambition, or that her success, if happily she be successful, implies any danger to other nations. To thoughtful Japanese, there can be no greater cause for wonder than the conjecture whether their country's success may not be the precursor of a new alignment of races, Oriental on the one side, Caucasian on the other. To them it seems no more than a chimerical dream, a suggestion of memories of the age of Genghis Khan, impossible of achievement in these better days of intimate intercourse and mutual interdependence among all nations.

Let me add, also, that those who endeavor to attach some measure of reproach to Japan by characterizing this as a war between a Christian and a non-Christian country, fail utterly to appreciate the efforts my countrymen have made to conform to the spirit as well as to the practices of modern civilization. Freedom of religious belief is as firmly guaranteed in Japan as in any country in the world; and I speak with no thought of self-laudation or of invidious comparison when I express the belief that rectitude of thought and conduct will be as fully exemplified by the actions of my countrymen during the present struggle as by those of their adversaries. Assured of the justice of our cause, yet not desirous of escaping judgment founded on knowledge, we do feel that we have the right to expect exemption from narrow-minded criticism based on prejudices of race or of creed.

K. TAKAHIRA.

ENGLAND AND THE WAR.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

PERHAPS the wisest word that has yet been said on the present conflict between Japan and Russia is the application to it of Hegel's famous formula. It is not a struggle between right and wrong, but between right and right; or, to expand and emphasize the phrase, it is a struggle between might and might, between necessity and necessity. It was the fate, but in no way the fault, of Russia and Japan to be so placed that policies, deemed not merely profitable but absolutely essential by each, could be neither prosecuted without the certainty of conflict nor abandoned without a sacrifice such as no nation will peacefully submit to. Their antagonism from first to last has been in no sense artificial, or spasmodic, but permanent, deep-seated and unavoidable. And being so, one may add by way of parenthesis, the present war, whichever way it ends, cannot finally disarm or suppress it. To suppose otherwise is altogether to underestimate the forces that have necessitated it. For our day and generation, the issue may be decisive enough; but an antipathy of fundamental interests so vital as that which has driven Russia and Japan to arms is beyond compromise or adjustment, and the issues involved in it are too inseparably bound up with the first principles of national existence to be settled off-hand by a few campaigns.

To realize that this must be so, and to gauge the unalterable character of the factors that make up the problem, it is almost enough to supplement a glance at the map with the most elementary knowledge of Russia and Japan. To Japan, with her rapidly growing population, her restricted area and the change she is undergoing from a mainly agricultural to a mainly industrial State, unhampered intercourse with Corea is a commercial necessity. Corea is the Japanese granary, the outlet for Japanese

colonization, and the chosen and zealously exploited field for Japanese industrial expansion. Nowhere in the world is the Japanese stake so heavy. The overwhelming bulk of the banks, railways, shipping, domestic trade and financial interests of the Hermit Kingdom is in Japanese hands. Sentimental and historical bonds re-enforce the more tangible ties of commerce and emigration. But above and beyond them all is the dominating influence of strategy. A foreign Power established on the Corean peninsula would be a permanent and intolerable menace to Japanese security. Russia in Corea, it has often and truly been said, could starve or strangle Japan, or do both at will. The "arrow pointed at Japan's heart," fitted in a Russian bowstring and held by a Russian hand, would by its mere possibilities paralyze Japan's initiative, bankrupt her with the necessity of guarding against such a result, and reduce the Mikado to an ignoble vassalage. Ever since the new Japan came to a sense of its position and power, there has on this matter been but one determination—Corea must be either independent or Japanese. In literal and solemn truth, this is felt to be an issue of life or death. "Corea," said an eminent Japanese statesman, "must be Russian or Japanese, and to make it the latter every one of Japan's two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers will die, if need be, to achieve this victory for his Emperor, this act of international justice, this guarantee of the safety of the Japanese nation. And, after our soldiers are gone, the nation itself—man, woman and child—will battle, forty millions of us, till the last yen is gone and the last life yielded. It is with us no statesman's policy; it is with us the settled purpose and the burning passion of a people."

Here, obviously, is one of those primal and inexorable forces that cannot be guided, that can scarcely be restrained, by any statesmanship. And has there not for years been advancing from the opposite direction a force equally instinctive, equally uncontrollable? No one who has studied the history and character of Russian expansion over Northern Asia—as irrepressible, spontaneous, almost unconscious in its beginnings as the instinct which drove the English to plant their colonies by every sea—will hesitate long for an answer. If, through this movement, one can detect the thread of any high and deliberate political motive, it is the legitimate one of finding an outlet to the water. What limits can be set to its colossal march? The only frontier, it has long

been agreed, that Russia will recognize is the frontier imposed by nature or a stronger Power. The absorption of Corea was to Russia simply the next, and in that direction the last, stride onward in her imperial progress. And what instinct prompted, policy confirmed. The Corean peninsula is a wedge driven in between Vladivostock and Port Arthur. Without the control of either shore of the Straits, Russia could not feel herself strategically secure, and all the impulse of her past and the commanding necessities of the present must finally have tempted her to secure the essential connecting link. This, of course, is not to claim that Corea was or could be a matter of the paramount necessity to Russia that it always must be to Japan. But the possession of it would be an asset of such extraordinary importance, the loss of it would be a disadvantage so decisive and permanent in its character, that any Power in Russia's situation would be justified in fighting for Corea if there were a reasonable prospect of success. The domination of the Peninsula by Japan would tragically duplicate for Russia in the Far East the very dangers which threaten her from England in the Persian Gulf and from Germany in the Baltic. Indeed, it would do more. It would not only decide against her the naval supremacy of the Pacific, but it would install on the flank of her sole line of communication, the Manchurian railway, a resolute and highly organized enemy. And this, so far as it goes, is the true answer to those light-hearted solutions of the Russo-Japanese difficulties that were based upon handing over Manchuria to Russia and Corea to Japan. Such a solution might have been a postponement, but it could not have been a settlement. Russia could not permanently acquiesce in the absorption of Corea by Japan without surrendering for good and all the freedom of her outlet on the Pacific. Japan could as little tolerate a perpetual occupation of Manchuria by the Russians without a jeopardy to her future position in Corea as certain and formidable as it is now veiled and inchoate. Russia, again, was peremptorily bound to decline to withdraw from Manchuria unless she was prepared to retire altogether from the Far East, to sacrifice the Manchurian railway. Fundamentally, the ultimate domination or guardianship of China is the stake at issue between Russia and Japan, and in the game that has been played for it Manchuria has been one counter among many. With a prize so vast and vital, with in-

terests clashing with such deadly and irreconcilable antagonism, it were of little utility to follow the course of the negotiations, to attempt to apportion the blame for the resultant issue in war. On the hypothesis, neither Russia nor Japan is to blame at all. Each followed the route prescribed by national interests, and the routes led to a point where retreat was out of the question.

But, if it was beyond the capacity of even the most skilled diplomacy altogether to avert war, the responsibility for bringing war on at this particular moment must largely rest with Great Britain. But for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the Far East might have remained at peace for another decade and more. The average opinion of the world which, overriding official protestations, persisted in seeing in that Alliance a menace to Russia and an encouragement to Japan to fight Russia, was undoubtedly correct. To deny that the Alliance hurried on the crisis and almost guaranteed its development before the allotted five years were past, is to deny that the support of the greatest naval Power in the world, the certainty that any such coalition as stepped in after the Chinese war to rob Japan of the fruits of victory was forestalled and made impossible, and the isolation of Russia, had any weight at all in the councils of Tokyo. The mere fact of the Treaty made it certain that Japan would seize the first favorable opportunity to strike home, and no amount of sophistication can really acquit Lord Lansdowne of having, as it were, fixed a time-limit within which the inevitable should come to pass. That the bulk of public opinion in England supported the Alliance at the time of its formation, and supports it now, is, I think, beyond question. But it is also clear that English statesmen have taken all too little trouble to educate the nation in the immediate responsibilities that the Alliance lays upon Great Britain and in the possibilities that may accrue from it. The approval with which the Treaty was hailed was a dangerously uninstructed approval. After several years of singularly unstable and inefficient diplomacy in the Far East, resulting in a progressive diminution of British prestige, it was an immense relief to find that the British Government had at last made up its mind and definitely committed itself. Public opinion was perhaps less concerned with the specific terms and obligations of the Alliance than with the fact that British diplomacy was henceforward to pursue a fixed and deliberate course. The popular

enthusiasm for Japan, then, as now, a strong and pervasive sentiment among all classes in England, contributed its quota, and it was re-enforced by the equally strong and pervasive antipathy to Russia. No one can doubt that in this war the Japanese have the overwhelming sympathy of England at their backs. This sympathy is accompanied by a national determination to live up to the obligations of the Alliance. England profoundly believes in the capacity of Japan to thrash Russia; and she has no doubt that her own share in the conflict will be confined to the strict neutrality agreed upon in Article II. of the Alliance. I think it no way an exaggeration to say that the possibility of England's being dragged into the war has yet scarcely occurred to popular opinion. The expression of pro-Japanese sentiment has been consequently almost unrestrained.

Nevertheless, there have always been those who objected to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, not only on principle but on its specific demerits. Their objections were based, first of all, on the proposition that a world-wide Empire like the British, liable at any moment to find itself at issue with one or more first-class Powers over questions of vital moment, could only be safely conducted by declining to be placed in the position where an ally could decide which of two questions was the more important to British interests. Secondly, it was urged that the Alliance was unequal, that the integrity of China and Corea, though important, was not vital to Great Britain in the sense in which it was vital to Japan, and that British policy wherever England and Russia were in conflict was placed at the mercy of Japan. Thirdly, it was urged that the Alliance was, in effect, a direct blow to Russia, officially stopped the movement towards an Anglo-Russian understanding, imperilled English relations with France, and played into the hands of Germany. Finally, it was objected that the Alliance was unnecessary, that the integrity of China was in no real danger, that Russia's position in Manchuria was essentially similar to that of England in Egypt, and that the maintenance of Japanese power could have been safeguarded by naval guarantees protecting each party from the attack of a coalition. "An exchange of naval guarantees upon equal terms for all Asiatic purposes," said an English writer at the time, "would have been, under all the circumstances, necessary and advisable. To make an engagement which, if we plunge below its verbiage to its prac-

tical meaning, binds us to back the continental expansion of Japan and to resist the effective occupation on the part of Russia of the territory traversed by the vital extremity of the Siberian Railway, this is what was not advisable and was not necessary." The force of these considerations is, I think, manifest. They did not, nor do they now, enter to any appreciable extent into popular calculations. From the English masses, always lamentably indifferent to foreign affairs and with little or no sense of the unity of external policy, anything like a reasoned appreciation of England's position is not to be looked for. The Government, face to face with a war which it was presumably one of the objects of the Alliance to avert, has lost some of its optimism, but appears otherwise unmoved. There remains, however, a small but authoritative body of opinion which, while hoping for the best, sees in the present dilemma the confirmation of its worst fears, and is harassed by the suspicion that the Government and country are far from realizing the magnitude of the perils that surround them.

To what does England stand committed? There is no misunderstanding the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The essential articles in the Agreement are Articles II. and III. By Article II. it is provided that, if either Great Britain or Japan becomes involved in war with another Power, the other will maintain a strict neutrality and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally. Should any other Power or Powers join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party is bound by Article III. to come to its assistance, to conduct the war in common and to make peace in mutual agreement with it. Lord Lansdowne, in his covering despatch to the British Minister in Tokyo, explained, with admirable clearness, that that part of the Agreement "which renders either of the High Contracting Parties liable to be called upon by the other for assistance, can operate only when one of the allies has found himself obliged to go to war in defence of interests which are common to both, when the circumstances in which he has taken this step are such as to establish that the quarrel has not been of his own seeking, and when, being engaged in his own defence, he finds himself threatened, not by a single Power, but by a hostile coalition." On the letter of the Treaty, therefore, there can be no doubt of England's duty in the present

stage of the war. It is simply that of keeping the course clear, and of doing all it can by diplomacy to prevent France from coming to Russia's assistance. At first sight, no obligation could well seem easier to carry out. With France, as with England, the Far-Eastern question, at all events in its immediate phase, is a secondary interest. Moreover, England and France are at this moment enjoying a period of almost halcyon amity. The relations between France and England began automatically to improve when the explosion of anger with which England greeted the Anglo-German compact in Venezuela made it clear that the British people were set on cutting loose from German influences. And the improvement has continued without any factitious or outside assistance. On both sides of the Channel there has been a disposition on the part of average men to examine the foundations of their disputes, and to see whether, after all, there is so much in them as they have been pretending. A course of quiet reflection, the absence of all immediately pressing differences, and the visits between President Loubet and King Edward, have sensibly made for an exchange of juster estimates. The old suspiciousness has now, on the English side completely, and on the French, too, very largely, withered away. The relations between England and France, in short, are at this moment precisely as every sensible Englishman and every sensible Frenchman would have them; and to both nations the change in the point of view and the new temper in which they approach their mutual difficulties are political assets of the very first order.

France is the ally of Russia and England the ally of Japan, but neither Power is constrained, either by the letter or the spirit of its agreements, to take up arms. If the one refrains, the other will refrain. The solution, therefore, is easy on the surface. Let France and England agree to remain neutral; let each present a silent immobility; let each, as it were, check the other. It is a solution so simple, sensible and sufficient that one immediately begins to suspect it. Politics, international politics especially, are not quite so mathematical and adjustable as all that. The great strength of this solution is that it plainly restricts the area of warfare and preserves peace in Europe; its great error is that it depends on the statics and not the dynamics of the situation, that it presupposes in the Far East a perpetuity of indecisiveness, and overlooks the possibility, nay the certainty,

of the derangement of victory. Before the fortune of war has inclined overwhelmingly to either side, it needs no great self-restraint for England and France to watch the conflict with folded arms. But how will it be when either Russia or Japan has gained an indisputable mastery? Can France afford to stand by and see Russia beaten? Can England afford to stand by and see Japan crushed? At the moment when one or the other of these contingencies is an actual fact, the appeal to the strict letter of the Treaty will have lost its force. Other influences will then come into play, influences of permanent politics, of national necessities, perhaps of uncontrollable popular pressure, certainly of national pride and loyalty; and the question that underlies this Russo-Japanese conflict is whether these influences will be powerful enough to override the formal and prudential policy prescribed by a merely literal reading of Treaty obligations.

It is worth remembering, to take the French case first, that the publication of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement was swiftly followed by a Franco-Russian declaration of common purposes in the Far East:—

> "Being obliged to take into consideration the possible eventuality either of aggressive action on the part of a third Power (*i. e.*, Japan), or fresh troubles in China calling in question the integrity and the free development of China, becoming a menace to their own interests, the two Allied Governments reserve to themselves the right to concert in such case means for assuring their protection."

This declaration, if it meant anything, meant that France and Russia had agreed to stand together, and that the Dual Alliance was no less operative on the Gulf of Pechili than on the frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine. Will its obligations, not merely its written and immediate obligations, but those that are injected into it by circumstances, be wholly fulfilled if France confines herself to checkmating England? Will not a series of Russian reverses, preluding a final defeat, lay upon France an irresistible compulsion to positive action? The French have a profound interest in Russia's success or failure and a national desire to see her win. It is said that in France the Dual Alliance has lost something of its old popularity, that the nation as a whole, and the provinces especially, have chilled towards it, and that only the boulevards retain the enthusiasm of the pre-Fashoda days. There is some truth in that, but not much. In spite of the progressive weaken-

ing of the Triple Alliance and the growing cordiality towards Italy and England, the Dual Alliance remains the corner-stone of French foreign policy. Its alleged one-sidedness is more discussed abroad than in France. The enormous Russian loans raised on the Bourse, and the investments of the French middle classes in Russian industrials, have somewhat blinded the world to an appreciation of the invaluable benefits France has derived from her share in the partnership. Those benefits might all be summed up in a word, the word that Pitt used to crystallize the one object that England aimed at in hunting down Napoleon—"security." France is secure, and not only France but the French Republic. The Alliance removed, once and for all, the charge of political dowdiness which its enemies were continually bringing against the Republic. The moral effect of treating on equal terms with the greatest Power in Europe was worth almost anything to the nervous, sensitive, self-conscious temperament of the French. The Alliance has strengthened internal, and guaranteed external, peace. It has lifted the awful horror of invasion, the sickening sense of helplessness, under the blight of which the nation, a bare fifteen or twenty years ago, was rebuilding itself as from nothing. No other political combination could give France what the Dual Alliance has given her, and the consciousness of this, though it may be concealed, is never really absent from the French mind. In the event of a Russian defeat, there would unquestionably be a strong and sustained movement throughout France against the "betrayal" of her ally. The position of a French Government is never a very strong one; and it would have to face not only the popular fear that if France abandoned Russia in the Far East, Russia might hereafter abandon France in Europe, not only the unescapable conviction that a Russian collapse must react on the fortunes of France and by so much diminish her security, not only the attacks of the Nationalist Opposition who see in war their last chance of ousting the present *régime*, but also the danger that Germany might come to Russia's assistance while France was hesitating, and so fatally undermine the vitality of the Dual Alliance. It is, indeed, an open question whether a secret agreement does not already exist between Germany and Russia, pledging the former, in return for some commercial and territorial concessions, to help the latter to the utmost limits compatible with a formal show of

neutrality. If such an agreement exists, the position of the French Government would be so hazardous, and the force of popular opinion would be so strong, as to make a decisive rally to the Russian side more than probable. No one who soberly estimates the factors I have enumerated and who further considers the possibility, even though it may be only a remote one, that China, fired by Japan's success, may combine with her against the common foe, will be rash enough to assert that the neutrality of France is secured beyond all doubt or chance.

On the other hand, supposing that the war ends or threatens to end in a Japanese defeat, will it be possible for England to remain a passive spectator of an event that would shake her influence, and still more her prestige, from one end of Asia to the other? Is not the maintenance of the power of Japan a British interest? Is there, indeed, any British interest in the Far East stronger than this? Mr. Balfour declared that Great Britain could not permit the destruction of Japan under any circumstances. The Alliance did no more than publicly commit her to a policy already prescribed by the elements of Far-Eastern politics. It added nothing to the argumentative strength of that policy, but it immensely increased the necessity of seeing that it did not fail. British influence, not merely in China but throughout her Asiatic dominions, could never recover the fatal loss of prestige that would follow a failure to spring full-armed to the side of her ally if the need arose. Indeed, there are Englishmen to whom already this is so axiomatic that they have even urged the Government to take up arms at once, and brave the risk of French intervention, sooner than lose the strategic advantage of being able to take the offensive. The country, it is true, has not yet thought out what is to happen if Japan is palpably worsted, and I am not sure that the Government has. But it may be safely prophesied that if and when the question becomes critical, it will be solved in the only way compatible with British honor and British interests. Therein lurks the terrible danger of this strange and momentous conflict to the peace of Europe. The neutrality of France, in the event of a Russian defeat, is at the best a dubious choice between distasteful alternatives. England's neutrality depends on the sea-power of Japan.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

AMERICAN COMMERCIAL UNION.

BY WHARTON BARKER.

THERE are times in the histories of nations when they are prone to abandon the wealth at their own feet to exploit the resources of other peoples; when, dropping thought of the possibilities of trade expansion on natural lines at their own doors, they bend their energies and make national sacrifice to extend their trade with distant countries. Around such trade, especially when won by war and bloody strife, there gathers a glamour that leads people to unduly magnify its importance, and, appealing to their commercial spirit, tempts them on to further territorial expansion as a means to trade expansion, while quite disqualifying them to stop and ask themselves if the possible profit is worth the cost of the enterprise. If they could strip the distant trade of its glamour, and dispassionately weigh it against that which has been overlooked at home, the wealth that has been cast aside undeveloped against that which has been gained from afar, I am sure they would find that they were not pursuing the direct path to their enrichment and happiness and national greatness.

Washington proclaimed the true policy for America. The Monroe Doctrine advanced that policy. Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, unfortunately following British ideals, have put upon us the Philippines, and, in my judgment, forced the American people into a false position in the Far East. We made war upon the people of the Philippines to extend our markets for manufactured goods. We forced upon the Chinese a commercial treaty for the same purposes. We hold the Philippines as a base of operations against China and for no other purpose.

I have been in the Far East, and I believe I understand the Chinese question better than do most of my fellow citizens. We are told by those who act under impulse of the commercial spirit

that, unless we force upon the Chinese commercial treaties favorable to us, the possibilities of trade expansion in China will be closed to us. This idea is more of a bugbear than anything else. But, suppose we grant that to keep open the markets of China we must join Britain and Japan in a display of naval and military strength by sending a powerful fleet to Chinese waters, the question arises: Is it worth our while? And, as the gain to be had is purely commercial, we must consider this question in a purely commercial light. When we consider that China cannot pay in money for the foreign goods her people buy, but must pay for them with goods manufactured by her cheap labor, we must answer that the trade is not advantageous, that it is not worth having. The British Government urges the Government of the United States to foster this trade because of a desire to have the cooperation of this country in the Far East. No consideration would be given to this British desire if the Chinese conditions were understood by the President and Secretary Hay, and there is no opposition from the people of this country to the policy we are pursuing, because they are ignorant of the facts. All the trade with China that is worth having, we shall have without forcing upon the Chinese objectionable treaties. The products we can afford to sell to the Chinese they will purchase, because they need them. In my judgment, there is little to be looked for in the direction of finding increased and sustained markets for our products in China, for there is little doubt that the Chinese will supply their own needs as the consumptive power of the people grows.

So, territorial expansion or no territorial expansion, we need not count on permanently extending our exports to China. We produce nothing that China does not or cannot produce, not even petroleum; and, on her part, she can produce little that we do or may want, save silk and tea. And, as both countries are blessed with unsurpassed natural resources, the people of each country can, in the natural order of things, make that which they want at less expense than it would cost either to import from the other. Consequently, there is no room for a great and advantageous trade to spring up between them. True, because of a lower scale of living, the Chinese may produce goods for a smaller money cost than we can; but for us to purchase such goods would be simply to reduce our own people to the Chinese level; importation of such goods, therefore, we cannot permit if we would have regard to our

own interests. I may add that, not buying more largely from China, China cannot buy more largely from us.

There are countries that we may rightly expect to buy more of our products, and those are the countries which supply products of a kind we do not and cannot profitably produce and which we must therefore import; and these are countries lying in different latitudes from our own. To this requirement of different latitude, I may add the requirement of the same general longitude. This is for the reason that it is cheaper to buy from near markets than from remote markets, cheaper to buy from the West Indies lying at our doors than from the East Indies, cheaper to buy our coffee from Brazil than from Java, the tropical products we consume from Cuba than from the Philippines—and it is cheaper, however much lower may be the money cost of producing in the Philippines, in Java, in China, than in the West Indies or in South America. When natural conditions of production are equal, when the cost of producing in the West and East Indies is the same, while the cost of transportation to our markets is obviously less from the West Indies than from the East, it is to our interest to buy from our neighbors. If we buy under such conditions from the Far East, we simply waste labor in transportation; and even if we fill our needs at less money outlay we by the same act restrict the markets for our products, force down the price of what our own people make, and thus cheapen labor in our country, with the result that nothing is gained, something lost.

What we need to extend our foreign trade in profitable directions is not territorial expansion, but a Customs Union with all the American nations. Outside of trade in Manila hemp, we can only expand our trade with the Philippines at the expense of the trade which by its nature must be most advantageous to us, that is, trade with the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South-American countries; and, therefore, artificial stimulus to trade with the Philippines ought to be discontinued. We can with ease increase the consumptive power of our own people by just laws. Trade will increase greatly between American nations working under one economic system such as I suggest, and the consumptive power of all will increase as the productive power increases.

I have said that, of all our foreign trade, that which it is most worth our while to cultivate is the trade with the countries lying to the south of us. In the very nature of things this must be so,

for they are situated in different climes and their products are of different kinds from ours. Much that they produce we cannot produce. Such products we must buy or go without; and, as we have to buy them, it stands to reason that it is to our advantage to buy them from the nearest market; for, surely, it cannot be to our advantage to bring them six or ten thousand miles when they can be gotten from lands that are distant from our shores only from a few hundred to three thousand miles. The importing merchant, of course, buys where he can buy cheapest, but it is not always to the advantage of a country to buy in the cheapest markets; for buying in the cheapest markets when their wares are cheapest simply because they are made by cheapest labor, amounts to pauperizing one's self. There must be two sides to trade, a selling as well as a buying. And a buying from a land of cheapest men means a selling to such land, selling upon such cheap-men basis. If we buy the greater share of our imports of tropical goods from the East Indies, we must buy a lesser share from the West Indies and South America. And if we buy less from Cuba, Porto Rico and South America, there must come a piling up of products in those countries seeking for an outlet, a consequent fall in prices and a general impoverishment of the peoples of those countries. Receiving smaller returns for their products, their demands for our products must be restricted. Consequently, a natural outlet for the products of our farms and factories would be curtailed, and an increase in outlet to a like extent cannot be hoped for among the poorer peoples of the Far East. So our products would pile up on our markets, and the resulting pressure for sale would force down prices here at home. At last, at some reduced price level, a market would be found, but in finding such market, we would pauperize our own people.

The shorter the distance that we have to bring foreign purchases, the smaller will be the cost of transportation; and, hence, the nearer will our people come in that case, as consumers, to getting such products at the prices the producers receive. It is for this very reason that the home market is preferable to a foreign market, that it is to our advantage to buy what we can of ourselves. To avail ourselves of the cheapness of foreign goods, when such cheapness is the result of cheap labor, is but to entail loss upon ourselves. When any other people have a natural advantage over us, in the production of some article, more than equal to the cost of

transportation, it is of course to our advantage to buy that article in that foreign market, not to keep it out by tariff duties and strive to produce it ourselves. When there are several lands equally enjoying such natural advantage over us, then it is manifestly to our advantage to buy in the nearest of these lands. Now, nearly all the products that we cannot now produce on terms of equality with all the world, so far as natural conditions favorable to production are concerned, are tropical products; and they are, moreover, products for the production of which the conditions are as favorable in the countries lying to the south of us as anywhere on the globe; consequently, from these countries, as the nearest to us, we should buy. Further, there are many things which we produce but which tropical countries cannot produce to advantage. It is to their advantage, therefore, to buy such products from us in exchange for the peculiar products of the tropics.

Accordingly, between the United States and the countries and islands to the south there exist all the elements for a mutually advantageous trade, a trade more advantageous for all than any other foreign trade can possibly be to any of them. Therefore, we should encourage this trade to the extent of establishing a Commercial Union that would secure absolute free trade between all the countries of the Western Hemisphere and give a common tariff to all. Of course, such extension of a common tariff would greatly derange the revenue systems of all the countries concerned, and oblige them all to look up new sources of revenue. But I would have no regrets, and I would be pleased to see a system of direct taxation established, a system that would tax property and not men. Tariffs, being levied on consumption, partake of the nature of *per capita* taxes, and as such are inequitable. If duties are imposed for the protection of home industries, and not for revenue, they should be made so high that imports would not be possible and, of course, no revenue result. There would be needed an International American Bank, or a system of banks, to be operated under an American Commercial Union, to reduce the cost of exchanges. It should be remembered, however, that it is trade that makes exchange, that it is the export of merchandise that enables the producers of one country to draw upon the people of other countries. They can draw only for so much as they may sell their goods for. An International American Bank should have its main offices in New York, and branches

in other cities of the United States, and in cities of all the countries to the south of us, within the American Zollverein.

But this is not the place to discuss a bank and its functions, or a tax system. Nothing will free the people of the Western Hemisphere from a certain dependence upon Great Britain and Germany except a common economic policy. As long as we import from the countries to the south of us more than we export to them; so long as we export to Great Britain more than we import therefrom; so long as London runs up debt against South America faster than South America through exportation of her products to Great Britain runs up an offset; just so long must we buy exchange on London to make payments in South America. The present annual balance of trade between South America and the United States is about $110,000,000 against the United States. The people of all the Americas should wake up to the disadvantage of triangular exchange, they should see that Great Britain and Germany profit greatly, they should see what saving would result from direct trade. Under an American Commercial Union, American ships would have an advantage over British and German ships, because the American trade would be secured to ships under the flags of the nations in the Union. The commercial advantages to the people of the United States from an American Commercial Union would be no greater than would be the commercial advantages to the people of the countries to the south of us; and the political advantages to the Central and South-American nations would be great, for they would be saved from the aggressions of Great Britain and Germany, often the busy-bodies who stir up rebellion in the South-American states. Such a Commercial Union as I propose does not contemplate a political union. In fact, I consider that political union would be both unwise and impossible.

Men who give only little attention to the study of public questions and those who live only in the present will, of course, declare that such a Customs Union is Utopian, and as such hardly worth serious consideration. The Cuban situation, however, makes it a live question; and America cannot, without permanent loss, set aside the opportunity to declare a general commercial policy, that would be as permanent and as far-reaching as the political policy known as the Monroe Doctrine. Unless this great step is taken at this time, the United States must soon meet Brit-

ish and German aggression with naval and military force, or give up the great position heretofore held in American affairs.

Into such union I would gladly welcome the Dominion of Canada. I will begin discussion of Canadian relations by quotations from letters exchanged between Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself in October last. On the 9th of that month I wrote to the Canadian Premier:

"You probably remember that in 1879--1880, when Canada pressed a Reciprocity Treaty upon the United States, not discouraged by the lot of the treaty submitted by General Grant to the Senate, the policy was opposed, and no doubt defeated, by those in this country who believed Commercial Union the only proper solution of the Canadian-American trade question. I assume you know that General Garfield was committed to a broad policy of American Commercial Union, and that I had brought him to this view. In those days, Sir John Macdonald on the one side and Mr. Mackenzie on the other, in the Canadian Parliament, and many other Canadians, had correspondence with me. The purpose of this letter is to learn, as far as it is proper for me to learn, from you, whether Canada would look with favor upon a proposal from the United States for the establishment of a permanent Commercial Union,—common tariff against outside countries and absolute free trade within the Union,—the customs revenue to be divided in an equitable way. I am of the opinion the United States should, now, I may say must now, offer such a union, economic of course only and not political, to Canada, to Cuba, to Mexico and to all other American nations, and I propose to present the situation in some public way, and to force the proposal upon Congress and the country before the next Presidential election."

To this Sir Wilfrid Laurier answered on October 13th:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 9th instant. In my estimation, a movement, such as you suggest, would not meet with any favor in Canada and, personally, I would be opposed to it. You are aware that the Liberal party, some few years ago, carried on a campaign in favor of a policy of unrestricted reciprocity between Canada and the United States. You are likewise aware that our efforts in that direction were received with no sympathy in your country. For my part, I valued very highly the importance of the American market for Canadian products; but, failing to make an impression in that quarter, we directed our efforts elsewhere, and I am glad to say that they have been successful beyond all expectations. That movement in favor of unrestricted reciprocity had its '*raison d'être*' some twelve years ago; in the present conditions of our trade, its '*raison d'être*' has ceased to exist."

So, it appears, the Laurier Government will oppose Commercial Union of Canada and the United States, and wait for relief from

a position of isolation for the creation of the Chamberlain British Empire Zollverein. I quote from a distinguished Canadian Liberal who writes me under date of October 14th last, that the other side of the question may be heard. He says:

"You are right in saying that the question of commercial relations, which we used to discuss years ago, has now become practical, thanks to Joe Chamberlain, who, I expect, will find that he has set more things going than he intended. Now, if ever, is the time for action, and I am glad to hear that you are going to take up your pen again. Here we have not got beyond reciprocity between Canada and the United States. We have elements of course opposed to Reciprocity here—our protected manufacturers, our violent anti-American party which cherishes the traditions of the U. E. Loyalists, and politicians who in Reciprocity or Commercial Union see danger to their political separatism, though nothing of the kind followed on the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty. So far as the Canadian people are concerned, we feel pretty confident that a fair and liberal proposal would make its way."

The question of our commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada has long been troublesome, and often one of serious danger. I opposed ratification of the Grant Treaty of Reciprocity in 1874, and worked against all similar treaties that have been proposed; and, during these thirty years, I have urged Commercial Union upon both the Washington and Ottawa Governments as the only proper solution of the question. From the standpoint of the protectionist, there is no reason for the imposition of tariff duties on importations from Canada into the United States. The situation would be mutually advantageous, if there were no customs line to hinder the interchange of commodities between the two countries. Both peoples would gain from such interchange, and gain equally as buyers and as sellers. Some will ask, Why make a permanent Commercial Union, why not make a reciprocity treaty binding for ten years, and thus see how the arrangement works? One reason is that reciprocity, as suggested time and again for thirty years, rests on the idea that in the exchange of commodities it is the seller alone who profits; that, consequently, the interests of buyer and seller are not mutual; that by increasing our purchases from Canada we must lose, and that by increasing our sales we must gain; that, *per se*, the interests of Canada are just the opposite of ours; and that, therefore, a reciprocity treaty must be the result of a dicker, in which each

party thereto strives to get, and believes it has got, the best of the other, gained more by extending the markets for its goods than it has lost by opening its own markets. Clearly, a reciprocity arrangement approached upon this mistaken basis cannot be mutually satisfactory. If it works as expected, evidently one people must lose what the other gains; and in such trade there is obviously no net gain, no profit in the exchange of commodities, and it would be better if such exchange did not take place. Therefore, I have no patience with those who put forth so-called reciprocity propositions which are urged in the belief that, by the acceptance of such propositions, they would get the best of their neighbors, but which can only find acceptance if those neighbors are under the contrary belief. There is only one true way for a country to get rich and prosper, and that is by producing wealth, not by getting the best of its neighbors in trade. Yet the latter notion is held by most of the advocates of Canadian reciprocity, and it is with that absurd idea that they approach the building of a reciprocity treaty. It is petty treatment of great interests. The truth is, the people of the United States and the people of Canada have much to gain by buying and selling more extensively from and to each other, and nothing to lose; therefore, the customs line between them should be abolished at once. This is also true of the relations of the peoples of Canada and of Cuba; so the way is open for a Commercial Union between the three countries,—the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Cuba.

Congress should prepare a plan for such an American Commercial Union as I suggest, and submit it to the people of the United States for ratification at the next general election. When approved by the vote of the people of the United States, the proposal should be made in formal way to Cuba, to the Dominion of Canada, and to other American nations.

It is not out of order for me to say that President Hayes and I talked often and earnestly of Commercial Union of all the Americas, and that, after the return of the special Commission he sent to South America, he was a believer in this policy. He gave support to those who urged and brought about the nomination of General Garfield for President, largely because he knew that General Garfield was committed to the settlement of all questions in dispute between the United States and the Dominion of Canada by the establishment of a Commercial Union between the two

countries, common tariff against all nations outside the Union, free trade between the two countries and fair distribution of the customs revenues between them. The letter I quote from him is evidence that he held this view as late as April, 1887. He held it at the time of his death.

"FREMONT, OHIO, *12th April, 1887.*

"*Mr. Wharton Barker,*

"MY DEAR SIR,—Thanks for the Canadian article. Looking forward with confidence to the unification of all English-speaking people on this continent under one government, my opinions on all measures touching Canadian affairs are formed with respect to their bearing on this result. I hope to meet you. With all respect,

"Sincerely,

"R. B. HAYES."

It is not necessary for me to discuss now my part in the nomination and election of General Garfield to the Presidency in 1880, but I may quote from an article on "Commercial Union," which appeared in "The Fortnightly Review" of May, 1881:

"Mr. George Anderson, M. P., stated in an article contributed to the 'Contemporary Review' a few months ago, that he had been informed on reliable authority that certain American statesmen of no mean influence were about to move in the matter of Canada, and to make it a paramount feature in the policy of the Garfield Administration. Mr. Anderson further stated that he had before him two published letters, written by Mr. Wharton Barker, an eminent banker and politician in Philadelphia, the chief supporter of Mr. Garfield as President, one of which was addressed to Mr. Garfield prior to his election, and the other to the late Senator Brown, of Toronto. The subject of these letters was what has been termed Commercial Union between the United States and Canada."

General Garfield and Mr. Blaine, after brief discussion in April, 1881, decided to advocate Commercial Union of all the American Nations and American Dependencies of European Nations. If General Garfield had lived, a great policy of American Commercial Union would, I am sure, have been established twenty years ago, and the position of America would be much stronger now than it is. Mr. Blaine hesitated, after the death of General Garfield, to urge the larger policy, and fell back upon a demand for reciprocal trade set up through reciprocity treaties.

WHARTON BARKER.

CENTENNIAL OF THE BRITISH BIBLE SOCIETY.

BY D. C. GILMAN, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION.

THE approaching centennial of the British and Foreign Bible Society is to be celebrated throughout the British Empire by assemblies, sermons, addresses and publications well fitted to show the hold which the Bible has upon English-speaking people. It is announced that the King and Queen will attend a special service in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, when the Archbishop of Canterbury will deliver a sermon commemorative of the work. By sympathetic gatherings, the anniversary will be observed in the United States, and meetings will be held in Washington, New York, and many other cities. Sunday, March 6th, is to be called "Bible Sunday." It is expected that the President of the United States will attend a Union Meeting in the old St. John's Church in the national capital. Under these suggestive and auspicious circumstances, a brief review will now be given of the origin and progress of the British and the American Bible Societies, in order to bring before the minds of the present generation some notion of the marvellous influences which have proceeded from organizations ordinarily so quiet and undemonstrative before the public that their methods and achievements are not observed, or, if observed, are regarded as matters of course devoid of special interest, except to their managers.

Let us begin with the origin of what is often spoken of as the parent society.

On Wednesday, the seventh of March, 1804, a company of influential gentlemen of London assembled in the London Tavern, and proceeded to organize the British and Foreign Bible Society. About three hundred persons were present. The preliminary meetings had been informal and private. According to the historian of the Society, its formation was accidental rather than

premeditated. Several kindred associations were already in existence,—among them, the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was established in 1698, and the half as venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was formed in 1701. There was also an unobtrusive agency called "The Bible Society," which restricted its work to soldiers and seamen, and afterward changed its name to "The Naval and Military Bible Society." For many years the difficulty of procuring Bibles in the Welsh language had been brought to the attention of the religious people of London, and this had led many thoughtful persons to the conclusion that other parts of the Empire, and probably other parts of Christendom, were equally deficient. At length the Rev. Joseph Hughes, afterward one of the Secretaries, suggested a Bible Society "for the world," and in an elaborate essay discussed its possible services. This essay, presented in May, 1803 (so says the historian, the Rev. George Brown), contained the rudiments of the future society, was widely circulated, and prepared the way for further proceedings. The impression thus produced led to a call for the public meeting just mentioned, when a series of resolutions, moved by the Rev. John Owen, and embodying the name and general form and constitution of the Society, were adopted, "with unanimous demonstrations of cordiality and joy." So reads the official record. Most of the names of the participants in this meeting are no longer remembered; but the Chairman, Granville Sharp, is still held in distinction by those who recall his long-continued and successful efforts to secure the abolition of the slave trade, put forth in England at the close of the eighteenth century.

Some two months later, another meeting was held in the same place and under the same auspices as that already described, and here the suggestive and persuasive influence of William Wilberforce, the eloquent orator, statesman and philanthropist, was manifest. Among his associates, in the original committee then selected, were Thomas Babington, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, Alexander Maitland, Granville Sharp, James Stephen, and others less known. Henry Thornton, the rich and generous merchant, an acknowledged authority on financial questions, consented to act as Treasurer. Lord Teignmouth (John Shore) was chosen President, and a better selection could not have been made.

He had won distinction as an administrator in India, and was then, at the age of sixty-two, a resident of London, a man of means, leisure, scholarship, influence and acquaintance with other lands. The earliest reports of the new Bible Society were written by him. In the world of letters he is well known as the biographer of Sir William Jones, the illustrious orientalist. Until his death, twenty years later, Teignmouth held the presidency, giving to it his constant attention, and steering the Society through many conflicting opinions. Among the conclusions reached on controverted points may be named the exclusion of the Apocrypha from the English Bibles published by the Society, and the admission of non-trinitarians to the privilege of membership. No little persuasion was needed in order to overcome the opposition of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, voiced by Christopher Wordsworth, who thought that its prerogatives were imperilled.

Associated with Lord Teignmouth as President, the Bishops of Durham, London, Salisbury and St. David's were made Vice-Presidents, and several eminent laymen, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Vice-Admiral Gambier and Sir William Pepperell, completed the list.

As these various names have been mentioned, the reader who is familiar with the lives of those rare men who constituted what is known as "the Clapham sect," will not have failed to notice how much they had to do with the origin of the Bible Society. Many readers will recall Trevelyan's reference to Clapham in his life of Macaulay. He speaks of the pleasant mansion of Lord Teignmouth, the cradle of the Bible Society, now turned into a convent of monks; and he thinks that a training which produced Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, Sir James Stephen, Charles and Robert Grant and Lord Macaulay, completely answers the derogatory remarks that are found in the early chapters of "The Newcomes."

The earliest attempt of the new association to translate any part of the Bible into a foreign tongue was to provide a portion of the Scriptures for the American Indians. The decision was reached to translate the gospel of St. Mark into Mohawk, and a Mohawk chief, with the unmanageable name Tyonenhokarawen or Tryoninhokaraven, passed several weeks under Lord Teignmouth's roof, at Clapham, engaged in the work. Sometimes, we are told, he appeared, clad in his war dress, at the table of his

host, and performed for the entertainment of the visitors the war dance of his tribe, tomahawk in hand. It is a laughable picture: grave and reverend men of affairs, gathered around a dinner-table for a most serious discussion, which is enlivened by a red man robed in skins, hopping up and down, brandishing the rude weapon of his tribe. This same warrior took the part of the English in the war of 1812, and gave up his unpronounceable patronymic of seven syllables for the simple name of Major John Norton, by which he was known in the army.

Looking back at the proceedings of the initiative meetings, it is obvious that the principles then recognized were formulated with wisdom and precision, so that they have been the guide of the Bible Society for one hundred years, and are not likely to be amended in the century to come. The first article declares that the sole object of the Society shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, and that the only copies in the languages of the United Kingdom to be circulated by the Society shall be the Authorized Version. The second article bespeaks cooperation, and looks forward to activities beyond the bounds of the British Empire. This Society—so it reads,—"shall add its endeavors to those employed by other societies for circulating the Scriptures through the British dominions, and shall also, according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan." The committee of management was to include six foreigners resident in England, and, of the remainder, one half should be members of the Church of England and the other half members of other denominations of Christians. In all it was a board of thirty-six laymen. There was an understanding that no clergyman or minister should speak on any subject under discussion without special leave. If any member did not attend with fair regularity, he could not be re-elected; and those six who, for any cause whatsoever, made the smallest number of attendances were dropped and not re-chosen for a year. Many distinguished persons,—prelates, ministers, scholars, professional and business men—have always been included among the Vice-Presidents; and thus the Society has had an endorsement which is considered of value,—more so, perhaps, than a similar approbation would be in the United States, though here too it has been found advantageous. The Society was, in fact, a society of laymen, sup-

ported or endorsed by distinguished clergymen. Ecclesiastical differences and jealousies were thus concealed, if not avoided; and the enthusiastic and efficient labors were secured of eminent men, devoted to the affairs of business and politics.

If any one, at that time, could have foreseen the results which were to follow from this beginning, the London *Times,* in March, 1804, would surely have reported the meeting and the speakers; but a search through the pages of that paper for several successive issues has not revealed a single "item" on this subject. "The Gentleman's Magazine," under the date of Wednesday, March 7th, did make an announcement of the proceedings.

It is worthy of mention, in this connection, that at this very time all England was alarmed by the apprehension that Napoleon, just proclaimed Emperor, having his armies grouped upon the coast of the Channel, was ready for a descent upon the British Isles.

Now let us turn from the origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the results which have been reached through its direct agency, leaving for later paragraphs its indirect achievements through its American ally. In view of the coming celebration, many historical and statistical papers have been prepared for general distribution, and from these official sources the figures which follow are chiefly derived. Some are taken from a tract by William Canton, entitled "What is the Bible Society?" some from the "Conquests of the Bible," set forth by T. H. Darlow, literary superintendent, and some from the "Book of God's Kingdom," by E. H. Pearce. A complete history of the Society from 1804 to 1904, by William Canton, has been promised for early publication. The annual reports of the Society have also been consulted.

From these sources it appears that the total issues of the Society, including Bibles, New Testaments, and portions of the Bible, chiefly Gospels and Psalters, from 1804 to 1903, were one hundred and eighty-one millions, or exactly (so closely the account is kept) 180,982,740 copies. Nearly six million copies (5,943,775) were issued in the year 1902-3. It appears that in every hundred issues there were sixteen Bibles, twenty-five Testaments and fifty-nine "portions" or parts—that is to say, for every Bible, there was a call for more than five times as many portions of the text. Whatever may be assigned as the

reason for this noteworthy difference, it clearly denotes the strictly religious preferences of the readers and purchasers. Only one-sixth of the issues contain the chronicles, histories, laws and prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures. English penny Testaments have been especially popular,—nearly eight millions of them having been issued within the last two decades. The annual outlay of the Society has not varied much during recent years from the sum of £240,000. In this centennial year, an effort is making to raise a special fund of 250,000 guineas, more than a million and a quarter dollars, in addition to the usual contributions. These are different figures from those of the first five years, when the average collections were £6,000 annually, and from the glowing but cautious estimates formulated by the great Wilberforce, who thought that the Society's annual income might eventually reach the munificent total of £10,000.

Financial statistics, impressive as they are, are of much less interest than the statements which are given in respect to the versions which have been prepared and issued by the Society. Three hundred and seventy different languages are on the list of publications, and it takes sixty different kinds of alphabets to put these languages into print. From a scrutiny of the list, it is easy to see that, apart from the religious significance of the Society's work, its contributions to comparative philology, especially to the philology of the obscure tongues of uncivilized people, are of great importance. Of no other book are there so many versions. For example, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress has appeared in one hundred versions; the Imitation of Christ in, perhaps, half as many; and the authority of Dragonoff is quoted for saying that writings of Tolstoi have been printed in forty-five languages. In many instances, the representatives of the Bible Society have reduced to writing languages previously confined to oral expression, and thus much light has been thrown upon the origin of primitive speech. Students of language, like Max Müller or William D. Whitney, have been outspoken in their appreciation of these services.

The Society had scarcely begun to show its activity when controversies arose, for the most part of transient interest, or of slight significance, so that it would be tedious to dwell upon the points of difference; yet a brief mention of them will illustrate the obstacles encountered by a very simple organization for a very

definite and useful purpose. The first was the text of the Welsh Bible, some revision having been made chiefly in the spelling. Next, a "country clergyman," as he signed himself, attacked the Society as likely to be hostile to the Established Church. On the Continent, the Nuremberg Bible Society had agreed to exchange, with a Roman Catholic Bible Society at Ratisbon, one thousand Protestant New Testaments for an equal number of Roman Catholic. To this, such opposition was manifest that the British Society induced its affiliation in Nuremberg to rescind the grant; and, to escape the charge of illiberality, individual members of the Committee paid for the copies required at Ratisbon. Mr. Thomas Twining protested against interference with the religious opinions of the inhabitants of India, likely to result from the proposed circulation of the Scriptures. Far more earnest was the discussion as to whether the Apocryphal should be printed with the Canonical books, and the question was finally settled by their exclusion. These are examples of the perplexities that arose at the outset. Fortunately, there were great encouragements. A Welsh Bible, satisfactory to all parties, having finally been printed, its reception was thus described by "an eye-witness:"

> "When the arrival of the cart was announced which carried the first sacred load, the Welsh peasants went out in crowds to meet it; welcomed it as the Israelites did the ark of old; drew it into the town; and eagerly bore off every copy, as rapidly as they could be dispersed. The young people were to be seen consuming the whole night in reading it. Laborers carried it with them to the fields, that they might enjoy it during the intervals of their labor, and lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with its sacred truths."

Similar enthusiasm was shown by the Scotch Highlanders when the Gaelic version was made accessible to them, and by the Spanish prisoners of war in England, when they received copies of the Testament in Spanish.

Let us now turn to the American Bible Society, child of the British. Its origin dates from Wednesday, May 8th, 1816, when a meeting was held in New York, called together by one of the foremost men of his time, the Honorable Elias Boudinot of New Jersey. There had been several local organizations previously,—among them, one in the city of New York, one in New Jersey. The first-named addressed a letter to the second-named, proposing a convention of delegates from such Bible Societies as might be

disposed toward cooperation in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures. Acting on this suggestion, Mr. Boudinot, as President of the New Jersey Society, issued a call for a meeting to be held in New York. Delegates from twenty-eight local societies responded, by their presence, to this call. Sixty names are on the list,—a good sprinkling of Doctors of Divinity among them, and perhaps an equal number of men in public life. They came from near and distant places and included members of most of the Protestant denominations. Boudinot's name is not given in the register of attendants, and in the place of Chairman, which he would doubtless have filled, stood Joshua M. Wallace of Burlington. Joseph C. Hornblower, William Jay, Samuel Bayard, Matthew St. Clair Clark, Adrian Van Sinderen, and Dr. Valentine Mott were representative lay members; Bishop Henshaw, President Nott, Jedediah Morse, John H. Rice, Nathanael W. Taylor, Lyman Beecher, John M. Mason, Gardiner Spring, and Philip Milledoler were among the ministers whose names are still well remembered. Lyman Beecher, whose love of a good story would sometimes crop out in serious affairs, has written a brief account of this meeting. When the vote was put that it was expedient to form an American Bible Society, there was a moment, he says, of prayerful silence. At one instant, he continues, things had seemed to tangle and some feelings began to rise. At that moment Dr. Mason rose hastily, and said:

"Mr. President, the Lord Jesus never built a church but what the devil built a chapel close to it; and he is here now, this moment, in this room, with his finger in the ink-horn, not to write your Constitution, but to blot it out!"

This sudden address convulsed the Convention with laughter, which in a moment dispelled the storm and revealed a clear sun, which instantly perceiving, he said, "There! there! he has gone already to his blue brimstone!"

The significant phrases adopted by "the parent society" were introduced into the constitution of its younger colleague, *mutatis mutandis*. Instead of saying, as the British did, "the Authorized Version," the Americans said "the version now in common use." There were to be thirty-six laymen chosen as a Board of Managers, two-thirds of them residents in the city of New York or its vicinity. In the list first selected appear the names of Henry Rutgers,

John Bingham, DeWitt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Rufus King, Richard Varick, Jeremiah Evarts, Divie Bethune, and others not quite so famous now, but then well known as leading citizens of New York. Duly notified of their appointment, they met in the City Hall on May 11th, and elected Elias Boudinot President, and a long list of Vice-Presidents from different States in the Union,—among them, John Jay, Caleb Strong, John Cotton Smith, Bushrod Washington, William Wirt, and Felix Grundy. From that time until now, the Society has usually been so fortunate as to secure for its officers men equally well known for their good standing in the administration of public affairs.

Of the original group, Elias Boudinot deserves the highest honor. He was seventy-six years old when he became the Society's first President, and he held the office five years, bringing to it all the influence of wide and wise experience obtained in long-continued public service. He had been President of the Continental Congress, and a member of the first three Congresses of the United States. Among other "concerns," his interest in the Indians, whom he believed to be descendants of "the lost tribes" of Israel, was noteworthy; but his opinions on other subjects were not at all visionary, and his services throughout a long life justly entitle him to remembrance as one of the earliest, wisest, and best of American philanthropists.

Here may be mentioned an interesting but a well-forgotten fact—that Congress, in 1777, appointed a committee to advise as to the printing of an edition of thirty thousand copies of the Bible. The committee reported difficulties; whereupon Congress ordered the importation, at the expense of Congress, of twenty thousand English Bibles, from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere, into different American ports. It does not appear that the order was executed. A few years later, in 1782, Congress recommended to the inhabitants of the United States an edition of the Bible published by Robert Aitken, in Philadelphia, at Pope's Head, three doors above the Coffee House in Market Street. This was the first English Bible published in this country. Copies of this edition of the Bible are rare, and although they do not bring prices as high as are paid for Eliot's Indian Bibles they are very costly. A copy in the Library of Congress, shown to the writer by Mr. A. R. Spofford, is in excellent and apparently perfect condition—two volumes in the original binding. On the reverse of

the title page, after a recital of the circumstances that led up to the action of Congress, this commendation is printed under the date September 12, 1782:

"*Resolved:* That the United States in Congress assembled highly approve the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitken, as subservient to the interest of religion, as well as an instance of the progress of arts in this country, and being satisfied from the above report of his care and accuracy in the execution of the work, they recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the United States, and hereby authorize him to publish this Recommendation in the manner he shall think proper.

"CHA. THOMSON, *Secretary.*"

The activities of the younger society have kept pace with those of its torch-bearing predecessors. During eighty-seven years, its issues have reached the aggregate number of seventy-two million, six hundred and seventy thousand, seven hundred and eighty-three copies (72,670,783). During the last year (1902-3), the issues almost amounted to two millions (1,993,558). More than half this number of books were sent out from the Bible Houses of foreign lands. Here again the striking and suggestive fact appears, that parts of the Scriptures are more in demand than the entire book. Thus, among the books put forth abroad, one million in number, somewhat more than forty thousand were Bibles, and the remainder were New Testaments and other "portions"—that is, for every Bible, twenty-four parts of a Bible. This is partly due, of course, to difference in price, partly to the lack of versions of the entire Bible, but also, probably, in great measure to the fact that the Gospels, the Psalms and portions of the Epistles are most serviceable in the development of religious character, and in the introduction of Christian precepts and doctrines.

So much attention bestowed on the two societies that have been discussed should not preclude the remembrance of what is probably the oldest Bible Society of the world, the Canstein Bible Society of Halle, Germany (in connection with the well-known Francke Orphan House), founded in 1710, by Karl Hildebrand, Marquis of Canstein, for the purpose of supplying the poor with Bibles. Many younger societies are likewise very active, among them the National Bible Society of Scotland, formed in 1861. A Russian Bible Society, founded in 1813, flourished, largely with the support of Americans and Englishmen, until 1826, when it was suppressed by the Emperor Nicholas, on the ground that the

Church, and not a secular society, should direct the circulation of the Scriptures. This is a striking contrast to the views which prevailed in England.

As a general rule, the acceptance of the Authorized Version has been unquestioned, yet there are some exceptions. Thus, in the middle of the last century, a difference of opinion arose in this country with respect to the proper rendering of the Greek word *baptizein*. Shall it be by "baptize" or by "immerse"? First the American and Foreign Bible Society, in 1836, and then the American Bible Union, in 1850, were formed by those who wished to depart from the established usage. At another time, there was a remarkable controversy which pertained to the typographical usages rather than to the textual accuracy of the publications. It was a lively controversy while it lasted; but, happily, the crackling of the thorns beneath the pot soon ceased, and the embers are now scattered beyond recovery. It showed how exceptionally sensitive some persons are to changes of any sort, and especially to changes in matters sacred. The remembrance of this hostility, awakened by the harmless and helpful suggestions for a more accurate text, may lead to an appreciation of the difficulties which arise in the minds of non-Christian people when urged to abandon the usages and books they learned to revere in childhood.

It does not come within the range of this article to speak of the characteristics of the Bible, or to compare it with the hallowed writings of other faiths. Those who wish to make such a scrutiny may find abundant material in English in the translations brought together by Max Müller, the German-English orientalist, in his remarkable series of forty-nine volumes entitled the "Sacred Books of the East." Other ancient religious writings, not included in the series which he edited, are also accessible. A comparison of our Scriptures with those of all other religions is an excellent study for those, if such there be, who are disposed to question the value of our possession, or to regret its transmission to other peoples. In a letter written twenty years ago, the scholar just mentioned said to his correspondent: "I do not like the expression the 'Bibles of the World.' It seems to me conceited. We might as well speak of the Vedas or the Korans of the World. Yet the phrase is so common it will be difficult to suppress it. I heard the other day that some Buddhists in Japan meant to start what they call the 'Bible Society'

for printing and distributing portions of the Tripitaka. I prefer to speak of Sacred Books."

Perhaps the most serious question that can be raised in respect to the English Bible is the revision of that version which has been in common use since the days of King James the First. In the discussion of this subject, the fact is often lost sight of that the Authorized Version was itself a revision, and not an original translation. Nevertheless, this version has been so widely circulated, is so familiar to all English-speaking Protestants, is of such surpassing excellence, and is so hallowed by sacred associations, that any change is deprecated, even if made for greater accuracy. The conservatives hold the fort. It is not likely in our day that any version will supplant or supersede the old text; it is most likely and most desirable that revisions should supplement it. This is not the place for a presentation of the arguments *pro* and *con*. Revision has been secured by the combined studies and counsel of some of the ablest scholars in England and in this country, and the question has naturally arisen, What will the Bible Societies do about it? One thing seems absolutely certain,—the familiar English text will not give way to any extended or radical changes in its language. The British Society, after prolonged discussion has placed the revision of 1881-1885 on its list, without fostering or hindering its circulation. The American Bible Society is now face to face with this problem.

Without doubt, we may admit that the extreme reverence bestowed upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is based, to a great extent, upon the Jewish adherence to the letter that killeth, and not upon the Christian spirit that maketh alive. It has led to many grievous errors, which are diminishing every day in the light of increasing intelligence and more accurate scholarship. We may look with amazement upon the endeavors which have been put forth in Christian states to apply the Levitical precepts to the organization of an occidental society. We may brand as superstition the random opening of the holy book to discover by chance a word or a hint applicable to some passing emergency. But then, if we do all this, we must also weigh the influence of the Bible in the development of personal character, and the power it has exerted in purifying and elevating human society, wherever its precepts have been read and accepted. For an example of its salutary conversion of a barbarous people, we need

only one such example, among many that might be given, like that of Paton's story of his successes in the New Hebrides. As an example of what the Bible can do for civilized people, we may study the history of every European nation which has had, since the Reformation, free circulation of the Scriptures. Nor are we to think alone of its religious excellence. Goldwin Smith has truly said that the Bible, by its influence on character, public as well as private, claims a leading place not only in religious and intellectual life, but in political history.

In looking over the records which we have briefly given, it is obvious that the strength of both Societies depends upon laymen. However broad-minded and catholic the clergy may be, their names are inevitably associated with the religious bodies to which they belong. Laymen may, indeed, adhere with equal tenacity to their own denominations, but the relationship is less conspicuous and less likely to awaken animadversions. Christian union, at all events among Protestants, is thus positively secured by hiding differences and giving emphasis to agreements. "Without note or comment" has been the watchword from the beginning. This precludes the Society from such elucidations as all parties would agree upon as useful, and this is a disadvantage; but the rule likewise precludes all controversial utterances respecting doctrines, and this is a positive advantage which far outweighs the disadvantage. Curiously enough, the marginal readings and the headings of the chapters are not regarded as "notes and comments," and they appear in the Society's Bibles, often conveying interpretations of a very definite and sometimes of a very questionable character. It is certainly quite time that the date "4004, B. C.," as that of the beginning of the world, should be struck out of all the stereotyped plates.

The force bestowed upon translating the Scriptures into every living language is, on the whole, the most satisfactory illustration of the activity of the two Societies. Neither the history of literature nor the history of religion can show any parallel to these achievements, in which British and Americans have alike taken part. The learning, the patience, the discrimination shown by the translators entitle them to most grateful remembrance, and to the most honorable position not only in the annals of the Bible, but also in the history of civilization. As we have already said, the Societies are not restricted to printing the sacred books, but

they carry them to and offer them in every part of the world, in a few places maintaining Bible Houses as depositaries and clearing agencies where different versions may be prepared, or brought together, and distributed. Hundreds of agents are employed, especially in foreign lands, to promote the circulation of the Scriptures, and to make it easy for any one who wishes to secure copies. Four times since its origin, the American Society has provided for a canvass of the United States, looking to the supply of every family which would purchase a Bible or accept one as a gift. These canvasses were made in 1829, 1856, 1866, and 1882.

As the celebration of "Bible Day" is coming on (March 6th, 1904), several of the most distinguished men in the public life of the United States have united in a commendation of the work of the American Bible Society. Among them are those who have been called by the American people to the highest stations. The President, the ex-President, the Chief Justice, two Justices of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of State and several other members of the Cabinet, a number of Senators and Representatives bear their testimony to the work of the Society. Proceeding from such a source, the following words have great weight, and with them this article will be concluded:

"The American Bible Society has, for nearly eighty-eight years, pursued its single aim of circulating the Bible, without note or comment, in this and in all lands. For this purpose, it has been concerned in securing translations of the Scriptures in nearly one hundred languages. It sustains a close relation to the Christian churches of the United States, as the ally and helper of their mission-work at home and abroad, and, as such, deserves and receives their support.

"But, in addition, the effect of its labors has been very marked upon our whole civilization. To have circulated, as it has done, seventy-two million Bibles, Testaments, or portions thereof, is to have powerfully contributed to the moral health of the world. The social fabric of modern states has no surer foundation than the Bible, especially in a republic like ours, which rests upon the moral character and educated judgment of the individual. No thoughtful man can doubt that to decrease the circulation and use of the Bible among the people would seriously menace the highest interests of civilized humanity.

"Inasmuch as the work of the Society is in danger of being seriously crippled from lack of funds, its appeal for aid should meet generous response from all who love American institutions. We owe a debt to the Bible which can be partly paid now, by carrying forward this great undertaking with increased vigor."

DANIEL COIT GILMAN.

WOULD WOMAN SUFFRAGE BENEFIT THE STATE, AND WOMAN HERSELF?

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER.

SUCH an arraignment of woman by a woman is seldom seen as appeared in the January NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW under the title, "Woman's Assumption of Sex Superiority," in which Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer makes these surprising assertions:

> "I fail to see in women any evidence of the character that is needed in public life;" "I challenge the assumption that women as a sex could contribute a regenerative force to the body politic;" "I am quite sure that, in the political arena, I should dread the advent of women as voters and office-holders a little more than that of the 'tiger.'"

The reasons given for this total lack of faith in women are briefly these: Character is the one force needed in American life to-day, and there is nothing in the life and work of women up to the present time to indicate that they possess this character; they have shirked or done badly the tasks allotted to them in the past; they have turned their backs on their own duties and reached forth to grasp the more spectacular work of others in the hope of public applause and reward; they have an increasing desire to belong to organizations and hold office, and they sometimes use unscrupulous methods; they have not been good mothers or there would not be so many "grafters" in politics and elsewhere; they have shirked the noblest duty on God's earth.

This last charge is somewhat obscure; but, as reference is made later on to "overriding nature," it evidently means that there are not so many children in the family as there used to be. There would be some difficulty, however, in utilizing this fact as proof that women could not cast a conscientious ballot or do effective public work. They would really have more time for the latter without neglecting home duties.

It must be recognized that the "grafters" of to-day, the men who are dishonest in politics, in business and in public and private life, are not the sons of the modern woman, with her clubs, her social functions and her alleged deterioration; but they are the product of those dear, old-fashioned mothers, who, to quote Mrs. Meyer, were distinguished for "daily uncomplaining attention to household details; tender, unseen care given to children; brooding over, watching and painstaking upbuilding of character." It would be an injustice and an insult, however, to hold the mothers responsible for the so-called "grafters." These are, on the contrary, the direct result of the environment and conditions which men find awaiting them as soon as they step outside the home and beyond the mother's personal influence. It is because women have seen again and again the powerlessness of mothers, that they are demanding a voice in shaping these conditions which now are able to counteract the purest and strongest of home influences.

It is unquestionably true that women show an increasing desire to belong to organizations, but this is largely because they have learned that any movement to succeed must have an organized force behind it. There are now over one hundred national associations of women in the United States, with thousands of auxiliaries and about 4,000,000 members. Without exception, their object and work are for the progress and uplift of mankind. When Mrs. Meyer expresses the hope that this organized effort may die out and that women may return to quiet, private "personal touch," she wishes in effect for the breaking up of the great missionary societies of women in all the churches; the W. C. T. U., which encircles the globe; the patriotic societies, of which the Woman's Relief Corps alone has raised $2,500,000 and expended the money in the assistance of soldiers, their widows and orphans; the Collegiate Alumnæ Association, with its splendid educational work; the Young Women's Christian Association, which every year reaches out its helping hands to over 50,000 girls and women. It would be impossible to estimate the loss to society if the vast organized work of women should come to an end.

There are, of course, instances where women develop a love for the lime-light of the platform, where they "scramble" for office, even where they use unscrupulous methods, but these instances are so few in the great body of women that they seem infinitesimal.

The organizations mentioned above, which have about 1,200,000 enrolled members, are practically free from any such accusations. The National Woman Suffrage Association has a perfectly clean record of thirty-five years. In most societies it is difficult to persuade women to hold the offices. When the facts are sifted, it will be found that two or three organizations, which fill a large place in the public eye, not because of their achievements but because they happen to be composed of fashionable women, are responsible for all the discredit which it has been attempted to fasten on women's organizations in general.

To say that "women have shirked or done badly their work in the past," is to impeach this work in the home, the church, the schools, the philanthropies; but in every one of these fields the charge is disproved by the facts. All are largely sustained by the capable work of women. From the days of the pioneers down to the present, the homes of the country owe just as much to women as to men, and in countless thousands of cases it is the women who have held the home and the family together. If it were not for the devoted and efficient service of women, the churches would perish. So well have they proved their capacity for teaching, that the public schools are passing into their hands. This is equally true of philanthropic effort; and, more and more, the charities, the reforms and the humanities of every kind are looking to women for their maintenance. It is because women have been faithful over few things that they are now being made rulers over so many.

"Have women done the work they found to be done, willingly, conscientiously, patiently, uncomplainingly?" asks Mrs. Meyer. "Have they been satisfied to do it without applause, without public reward? Have they brought to bear on this work the best they had, the best they could become?" Yes, a thousand times yes. The world is filled with such women. They are the enduring fibre of every community. They form the immense majority, and the exceptions attract so much attention simply because they are exceptions.

As unfounded as the others is the charge that "women have turned their backs on their own duties to grasp the more spectacular work of others." The peculiar industrial conditions of the present have done much to break up the individual home, but there has been no lessening of woman's innate love for home.

There never was a time when women were giving such careful, scientific study to domestic questions, striving to find a solution of the increasing problems, experimenting with new methods. learning food values, establishing training-schools for servants and attending cooking-classes themselves, investigating the whole range of household economics. The modern woman could enlighten her foremothers on many points of sanitation, plumbing, ventilation, diet, nursing and preventive measures against disease, of which those good women were in total ignorance. The homes of to-day are infinitely more beautiful, comfortable and healthful than those of olden times, while children are reared with greater intelligence, with just as much love and with more tenderness. For all these things, give woman her just credit.

The fact that several million women are employed in outside work does not necessarily mean that women have lost their taste for domestic industries. It simply means that they have been compelled to go after their work, which has been taken away from the home, and, as they cannot bring it back, they must stay with it. No more does it follow that women who are not wage-earners have lost their love of home because they have gone so largely into public activities. This is made possible because families are smaller, and because a great proportion of the work which they used to do within the household is now done outside of it by other women *and by men,* thus leaving them a considerable amount of leisure which they can employ in other duties. Without any desire to be unpleasantly personal, and solely to emphasize this point, it may be said that, for these reasons, the author of the article which we are now considering has been able to write several books, to belong to various clubs and societies, to act as trustee of a college, to speak many times from the public platform, and to serve on boards and committees. No one is justified in assuming that women engage in any of such activities "in the hope of public applause." They may, and doubtless do, have a nobler motive.

In attempting to disprove any superiority on the part of women, Mrs. Meyer says in effect that, if women had lived for centuries in the same freedom and under the same temptations as men, they might not be any better morally. But since they have not so lived for centuries, even if there is no better reason for it, it will have to be admitted that they do represent a much larger

proportion of morality than do men. The assertion that "the use of stimulants among women is increasing rapidly," is one which is often recklessly made, but it does not seem to be supported by anything beyond personal opinions. The charge has been vigorously denied by authorities just as good as those who have made it. Even if it be true, the number of intemperate women is still immeasurably less than the number who are strictly temperate, and instead of being an argument against admitting women to the suffrage it is the strongest one that could be made in favor of it. Give them a chance to check the evil of intemperance, which men cannot or will not do, before the time comes when women themselves may not have the inclination or the power to do so.

The entire article under discussion is based on an erroneous statement, viz.: "In the usual tone that pervades the speeches at a Woman's Rights Meeting, there is a degree of bitterness, of contempt, of positive enmity against men that is not dreamed of by the average person."

This archaic fallacy, it seems, has still some believers. The present writer, in a recent preparation of a history of the movement, had occasion to read every speech made at a National Woman Suffrage convention during the past twenty years, and not one possibly could be included in the above category. Portions of 340 of these addresses, by all the prominent speakers who attended these annual conventions during this score of years, are published in this volume, and also the resolutions adopted. He who will may read, and he will not find one paragraph expressing bitterness, contempt or enmity. It does not seem possible to offer any stronger refutation of this charge.

Is there, in fact, a "sex-superiority" which woman could bring to the electorate for the benefit of the State, and would the possession of the franchise improve or impair her character?

Since the early days of our Government, have any class of citizens ever been enfranchised in the belief that they would add to the voting body valuable and much-needed qualities? Were education, morality, temperance and a high degree of patriotism expected, when it was provided that every immigrant who landed on our shores should be equipped with the ballot? Was it because of these qualifications that several millions of plantation negroes were endowed with the suffrage? And is it because "character"

is so badly needed at the ballot-box, that the reservations are being scoured to round up the Indians at the polls? It is only when it is proposed to enfranchise women, that the whole nation becomes deeply solicitous as to whether they will bring to the sacredly guarded electorate those superior qualifications which always have been deemed so necessary.

The situation is the same in regard to the personal effect of the franchise. There never has been a doubt as to its advantage for men. The whole argument for so-called universal suffrage has been that it is the greatest force for developing self-respect, independence, a sense of responsibility—the highest manhood. But, when the conferring of this wonderful power on woman is advocated, the cry at once goes up, "Would it be advantageous to her? Would it not be detrimental to her womanhood?" Right protective of all other rights, supreme gift to man—but not good for women!

Many of the traits which are to be regretted in the women of the present, are the inevitable result of their receiving in a very brief space of time almost unlimited freedom, unaccompanied by that responsibility which should always be a balance wheel for liberty. In this, some of them are not unlike the children of to-day, who are fortunate in being spared the repression and severity of the past, but unfortunate in being released from any discipline whatever. Flattered by being called "queens," they act on the principle that "the queen can do wrong;" and, assured that they are "angels," they consider themselves not bound by the rules made for humans. Woman is a menace to society who has privileges without corresponding duties, who exercises a strong influence not steadied by responsibility for its effects. Such is very largely the position of woman, who now is an important factor in all the economic questions of the Government.

"Would it be to her advantage to possess the franchise?" "Would it not destroy the womanly instincts?" Instincts may be trusted to take care of themselves, and the idea of the "womanly" has been revised. The ideal woman of our grandfathers has passed into oblivion and has no part in the questions of to-day. Whatever may be one's theories as to the proper sphere of women, present conditions demand that they shall be educated, self-reliant, trained in practical work, experienced in business methods, responsible for their actions. The broad-minded and far-seeing

will admit that girls now need virtually the same general preparation as boys to fit them for life. It is universally conceded that the ballot is the most valuable prerogative of citizenship, "the right which guarantees all others." How, then, could it fail to be of benefit to women? Where is the logic in educating them, training them for business, opening all avenues of employment, and then denying to them the most important means for the protection of their interests, on the ground that, being women, its possession would be of no advantage to them?

The suffrage is the great primary law-making power, and he who wields it has a direct influence over every law that is enacted. There is scarcely one of the laws which does not affect woman. The laws mete out to her the full penalty for crime; they levy, collect and expend her taxes; they prescribe the education of her children; they regulate the gas and water-supply; they control the streets and alleys; they dispose of the garbage and sewage; they inspect the food, its purity, weight and measure; they regulate the sale of cigarettes and obscene literature. The laws extend still further. They control absolutely the liquor traffic, the gambling-rooms, the houses of ill-repute; they decide the punishment for all crimes against women, and for ill-treatment and desertion of family; they provide for marriage, for divorce, for guardianship of children, for the buying, selling and division of property. Still further do they reach and govern the factory system, with its woman and child labor, the hospitals, the charitable and penal institutions.

But why attempt to enumerate? Women live, move and have their being from birth to death under the regulation of the laws, and who shall presume to question the advantage it would be to them to have a voice in electing the makers, and especially the administrators, of these laws? The laws, for the most part, are reasonably good; but their maladministration, particularly in our cities, makes municipal government in this country the byword of the civilized world. Would it not be to the benefit of woman, her home and family, if she had power to depose dishonest and incompetent officials? Until they have the franchise, women cannot serve on juries, nor sit in the Legislature, nor so much as attend a political convention and help nominate the men who are to fill every office in the State, from constable to Governor. Is this a disadvantage? It is so considered, to such an extent

that the privilege is not refused to any male citizen in the commonwealth, outside of the insane asylums and the penitentiaries.

The women of to-day are extending their housekeeping to the municipality, their motherhood to the children of the nation; and, banded in great organizations, they are striving to make the world better through many different lines of work. Whatever their object, it almost invariably brings them to the door of the city council, the State Legislature or the national Congress; and how do they come? Is it as constituents who put the members of these bodies in their exalted positions and can put them out at will, and who have a right to demand the enactment of their measures? Far from it. They approach humbly and timidly, expecting to be snubbed, and seldom disappointed in that expectation; presenting a petition which does not represent a single vote, and is received with contempt; grudged every minute of time given to them; their bill never presented by one of their own sex, and, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, buried in a pigeon-hole and never resurrected? Would it be to the advantage of women engaged in civic work to come before these legislative bodies as enfranchised citizens? Would it be to their advantage to fill some of the public offices themselves, and handle some of the public funds to which their taxes have contributed?

But there is still another class—the several million salary-earning and wage-earning women of the country. Would the suffrage be of benefit to them? This is evidently the opinion of the American Federation of Labor, one of the oldest, largest and most influential organizations of working-men in the country; for, at its national convention in Boston, a few months ago, it adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship, as a matter of justice to them and as the necessary step toward insuring and raising the wages of all."

The views of the International Typographical Union, one of the most conservative and perfectly organized bodies in existence, certainly are entitled to consideration, and at its last convention, in Washington, D. C., it passed this resolution:

"Recognizing that industrial evolution has driven women, in ever increasing numbers, into the trades and professions, until they constitute

a large percentage of the wage-earners of the country, we believe they should have the same right to vote as men, for the better defence of their industrial position."

Labor organizations generally hold these views, and theirs may be accepted as expert testimony. They understand what would be the helplessness of their own position without the tremendous power of the ballot, and they see the necessity of giving its protection to wage-earning women. At best, the weaker party in the struggle, women now endure all the hardships of working-men, with the added handicap of disfranchisement. Investigations of the United States Department of Labor in 1900 showed that, in seventy-five per cent. of the cases recorded, women received fifty per cent. less wages than men for the same work done with the same degree of efficiency. People may talk glibly of supply and demand, but the fact remains that disfranchised labor is cheapened labor, and not only degrades itself but drags down enfranchised labor. Working-men have secured their present position largely through the political force represented by their organizations, but to these the women are a constant menace. If admitted to the unions, they bring no voting strength; if excluded, they are used by employers to undermine wages. Disfranchisement means degradation in the business world, whether the victim be a Chinaman or a woman. The Chinese may be driven out of the country; women are here to stay, and they have entered the industries for all time. For the sake of self-preservation, as well as for the love of justice, men should hasten to invest them with the power to protect themselves and to cooperate in measures of mutual benefit.

To sum up briefly. Charles Sumner said:

"The ballot is the one thing needful, without which rights of testimony and all other rights will be as cobwebs. To him who has the ballot all other things shall be given. The ballot is like the horn of abundance, out of which overflow rights of every kind. Or, better still, it is like the hand of the body, and as the hand is, in the work of civilization, so is the ballot, in the work of Government. 'Give me the ballot and I can move the world.'"

Thus, all through the years from the beginning of this greatest experiment toward a republican form of government, the statesmen have continued to declare: "There is no freedom without the

ballot;" "the suffrage is the foundation of liberty;" "the vote is the citizen's emblem of sovereignty." By what process of reasoning can the conclusion be reached that, although the franchise is of paramount benefit to man, it would be of no advantage to woman? This could be done only on the theory that woman is already adequately represented by man. But James Otis, in defending the rights of the colonists, declared: "No such phrase as virtual representation is known in law or constitution; it is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd." It was not a speaker on the woman-suffrage platform of to-day, but Benjamin Franklin, a founder of our Government, who said: "They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives."

Whether the suffrage would be a benefit to woman must be considered, not with reference to the women of the past, but with reference to those of the present and the future—women who are rapidly becoming equal factors with men in education, the industries and civic work of every nature. Even on the mothers of to-day is laid a heavier responsibility than ever was laid on mothers before, since they are being called to account for conditions outside the home, even while denied any direct power over these conditions. The eminent scientist, Huxley, said: "Admitting, for the sake of argument, that woman is the weaker, mentally and physically, for that very reason she should have the ballot, and every help which the world can give her." It is safer to possess the power of self-protection than to depend on even the wisest and best. Self-government means dignity, development, self-respect, self-reliance, judgment and courage. The possession of the franchise would make women stronger. In a report to Congress on this question Thomas B. Reed and other experienced members said: "We believe that every citizen in the United States is made more intelligent through his participation in politics and political campaigns." Women now have no incentive to study political questions, and either they present the melancholy spectacle of one-half the citizens without interest in affairs of Government, or, if they attempt to use their influence, it is without any responsibility for consequences. The minds of women could not fail to be broadened and strengthened by study and action on questions of tariff, currency, commerce, war, arbitration, ex-

tension of territory and others of national moment; and any education which fits them for the largest duties of life will be of equal value in limited and special work of whatever nature.

The Hon. George F. Edmunds said, in the United States Senate: "Disfranchisement is a cruel and degrading penalty, that ought not be inflicted except for crime." He had only men in mind; but how can anything be a degradation for a man and not for a woman? The training of children is placed almost exclusively in the hands of women—mothers and teachers; but how can the youth of the country receive with respect lessons in patriotism and public duty from those whom the Government has branded with dishonor? Men in the past have had a certain chivalry toward women because of their helplessness, dependence and many disadvantages in the struggle for existence. As these are passing away, this chivalry must be succeeded by something of a more substantial and enduring nature—the sincere and complete respect which one can give only to his equals or his superiors. But how is this possible, when, by the constitutions and the laws, woman is ranked with lunatics, imbeciles, felons, tribal Indians, Chinese and other unnaturalized immigrants?

It seems incredible that any one can give to this subject serious and intelligent study, putting aside sentiment and prejudice, and still ask the question, "Would the suffrage be a benefit to woman?"

In a so-called democratic and representative government, women citizens should have the franchise as an abstract right, guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence and the National Constitution. Since, however, in the case of women alone, of all the people, it has been deemed necessary to consider gravely for fifty years whether enfranchisement would not be injurious to them and detrimental to the State, let the argument proceed.

It will be admitted that the present Government is solely the work of men. Into it they have put their best and their worst. They have included in the electorate every masculine element and have no reserves. They have created a male oligarchy. Behold it! Is there a man in the United States entirely satisfied with it? Is there not a growing skepticism as to the value of a democracy? Are not the monarchies of the world taking fresh courage, when they view this republican experiment of over a century-and-a-quarter? We believe that our Government is founded upon correct principles. In what, then, consists the

weakness and the danger which cannot fail to be recognized? Among other causes are disregard for law, intemperance, dominance of the material over the spiritual, admiration for physical rather than moral force, immorality in high places, dishonesty in public life, brain power unrestrained by heart and conscience.

If there is not within our own nation an element capable of counteracting these tendencies, what hope is there for the salvation of the Government? And if in women is not found this essential constituent, where shall we look for it? Women form the only class that remains to be brought into the body politic. Until this has been done and the results thoroughly tested, the possibilities of a republic never can be known. Our founders had the true idea, but it has been only half-developed. It is a most erroneous belief that all the wisdom, judgment, common sense and other qualities necessary to carry on successfully a great government reside in one-half of the people.

It is true that women would bring also some undesirable qualities to the electorate, but the estimate of their influence must be based on the qualifications of the majority. Consider what it has received during the past thirty-five years from the majority of negroes, Indians and immigrants who have been enfranchised during that time, and then judge whether women, as a body, could not bring something to offset these last acquisitions. Those who fear the foreign and the colored vote should remember that there are more native-born women in the United States than foreign-born men and women; more white women than colored men and women. While there was in 1900 a slightly larger percentage of illiteracy among women than among men over twenty-one years of age, this included the very old women who had no facilities for education in their youth. But from ten to twenty years of age, there is a decided reversal of these figures, and the illiteracy is much less among girls than among boys. These figures and the statistics of the public schools show that more girls than boys are being educated, so that henceforth the enfranchisement of women would bring more education to the electorate than that of men.

The records of all the courts, police stations, jails and penitentiaries sustain the assertion that women are far more law-abiding than men. That they are much more temperate will not be denied, nor that they form a very small percentage of those who frequent gambling-rooms and brothels. Opponents of universal

suffrage urge that it would enfranchise the families of drinking, gambling, immoral men. True, but the great majority of these women would rejoice to vote against the institutions that are ruining their homes and disgracing their children. The church influence, with all that it stands for, would have three times its present representation, and the ministers could make their appeals to voters instead of to a disfranchised congregation. The public-school teachers would have nearly four times as many votes as now. Practically, no "tramp" or floating votes would be added. The last census showed 1,800,000 more men than women in the United States, and these naturally cannot vote as heads of families or represent the home. It will hardly be claimed that the best interests of home and children are as adequately represented at the polls as they would be if women had the franchise.

Conceding all that may be said as to the shortcomings of women, it still must be acknowledged that they are better prepared to exercise the suffrage than any class which ever has been admitted to the electorate. It has been said that "our Government is founded upon the broad principle, that the most effective government for mankind is not that which the wisest and best would select, but that which the average of mankind would select." Logically, then, to secure the most satisfactory results, woman must form a part of this average. Legislation and administration will thus represent two points of view, the man's and the woman's —the State and the Home—each absolutely dependent on the other. They will supply a needed balance in the Government, which cannot afford that any moral conviction shall lack utterance or any moral force be unemployed. To extravagance they will oppose economy; radicalism they will temper with conservatism; to physical they will add moral courage; masculine brain they will supplement with feminine heart, and the spirit of war they will vanquish with the spirit of peace. The questions of the future will be largely economic and social, and to the abstract and mechanical functions of the State in their settlement will be added woman's personal touch, sympathetic insight and self-sacrificing service. There must be strong cooperation, not alone among men, but also between men and women, to meet successfully the problems of the day, which, in their final analysis, are all political; and it is this cooperation which the women of the nation offer to the Government.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

THE POLAR CAMPAIGN.

BY J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE activity which has been displayed during recent years in polar exploration, North and South, is perhaps unprecedented since the days of the great Franklin Search Expeditions, half a century ago. In view both of what has been done in the past, and of the many items in the programme which is now being executed, it is evident that polar exploration, or at least its pioneer stage, must soon draw to a close. Already, indeed, the lands and seas that lie to the north of the Arctic Circle may be said to be known in their main outlines. In the way of geographical discovery, comparatively little, so far as can be judged, remains to be done; though, of course, of many areas our knowledge is of the most superficial character, and doubtless it will be long before all of them are represented on the map in any considerable detail. There still remains to be achieved, also, what in the popular estimation is the chief end of all polar exploration—the attainment by man of the most northerly spot on the earth's surface. The natural result is well reflected in the general character of the expeditions which now direct their course towards the North Polar area.

It is not the accomplishment of the Northwest or the Northeast Passage, or the discovery and exploration of new lands, which tempts the adventurous to engage in enterprises of this nature. The goal before their eyes is the Pole itself. That is no longer a subsidiary, but avowedly the main, object with which a large proportion of North Polar enterprises are now organized; as first one explorer and then another have to admit defeat, and others come forward to take their places, interest in the contest deepens. In the Antarctic region the situation is different.

There is not as yet the same anxiety to reach the South Pole as the North. At present, we possess but a scanty knowledge of even the outskirts of the South Polar area, and the exploration and scientific investigation of the fringe of the great southern continent—if continent it be—not only furnishes the serious explorer with ample opportunities for useful work, but provides abundance of food for the gratification of the curiosity, and the hunger for "records," of the general public.

In taking a brief survey of the expeditions actually operating in the Polar regions, and of prospective expeditions to those fields of exploration, it is not possible to do more than glance at each individual enterprise. In the north, Baron Ed. von Toll has not yet returned from the expedition to the New Siberian Islands, lying to the north of Eastern Siberia, on which he set out in the summer of 1900. Baron Toll purposed on this expedition to explore the northern portion of the archipelago, and to settle the question of the existence of the hypothetical Sannikoff Land. Besides himself, Baron Toll's vessel, the "Sarya," carried a competent scientific staff of some half a dozen members, and a crew of about a dozen men. During the summer of 1900, the expedition proceeded round North Cape to the Kara Sea, and thence to the western shores of the Taimyr Peninsula, where the "Sarya" passed the winter of 1900--01. It was not until near the end of August, 1901, that the "Sarya" got free from the ice and was able to make her way in the direction of the New Siberian Islands. Seal Bay, in Kotelnoi Island, was reached two or three weeks later, and there the vessel again went into winter quarters. In the summer of 1902 Baron Toll, with Mr. F. G. Seeberg, the astronomer and magnetician of the expedition, and a couple of Yakuts, left the "Sarya" with the object of making his way to the little-known Bennett Island, to the northeast of Kotelnoi. As he did not return to the vessel, and the "Sarya" was unable to make her way to Bennett Island, the main expedition was obliged to leave Baron Toll and his companions to winter alone, going itself into winter quarters in the delta of the Lena. Two relief sledge-expeditions were, however, despatched to his assistance during the past summer. According to the latest information, this search has been fruitless. From papers found on Bennett Island, it would seem that Toll left it in November, 1902, going southward. Great apprehension is entertained as to his fate.

To the west of Baron Toll's field of operations, an American expedition, financed by the multi-millionaire, Mr. William Ziegler, is engaged in an attempt to reach the North Pole by way of the Franz-Josef Land route. This, it will be remembered, is the second expedition which Mr. Ziegler has despatched, with instructions to spare neither money nor pains in the effort to plant the Stars and Stripes on the Pole. In 1901, Mr. Evelyn Baldwin sailed north at the head of an expedition on board the "America," purposing to winter, if possible, near the 81st parallel, and to make a dash for the Pole in the summer of 1902. But from the outset failure waited on the plans of the expedition, and Mr. Baldwin deemed it advisable to return during the summer of 1902. Baffled but not beaten, Mr. Ziegler reorganized his forces, and again despatched the "America" northwards. The leader of the second expedition is Mr. Anthony Fiala, and all his subordinates are reported to be American citizens. Most of the crew are American whalers. For purposes of navigation, the ship is in charge of Captain Edward Coffin, but the second in command of the expedition is stated to be a member of the United States Geological Survey, Mr. Peters, appointed by the National Geographical Society of Washington, at Mr. Ziegler's request, to take charge of the scientific work and to act as the Society's representative. In all, the members of the expedition are some thirty-five in number. The plan seems to be, as before, to make Franz-Josef Land the base for a dash to the Pole.

In the Western Hemisphere a very interesting expedition commenced its labors last summer under the leadership of a young Norwegian explorer, Captain Roald Amundsen. Captain Amundsen was a member of the Belgian Antarctic expedition under Commander Gerlache, and whilst taking part in that enterprise conceived the idea of attempting, on his return to Europe, to organize an expedition with the object of re-locating the North Magnetic Pole, the position of which was fixed for the first time in 1831, by Commander (afterwards Sir) James Clark Ross, on the western shore of Boothia Felix, in latitude 70° 5′ N., longitude 96° 47′ W. The view that now generally finds favor is, that the position of the North Magnetic Pole is not stationary, and the series of careful magnetic observations which Captain Amundsen proposes to take in the region where Ross made his great discovery is likely to prove of considerable scientific value. The

young Norwegian has spared no pains to qualify himself for the task, and in the summer of 1901 made a preliminary trip in the tiny ice-yacht which he has purchased, the "Gjöa," a vessel of only 47 tons register, but one of the strongest of the Norwegian Arctic whaling fleet. Dr. Nansen has spoken in the highest terms of the observations on the East Greenland current which Captain Amundsen made during this trip. The smallness of the "Gjöa" will, it is believed by many authorities, prove an advantage among the drift-ice that blocks the narrow channels which separate one from another the maze of islands, large and small, lying to the north of the North-American continent. All told, the members of the expedition number some eight men. If all has gone well, it should be now wintering on the south shore of King William Land. On the way, a party of two men is to be landed on Boothia Felix, if the observations indicate that this is still the area in which the North Magnetic Pole is situated. They will be provisioned for two years, and have the materials for establishing a magnetic observatory and for building a hut to live in. This spring, a number of sledge-expeditions are to be made from the ship, and Captain Amundsen hopes himself to fix the exact location of the Magnetic Pole. During the summer, efforts will be made to push westwards in the "Gjöa" to winter quarters on the south side of Victoria Land, and the spring of 1905 is to be devoted to the exploration of the surrounding region. In the autumn, the station on Boothia Felix will be dismantled, and thenceforward the endeavors of the expedition will be directed to forcing the Northwest Passage, which has only once been made in its entirety—and then in the reverse direction—by Captain Robert McClure, in 1850--53. Two summers, Captain Amundsen hopes, will suffice to complete his task; before the end of the year 1907 he looks forward to the satisfaction of passing through Bering Strait into the Pacific Ocean. Whether this ambitious programme will be possible of accomplishment remains to be seen. In any case, it is confidently anticipated that valuable magnetic, geographical, and other scientific work will be done by the expedition.

Of prospective expeditions in the North Polar area, perhaps the most important is that which Commander Robert E. Peary has in view. With the exception of Dr. Nansen, no Arctic explorer has to-day a reputation equal to that which Peary enjoys.

Since 1891, he has continuously been engaged in the work of North Polar exploration, and twice on his last expedition he broke all records for the Western Hemisphere, reaching a latitude of 83° 50′, N., in 1900, and a latitude of 84° 17′, N., in 1902. Though he cannot be said to have come within measurable distance of success in his efforts to reach the Pole, Commander Peary is confident that he will yet reach his goal. The Peary Arctic Club has been reorganized for the purpose of financing the new enterprise, and it may be taken for granted that Peary will be sent north at the head of an admirably equipped expedition.

The expedition which the Canadian, Captain Bernier, is anxious to attempt to lead to the North Pole, cannot be spoken of with the same assurance. The definite announcement that Peary had obtained official leave of absence in order to renew his attempt, seemed to arouse the supporters of the Canadian project to fresh activity. At any rate, the announcement was speedily followed by a cable message from the Dominion, stating that Lord Strathcona had subscribed £1000 towards the funds of the Bernier expedition, and that the total subscriptions now amounted to £12,000, while it was hoped that a vessel would be provided by the Canadian Government. But it is nearly three years since Captain Bernier made his plans public, and sought for financial assistance in carrying them out; and it does not yet seem assured that the expedition will be ready to start this year. Captain Bernier is an energetic Canadian sailor, with no special scientific training; but he fully appreciates the importance of the scientific work to be accomplished by Arctic expeditions. Briefly, his aim is to enter the Polar ocean by way of Bering Strait, run his vessel into the ice some hundreds of miles to the east of the point where the "Fram" joined the pack, and then drift with the current. In this way he hopes that his ship will be carried farther north than was the "Fram," possibly over the Pole itself—at any rate, near enough to it to enable a party to leave the ship with a prospect of reaching the Pole over the ice.

Rumors of other prospective expeditions with the North Pole as their objective have found currency. No great importance, however, need be attached to such schemes as that brought forward by two German scientists, Dr. School and Dr. Anschulz-Kämpfe, who propose to make their way north under the ice in a submarine. Apart from these schemes, there is, of course, al-

ways a certain amount of scientific work being done in the Arctic regions. Russians and Swedes are continually conducting investigations in Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya; and, though these labors may be of no particular general interest, they are not without scientific value, apart altogether from the additions that accrue to our geographical knowledge of still imperfectly known areas. In Greenland, too, the activity of the Danes is always more or less in evidence; and during the past two seasons there has been at work along the west coast an unusually interesting expedition comprising Mr. Mylius Erichsen, a well-known Danish literary man, Count Moltke, and Mr. Knud Rasmussen, who, while not neglecting geographical work where opportunity presented itself, have had for their main object the investigation of the manners, customs, beliefs and folk-lore of the Eskimo, before the mode of life and manner of thought of these people become essentially changed by contact with European civilization.

As to the comparative value of all these expeditions, it must be remembered that the problem of Arctic geography has now been solved in its main outlines; and in this connection no great discoveries, such as have resulted from earlier expeditions, are to be looked for in the future. No doubt, however, there is still much valuable, patient scientific work to be done in the North Polar regions; and, in particular, it would be of importance to get soundings of the polar seas where such observations have not yet been taken. But it is to be feared that not much is likely to be done in this respect by expeditions whose main object is to reach the Pole.

In the Antarctic region, there has been a great outburst of exploring energy during the past three years. A very few words will suffice to recall the work and position of the English National Expedition. The "Discovery" left Lyttelton, New Zealand, on Christmas Eve, 1901, pushed south through the ice-pack, and down the east coast of Victoria Land, to the edge of the great ice-barrier. Turning east, the expedition followed the barrier, passed the farthest point reached by Ross in this direction in 1842, and discovered new land which was named King Edward VII. Land. At a point in latitude 76°, S., longitude 152° 30′, W., Captain Scott deemed it advisable to retrace his steps, and the expedition returned to the neighborhood of Mounts Erebus and Terror, which were found to be

situated on an island. Winter quarters were taken up on the south of this island, in McMurdo Bay. Valuable scientific records continued to be kept during the winter; and in September, 1902, commenced a series of excursions from the ship which resulted in the addition of a vast amount of information to our knowledge of this section of the South Polar area. On one of these excursions, Captain Scott, Lieutenant Shackleton and Dr. Wilson pushed due south and succeeded in reaching latitude 82° 17′, S., 163°, E., establishing a record for the farthest south, which beat the previous best by more than 250 miles. On his return to the "Discovery" in February, 1903, after an absence of some three months, Captain Scott found that an expedition had been sent to his assistance under the command of Captain Colbeck, on board the "Morning." Contrary to anticipation, the ice in McMurdo Bay did not break up so as to allow the "Discovery" to make her escape; and, after transferring a supply of stores and provisions to the "Discovery" from the "Morning," Captain Colbeck had to return alone to New Zealand. Now he is making his way once more to the regions south of the Antarctic Circle. The Admiralty has taken charge of the relief operations, and in company with the "Morning" has despatched to Captain Scott's assistance a second vessel, the "Terra Nova," under the command of Captain Harry Mackay. It is understood that instructions are being sent to Captain Scott to return without fail this year, bringing with him all the men under his command, whether the "Discovery" gets free from McMurdo Bay or not. This year, therefore, will in all probability see the conclusion of the National Antarctic Expedition.

The German National Expedition has already completed its labors in the South Polar area. The desire has been expressed in German geographical circles that the "Gauss" should be allowed to spend another year in the Antarctic region, for the purpose of completing its investigations; but, since the "Gauss" has been permitted to return to Europe, and is now for sale, it may perhaps be inferred that the proposal for renewing the work is not favored in official quarters. The results hitherto obtained by the German expedition have been solid rather than brilliant. The field of its operations lay to the west of that where the British expedition has been at work. It was the last day of January, 1902, before the "Gauss," which left Germany about

a week after the "Discovery" sailed from England, reported from Kerguelen Island on the last stage of its voyage to the South Polar regions. A party was left on the island for the purpose of taking scientific observations. The "Gauss" proceeded eastwards, and in three weeks' time found herself imprisoned in the ice some miles north of the Antarctic Circle, and just west of the 90th meridian of east longitude, which is the dividing line between what geographers are agreed in calling the Victoria and Enderby Quadrants. Land lay about fifty miles to the south of this position; and, before winter finally set in, a number of sledge-expeditions were carried out in that direction. The most prominent feature in the landscape, and the objective of most of the excursions, appears to have been a bare volcanic peak, some 1200 feet in height, which received the name of Gaussberg. Magnetic, meteorological and astronomical stations were established; and, at these, valuable series of observations were recorded throughout the winter. Oceanographical and other scientific work also received careful attention. With the return of spring, towards the end of 1902, the sledging trips were renewed; but no very long journeys seem to have been made. The "Gauss" was released from her winter quarters on February 8th, 1903, and commenced to explore the region to the west; but when, just two months later, Dr. von Drygalski, the leader of the expedition, ordered the vessel to be steered clear of the ice and a course laid for Kerguelen Island, the expedition had only advanced to 79° 33′, E. longitude, and was 2′ north 65° S. If, however, the geographical discoveries of the expedition are comparatively small, the other scientific results will, no doubt, do credit to German thoroughness and accuracy and expert knowledge.

Apart from these two expeditions, the energy of South Polar explorers has been concentrated on one region—the area to the south of South America. In that section of the Antarctic field have been engaged both the Scottish and the Swedish expeditions, which complete the tale of the main body of the forces engaged in the great international assault which has been delivered on the defences of the South Pole. To the rescue of the Swedish expedition, however, were despatched, in the autumn of 1903, certain auxiliary forces—Swedish, French and Argentine,—from which a measure at least of independent work may be expected. Dr. Nordenskiöld, it will be recalled, left

Sweden in the autumn of 1901, at the head of a scientific expedition, numbering in all some thirty members, including a competent scientific staff. Early in the new year, the "Antarctica," as Dr. Nordenskiöld's vessel was called, left Staten Island, where the Argentine Government had established a magnetic observatory which was to be worked in conjunction with the various expeditions engaged in the exploration of the South Polar area. The first Antarctic land that was sighted was King George Island, in the South Shetland group. Thence the Swedish expedition proceeded down the west coast of Louis-Philippe Land. This territory was found not to be an island, but the northern extremity of Graham Land. Proceeding north again, the expedition rounded Louis-Philippe Land and made its way down the east coast. It was found impossible, however, to push very far south; and, eventually, a wintering party, consisting of Dr. Nordenskiöld himself and five companions, including an officer of the Argentine navy, was landed on the shores of Admiralty Inlet, in Snow-Hill Land, south of Cockburn Island, just south of the 64th parallel. On February 21st, 1902, the "Antarctica" left the wintering station, which was provisioned for eighteen months, and made her way north to Tierra del Fuego, and thence to the Falkland Islands, where at Port Stanley she was joined at the end of March by Dr. J. Gunnar Andersson, the acting scientific commander of the expedition during Dr. Nordenskiöld's absence. During the winter, valuable scientific work was carried out in the South Georgia Islands, among the Falkland group, and between the latter islands and Tierra del Fuego. In November, 1902, the "Antarctica" proceeded south once more *via* the South Shetland Islands, on her way to Snow-Hill Land. News of her return, with Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions on board, was expected at the end of February or early in March, 1903, but the Antarctic summer came to a close, and winter set in without any news of the expedition being received. In these circumstances, though no very serious alarm was felt for the safety of the Swedish explorers, the duty of despatching a search expedition became incumbent on the Swedish Government, and in the middle of August last the "Frithjof," under the command of Captain Gylden, left Stockholm, bound for the Antarctic lands and seas which Dr. Nordenskiöld had selected as the field of his operations. As has already been indicated, however, French and Ar-

gentine expeditions were also organized with the object, in part at any rate, of rendering Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions such assistance as they might be found to be in need of.

Special interest attached to the Argentine expedition. It was decidedly a national enterprise. The vessel of the expedition, the "Uruguay," was a gunboat of the Argentine navy, was commanded by an officer of the Argentine navy, Commander Irizar, and was despatched at the expense of the Government. In more ways than one, the Argentine Government had rendered substantial assistance to the Swedish expedition; and, apart altogether from the fact that an Argentine officer was among Dr. Nordenskiöld's companions, the expedition under Commander Irizar is a proof of a newly awakened interest on the part of the republic in the exploration of the lands and seas which lie to the south of its territories. No pains were spared to ensure the success of the expedition. Commander Irizar, who was Naval Attaché to the Argentine Legation in London, sought the best advice he could get regarding the equipment of the "Uruguay" and had several interviews with Lieutenant Shackleton, of the British Antarctic expedition.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Argentine Republic, in this, its initial enterprise in South Polar exploration, should have had the reward of effecting the rescue of the Swedish expedition. Starting south before either the French or the Swedish relief expedition commenced the real search, Commander Irizar found, on reaching Louis-Philippe Land, that the "Antarctica" had been crushed by the ice in Erebus and Terror Gulf, on the northeast coast of Louis-Philippe Land, early in 1903. Two members of the staff, without provision or equipment of any kind, wintered on a desolate island, while the rest of those on board had to spend the winter on another island. The two parties were ignorant of each other's fate, and Dr. Nordenskiöld knew nothing of what had happened till both parties turned up at Snow-Hill just as the "Uruguay" arrived to rescue the expedition. Fortunately Commander Irizar found all the members of the expedition safe, with the exception of one sailor who died subsequent to the loss of the vessel, and all were carried on board the "Uruguay" back to the Argentine Republic, whence they reached Europe in January. Dr. Nordenskiöld made several sledge expeditions, one from Snow-Hill Land in a southwesterly direction, reaching the 66th

parallel and making considerable additions to our knowledge of the geography of the region. Important series of scientific observations were also made during the long period of upwards of eighteen months that a station was established at Snow-Hill Land. Numerous soundings were taken and valuable collections were made, though, unfortunately, most of these were lost in the "Antarctica." Violent gales were experienced during nearly the whole period, and some remarkably low temperatures were noted.

The "Uruguay" was provisioned for two years, and the programme of the Argentine expedition included, besides the relief of Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions, the scientific exploration of the lands and seas to the south of South America, where though much has been done, much more remains to be done. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the "Uruguay" will again make her way south, but on this point nothing is yet known. A similar remark applies to the Swedish relief expedition. The object Captain Gylden had in view was, of course, primarily the rescue of his compatriots. But he also was prepared to carry out independent scientific work, during the open season of 1903--4 at any rate. He himself is Professor of Hydrography at the Norwegian naval school, and the "Frithjof" was specially manned and equipped with a view to the recording of scientific observations. The "Frithjof" visited the scene of the wreck of the "Antarctica," but found no trace of the vessel; she is, no doubt, now carrying out her scientific work.

As to the French expedition on board the "Français," under Dr. Jean Charcot, the relief of Dr. Nordenskiöld was only an incidental part of its programme. It was originally intended that the expedition should operate in the North Polar area. National pride, however, demanded that France should not stand on one side when so many other nationalities were engaging in the work of South Polar exploration. Half the funds of the expedition have been provided by Dr. Charcot himself, contributions have been voted by the French Chambers and the Municipal Council of Paris, and the balance has been provided by public subscription. The expedition has been organized by a committee of which the Prince of Monaco is one of the members, and the second in command is Commander Gerlache, formerly leader of the Belgian Antarctic expedition, though according to latest accounts Captain Gerlache and a member of the scientific staff have

quarrelled with Dr. Charcot and left the expedition. The field in which the French expedition will operate is the region between the areas in which the British and Swedish expeditions have been at work—that is, the region west of Graham Land and east of Ross's great ice-barrier. A careful examination will be made of the inlets of the coast, for the purpose of selecting winter quarters, to which a retreat will be made in the first half of March. In the southern spring of 1904, and summer of 1904-5, further exploring expeditions will be made, while varied scientific work will be carried out continuously.

It remains only to add a word with reference to the Scottish expedition. This is under the command of Mr. W. S. Bruce, who is assisted in the scientific work by a competent staff of half a dozen trained observers. The vessel, the "Scotia," a Norwegian whaler rechristened and practically reconstructed, is in charge of Captain Thomas Robertson, who has had long experience both in Antarctic and, particularly, in Arctic seas. Oceanography and meteorology are the branches of work to which the expedition is devoting special attention. Originally, it was intended that the expedition should strike south from the Sandwich Islands, which lie some thirty degrees of longitude east of the scene of the labors of the Swedish expedition. But, like most other expeditions, the Scottish enterprise was late in starting, and January, 1903, was approaching its close before the "Scotia" left the Falkland Islands. News of the return of the expedition to Buenos Aires was received in the middle of December. Mr. Bruce reports a rich harvest of results. The "Scotia" did not winter in a high southern latitude, finding quarters in the South Orkney Islands. But in the voyage made by the vessel before a wintering station was established, a wide area was covered, and the expedition reached latitude 70° 25′ South. The results of the expedition confirm the researches of Sir James Clark Ross in the same region. Among the scientific investigations carried out, the oceanographical work stands out very prominent. Four thousand miles of unexplored ocean were hydrographically surveyed, and in one spot a depth of 2700 fathoms was recorded. The expedition has not, however, yet concluded its labors, and additional funds having been procured the "Scotia" has again proceeded southward, with an addition to its staff of four Argentine scientific experts.

And now, briefly, what is likely to be the net result of this great outburst of exploring energy in the South Polar area? East and west and south of the great ice-barrier, the British expedition has made extensive discoveries: and German, Swedish, Scottish, French and Argentine explorations should add largely to our knowledge of the region south of South America. But, while there is no occasion to depreciate the extent and importance of the work which has been and will be accomplished during the campaign now in progress, it must be admitted that when all the forces at present in the field have withdrawn from the contest we shall still have an imperfect idea of the configuration of the great southern continent, if continent it be. If the circle round be taken, the work of the English National Expedition, so far as yet known, extends roughly over fifty degrees of longitude, from 160°, E., past 180°, to 150°, W., that is, about one-seventh of the circle. The German expedition covered only some ten degrees of longitude, roughly from 90°, E., to 80°, E., while the crowd of expeditions south of Cape Horn will do well if they explore the whole of the region, say an eighth of the circle, between the Sandwich Islands, east of the 30th meridian of west longitude, and Alexander I. Land, west of the 70th meridian. In other words, the investigations of the National Expedition extend over rather less than a third of the Ross Quadrant, and a still smaller section of the Victoria Quadrant; the "Gauss" covered, in the exploring stage of her long voyage, about a tenth of the Enderby Quadrant; and Swedish, Scottish, French and Argentine expeditions will probably explore from a quarter to a half of the Weddell Quadrant. But, while there are still vast stretches of Antarctic lands and seas which invite the attention of the explorer in search of new fields to conquer, while relatively our knowledge of the South Polar area is still extremely small, actually much has been done. Captain Scott and his companions have performed a brilliant piece of exploring work, giving character to large spaces on the map that formerly were blank; and all the expeditions have garnered, or are garnering, a rich harvest of scientific observations, which cannot fail to be of great theoretical importance and, it is hoped, of some practical value.

J. Scott Keltie.

ELASTICITY AND SOUND BANKING.

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FROM 1897 to 1901, the promotion of enterprise which promised large return on capital ventured was the dominant thought. In the language of President McKinley, these were "times of appalling prosperity." Coincident with the sale of securities based on speculative estimates of future income, was an enormous expansion of credit—*i.e.*, dealings on promises or contracts for the future delivery of money. Speculative securities were used as a basis for bank-credits; bank-credits in turn were used to make larger purchases of materials; the commodity market, bounding to a new and higher price level, gave larger book-profits, which again were reflected in judgments of increased valuation of resources, as a basis for a still further expanding credit. The prominent feature of what we came to know as "prosperity" was a remarkable swelling of the asset side of the balance-sheet.

In 1901, conditions began to be reversed. Many of the promises made for prospective large gains in income from speculative venture remained unfulfilled, and a more conservative judgment began to scale former estimates of valuation. The asset side of the balance-sheet of the buying public began to shrink, while liabilities in the form of credit, by the very nature of contracts made, continued to increase. It was this latter condition that revived the demand for elasticity.

There are two ways in which credit liabilities may be met, viz: by "payment" and by "settlement." *Payment* is the satisfaction of a credit-*obligation* by delivery of the amount of money contracted for. *Settlement* is the satisfaction of a contract for future delivery by a new contract or acceptance, in lieu of de-

livery or payment. Ability to *pay* depends on the ownership or possession of money, or something which may be converted into cash, for delivery when the credit-contract is due and demand is made; ability to *settle* depends on the power of the one obligated to offer something which will be acceptable to the creditor in lieu of legal-tender money.

In campaigns for currency and banking reform, these two methods of satisfaction of credit-demands have been the first premises of two opposing schools of financial thinking. Recurring periods of relapse from speculative excess, cycles of decreasing assets and proportionately increasing liabilities, have caused issue to be joined between them. The school which have pleaded for reform based on ability to *pay,* have styled their argument a plea for financial "soundness." The school which have urged measures for *settlement,* without being required to fulfil their contracts for future delivery of money, have been characterized by their opponents as "inflationists." But, whatever may be chosen as terms to properly represent these two financial creeds, it must be recognized that each is an attempt to solve the problem of liquidation—the one, by the introduction of methods which will insure a larger proportion of assets to credit issued, the other, by a provision for new issues of credit liabilities to meet those already outstanding. It may be further observed that, in all of these contests, the one school have stood for the strict fulfilment of existing contracts, and have sought to protect business against the evil of *future* excesses of credit-issue, while the other have sought to obtain relief from a *present* emergency, arising out of demands made for the delivery of money on existing contracts of credit.

In 1893-6, attempt was made to solve the problem of liquidation by establishing 371.5 grains of silver as the standard for payment of existing liabilities and for the valuation of assets. With the price of silver as it then stood, this device would at once have doubled the proportion of assets to credit liabilities, and would have made liquidation easy. Two successive political campaigns recorded victory for the gold standard; and all future doubt as to the ability of the Government to liquidate its credit-money obligations, by *payment* according to the standard, was set at rest by *increasing the assets* of the Government available to meet gold demands. These questions are now considered settled, but a new

period of liquidation brings with it a similar controversy with respect to the credit-accounts of commercial banks. On questions of public policy, opinion is again divided between the same schools, representing the same ideals that have contested for supremacy throughout the last two centuries.

A restatement of their respective demands may lend clearness to the presentation of contending faiths. To give greater facility to the liquidation of bank-credit liabilities, the one school argue: (1) For authority to issue new promissory notes in *settlement* of credit-accounts outstanding; (2) for a first lien on the general assets of the bank to secure the ultimate *payment* of these notes; (3) for the abolition of the Sub-Treasury; (4) for the "deposit" of all revenues of the Government in the commercial banks, without collateral security; (5) for the right of banks to establish branches, without requiring a proportionate increase of capital-reserves to liabilities.

The arguments offered in support of these several demands are in brief as follows: (1) That authority to issue notes will relieve the banks from the necessity of obtaining legal-tender money for delivery in time of unusual demand for liquidation of bank-credit, and will thus relieve extraordinary pressure on the money market; (2) that a first lien on the general assets of the bank to secure the ultimate *payment* of notes issued in *settlement* of outstanding credit-accounts, will keep the bank-note as "sound" as the issues of the Government, and will protect it as well as if secured by a deposit of Government bonds; (3) that the abolition of the Sub-Treasury system will prevent money being abstracted from the regular channels of trade when there is a surplus of Government revenue over expenditure; (4) that by "depositing" the revenues of the Government with the commercial banks, these "deposits" may be used to support still larger volumes of credit-accounts, and increase the available funds of the community; (5) that by a system of branch-banking, capital will be given greater "fluidity,"—*i.e.*, the money of the bank may flow from one part of the country to another as it may be needed.

Answering these contentions, the other school of banking opinion urge that all this is a plea directed towards weakening the capital-resources of the banks on the one hand, and for permission to avoid *payment* of credit-accounts outstanding on the other. Further enlarging on these views, they argue that authorization to

issue new notes in *settlement* of demands for delivery of money made on account, is a means of avoiding *payment,* and in its effect not only prevents such a readjustment of assets to liabilities as is necessary to sound banking, but tends toward a still larger inflation of credit, at the very time when assets are being scaled by the exercise of more conservative judgments of valuation—*i.e.,* when their ability to convert assets into cash for delivery on credit-demands is being reduced. It is also pointed out that the security offered for note-issues, in the form of a lien on the general assets, not only decreases the need of capital-resources, but at the same time tends to weaken still further the support to bank credit-accounts—the kind of funds in most general use,—and to weaken public confidence in the whole banking system. They urge that the Sub-Treasury, instead of being an element of weakness, is an element of strength in two ways: *first,* by segregating the public funds, the necessity for larger bank capitalization is increased; and, *second,* by storing up an independent reserve in time of low money-demand, an independent money-reserve is at hand which may be made available to the banks in time of monetary strain. In support of this last contention, they point to the wholesome influence of the Sub-Treasury in the recent disturbances, such as the Baltimore and St. Louis panics, at which times the bank situation might have proved disastrous to the business of the whole country, had it not been for the aid of the Government.

As to the so-called "deposits" of Government moneys in the banks, they show that these are nothing more or less than loans to the banks without interest. In this relation, it is further urged that the only reason why any one should purchase a bank-account is to obtain funds for current use in a form more convenient than money; that the only need of the Government for such funds is represented in the accounts of disbursing officers—about $6,000,000. They hold, therefore, that the ever-increasing loans of the Government to the banks (at present amounting to about $170,000,000) put a premium on their relying on the paternal support of the Treasury, instead of depending on their own capital-resources for the cash needed in the liquidation of their own accounts—*i.e.,* for money reserves. Again, it is urged that the demand for branch-banking is inspired by this same motive—the desire for still further lessening the capital cost of doing business, which, if accomplished, would result in again

weakening the need for capital contributions by the stockholding proprietors of banking corporations.

This second school would secure elasticity in quite another way. Their first principle is expressed by Mr. James G. Cannon, who says:

> "Bankers sometimes plead for more elastic currency, but what is needed is more elasticity of the assets of the bank; what is wanted are *assets* that are readily convertible into cash in time of panic, which will *pay* depositors, and at the same time permit new loans."

This statement sets out in strong relief the irreconcilable premises of the two classes of thinkers; the one urging a right to *increase liabilities* still further when their assets are inadequate to support outstanding demand-credit; the other urging *an increase in the capital-assets*—those assets readily convertible into cash without curtailing loans.

According to the manner of thinking of this latter school, the purpose of capitalization of a bank (as in all other business enterprises) is to provide the funds necessary to procure permanent equipment. The financial process called "capitalization" is the creation of a permanent fund for permanent use. The reason for obtaining funds for permanent equipment by capitalization, is to avoid the necessity of constantly seeking temporary relief in refunding a need which is continuous. The permanent need of a commercial banking institution is a need for money, or other assets readily convertible into money, as a means of supporting outstanding credit-accounts to customers.

The business of banking is that of furnishing "current-funds" to its customers, in the form of non-interest-bearing credit of the bank. The customer obtains these credit-funds by exchanging for them his own interest-bearing notes, or other forms of bankable assets. The earnings of a bank are chiefly derived from using these non-interest-bearing credit obligations to purchase good commercial paper at a discount or at interest. The amount of earnings depends, in large measure, on the amount of good commercial paper the bank is able to buy with its credit-accounts—*i.e.*, profits depend on the amount of credit-accounts (so-called "deposits") purchased by customers for use as current-funds by means of their own interest-bearing obligations.

The capitalization of banks, therefore, should be sufficient to support and protect their credit-purchases of all good commercial

paper offered by customers, and when present equipment is inadequate to do this the demand should be met by increased capitalization or the organization of new banks. In other words, the bank should stand ready at all times to purchase all good paper offered by those who carry so-called deposits, and they should have capital-resources large enough to meet all demands for money on the credit-accounts so created and issued to customers, without restricting or rediscounting loans. *Capitalization* should be sufficient to meet every *money-demand* on the credit business done.

If there were no variations in the amount of credit used, then a money equipment large enough to meet the constant money-demands on credit-issues, pending voluntary liquidation of loans and discounts, would be the amount of equipment needed. But the fluctuations of demands for current bank-credit are wide; the money-demands are always a variable quantity. They come from the shifting prosperity of customers; they come also from the fluctuating demands of ordinary business in the community from season to season. It is found by experience, however, that the demands for current-funds (*i.e.*, the amount of good commercial paper and other bankable assets offered to the bank in exchange for accounts), varies with considerable regularity. In highly mercantile communities, the experience of a bank may show a recurring ebb and flow of credit four times a year—the largest demands coming semi-monthly; in certain agricultural communities, there is a rise and fall twice per year; in others, as in the Cotton States and in parts of Canada, the loans and accounts cumulate and are reduced by voluntary liquidation only once in twelve months. There is, therefore, in the experience of banks in different communities a definite basis for a close approximation to capital equipment needs. The amount of capital needed under such circumstances, unless the bank intends regularly to shift the burden by rediscount, is an amount that will provide a safe money-reserve for the support of the largest volume of credit-accounts (so-called "deposits") carried during the year.

No greater fallacy ever existed in banking circles, however, than the one so often employed—that a certain percentage of "cash" to "deposits" is the only equipment necessary to sound banking. This form of reasoning has led to strange results. In time of minimum money-demand, the money-reserves are allowed to run low in proportion. By assuming that this is the only form of

equipment needed, the bank has no resources from which more money may be realized when demands are larger, except by calling in loans or restricting accommodations.

The wide variations of demands for money made from time to time on the accounts of customers make two forms of equipment advantageous, viz.: (1) a legal-tender "money-reserve" of such amount as will enable the bank to meet all *ordinary* money-demands; (2) an "invested capital-reserve" which will produce an investment revenue when money-demands are *small,* but which may readily be converted into cash to meet *extraordinary* money-demands, without forcing the bank to sell its commercial paper assets or call in its loans.

By those who advocate a system of "banking on the capital-resources of the bank," it is urged that there are two ways of realizing on "unencumbered capital investments," viz.: (1) They may be *sold* for cash, and the proceeds of the sale added to the "money-reserves," or (2) they may be *hypothecated* in time of need, thus at once obtaining the desired cash and retaining an equity of redemption in the investment. Of these two methods, hypothecation is the best form of conversion to meet pressing demands, as there may be a loss of invested principal on forced sales even where the investment is in United States bonds. Sales, on the other hand, are the better forms of conversion when a favorable market is found—*i.e.,* for the gradual conversion of assets to permanently increase the amount of capital-resources carried in the form of money-reserve. Since elasticity depends on the ability of the bank to obtain money to meet sudden demands or to support a sudden increase in customers' accounts, the principle of elasticity will best be served by investing the surplus capital-resources of the bank in a form of assets that may be readily *hypothecated,* and in keeping these investments unencumbered. This last feature cannot be too much emphasized; the "invested reserve," to be available for any purpose (by sale or by hypothecation), must remain *unencumbered.*

Proceeding from an ideal of capital-resources (in the forms of money-reserves and of investments convertible into cash) adequate to meet all demands for *payment* on credit-accounts outstanding, this second school have a very different programme of reform and elasticity to propose: (1) They would maintain the Sub-Treasury system in its integrity, for the same reasons which

led to its foundation, viz., to compel the banks to do business on their own capital; and if at any time the surplus-money-reserve becomes too large, it is urged that this may be corrected by payment of Government obligations or by reduction of revenue. (2) They would give to the banks a note-issue privilege, as a means of providing increased facilities for the *hypothecation* of the "invested reserve"; but they would require that the banks receive notes from the Government only on the condition of satisfactory collateral deposited—the same condition as would be imposed if they were applying to a Clearing-House for an issue of Clearing-House certificates, to tide over an emergency. (3) As an inducement to adjustment of the volume of credit business to the capitalization provided for its support, they would require that interest be paid on these issues, somewhat above the usual commercial rate, as is the custom of Clearing-Houses. (4) In time of panic, they would strengthen the financial situation by making the Government surplus available to banks through the hypothecation of unencumbered capital-resources, again charging a rate of interest adequate to force the bank back on its own resources as soon as the extraordinary emergency had passed. (5) They would take away from the banks the privilege of loaning (selling) their money to other banks and of still counting this as a part of their money-reserve; by a repeal of the "reserve-deposit" clause of the present law, it is pointed out, the banks would be made still further to rely upon their own capital, as they would be required to invest their surplus money-reserves in capital-resources convertible into cash, without shifting the money-demand on their reserve again, causing them to restrict their credit-accommodations to customers. (6) They would erect a permanent fund for the insurance of customers'-accounts, by cumulating the income derived from the tax on issues and from interest on Government loans.

These proposals are based on the notion that the most important class of funds to be protected is the bank account—the class of funds with which over ninety per cent. of our business is transacted; that the capitalization should be adequate to protect these as well as such notes as may be issued, and that, in so far as notes are issued, they should be regarded as emergency issues of the Government made through the banks to meet the relatively small fluctuating commercial need for money, as a basis for which the

bank should provide capital-assets. They contend that the "loans and discounts" should not be encumbered for the security of notes, but that, on the other hand, when loans are paid to the bank, the fund thus created should be available to liquidate credit-accounts outstanding; that, in addition to having "money-reserves," "unencumbered capital-resources" and the "loans and discounts" to support its outstanding credit-accounts, the interest and taxes paid by the bank on loans (secured by hypothecation of capital resources as a means of obtaining cash to protect its reserves, when securities owned cannot be *sold* to advantage) should go to create a common fund to insure the credit-accounts sold by the banks to the community for current use in business. With such a system of "banking on the capital-assets of the bank," it is conceived that our credit-funds would have an elasticity adequate to meet every extraordinary demand, and that it would be as sound as the gold-standard currency of the Government.

The present contest for sound banking is but a logical sequence of national experience and sound political reasoning. It is a known fact that the amount of money needed and actually used in business is almost constant. The fluctuation for any period of three months (the longest period for which arrangements are usually made for current-funds), has been less than five per cent. from the gradually increasing mean, or average, money supply. Mr. Ridgely recently pointed out that, of this amount (which at present is something over $2,700,000,000), from fifty-three to fifty-five per cent. was constantly in circulation among the people; while from forty-five to forty-seven per cent. is regularly held in the vaults of the banks and of the Treasury. The annual expenses of national Government amount to about $500,000,000. As a means of providing current-funds for its use, it is estimated that at least $100,000,000, or twenty per cent., should be kept on hand as available cash. Besides this amount, the Government by law is required to keep $150,000,000 in gold as a money-reserve for the redemption of about $1,200,000,000 of its credit-money-issues outstanding; this, in turn, by the law of May 14, 1900, is supported by a first lien on all moneys in the general fund in the Treasury, by a first lien on all revenues, and by the ability of the Government to obtain gold through bond sales.

From thirty-two to thirty-three per cent. of the total money in use is in the vaults of the banks for the support of some $9,000,-

000,000 of credit-accounts. It has long been a settled conclusion in American thought, that the money of the country can be best protected in its physical and financial integrity by the Treasury—an institution organized to protect the public welfare, instead of being conducted for private gain. For the fluctuating money demand it has been recognized, however, that some provision should be made, and that this can best be done through those private commercial institutions where the demand is first felt. It is with respect to this fluctuating demand only, that an elastic medium is needed. But since the need is one of protecting the credit-accounts which the banks have sold to the community for profit, the conclusion seems to be a sound one that the banks should deal with the Government for the issue of this elastic medium, and that they should provide themselves with the capital-resources to make this money as sound as any other portion of the currency. It would further seem logical that, in granting to the banks such power to deal with the Government for money supply, they should not be allowed to impair the safety of the enormous issue of credit-accounts which they have sold to the public for current-funds. The banks have been permitted to engage in the business of selling credit-funds to the community for profit; the Government should require of them the same measure of public safety, by way of sound banking equipment, that it does in mining operations, transportation, manufacture, or other enterprise conducted for private gain.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

ANTI-CANTEEN LEGISLATION AND THE ARMY

BY C. E. LITTLEFIELD, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On the second day of February, 1901, the following provision of the statute became the law of the land:

"Section 38. The sale of or dealing in beer, wine, or any intoxicating liquor by any person in any post-exchange or canteen or army transport, or upon any premises used for military purposes by the United States, is hereby prohibited. The Secretary of War is hereby directed to carry the provision of this section into full force and effect."

This is what has come to be popularly, though inaccurately, known as the "anti-canteen law." It is obviously not aimed against the Canteen, but against the sale of prohibited beverages in the Canteen or Post Exchange, and it cannot in any proper sense be called the "anti-canteen law."

It was drawn and introduced by me as an amendment, in the House, on December 6th, 1900. In advocating its adoption, I said, among other things:

"Briefly, as to the propriety of the amendment, I am fully aware that there is great difference of opinion, and an honest difference of opinion, as to the wisdom and propriety of this amendment."

I think this assertion still holds good, notwithstanding the somewhat virulent and offensive tone adopted in discussing its merits, by those opposed to the legislation.

Major Seaman says it is "unrighteous to give the Army Post Exchange the name of Canteen," and he thinks it would not have been abolished if it had not been so called; but, during a long article, he commits the same "unrighteous" offence by referring repeatedly to the Canteen as having been "abolished." On account of this general misapprehension, and for the sake of clear-

ness and convenience, the term "Canteen" will be used in this article as meaning that part of the Post Exchange where beer is sold, and the term "anti-canteen" as meaning the Post Exchange where no beer is sold. This legislation will stand, I have no doubt, until a full opportunity shall have been given, under proper conditions, by practical operation, to demonstrate its wisdom or unwisdom.

Every one of whom I have any knowledge, no matter what his preconceived theories may be upon the general question of the use and abuse of liquor as a beverage, is not only entirely willing, but expects, that it shall stand or fall by this test. A vigorous effort is being made to satisfy the public, that this test has been made, and that the legislation has proved a failure. A candid examination of the facts will show that this effort must meet with failure.

Among the most pretentious contributions to this discussion are articles by Major Louis Livingston Seaman and Colonel William Conant Church in the numbers for January and December, 1903, respectively, of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. These articles derive, perhaps, an especial significance from the fact that the writers, by reason of their official character and profession, assume to have special and peculiar knowledge of the subject, and therefore the right to speak with authority. In addition to this, they have another advantage over the mere civilian. Article 66 of section 1342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States provides, that "any officer who is convicted of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman shall be dismissed from the service." That is, they are required by law, not necessarily to be gentlemen (as to which there may be a very profound distinction), but to "conduct" themselves as gentlemen. I believe that these officers are the only persons, in or out of the government service, who are the objects of this degree of statutory solicitude. When they engage in polemical discourse, it would obviously be characterized on their part, under the law, by treating their adversaries with a degree of politeness, courtesy and elevation of tone exceeding that of the civilian controversialist. How well they sustain the part appears by a few characteristic references to the persons who are unfortunate enough to believe in this legislation, and therefore lie under the ban of their displeasure.

Colonel Church makes these pleasant references to them:

"A small but most persistent and vociferous body of theorists who have no concern with the Army, nor interest in it, beyond making it the victim of their hobbies." . . . . "A mistaken sentiment, which, having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the studious ignoring of facts. . . ."

"And it should be conclusive with all, except those determined not to be convinced though one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth."

"Now that they have accomplished their purpose, they appear to have wrapped about them the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself, bound hand and foot by the restrictions they have placed upon it."

"Glowing with the ardor of self-appreciative virtue."

"Those who were about as familiar with soldiers and the life of the Army as they were with the habits of the dodo."

Major Seaman quotes with evident approval, in referring to the opponents of the Canteen, this cheerful and pleasing observation:

"We alone are virtuous. We are the advocates of reform. We are the great hypocritical hippodrome—none like us."

The tone of their articles must obviously be attributed to enthusiasm and zeal, and not to ill temper, much less ill breeding. It may be that the analysis that I will make of their articles will give rise to the suspicion that they have perhaps mistaken these assertions for argument and demonstration.

What purpose does the Canteen seek to accomplish, and how does it propose to effect it from the standpoint of its advocates? Its purposes are twofold:

First, it furnished, it is claimed, a counter attraction to the saloon that is maintained near the Post, where all kinds of liquor are sold, and by satisfying by the milder and, so-called, less harmful drinks of beer and light wines, the craving for vicious stimulants, becomes the lesser of two evils, as "its advocates frankly admit that the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army is a desideratum devoutly to be wished;" its second purpose is explained in the following quotations:*

"Its *primary purpose* was to furnish to the troops, at reasonable price, such articles, the articles of ordinary use, wear and consumption, not supplied by the government, and to afford them means of rational rec-

* Wherever italics appear in quotations, they are the work of the writer of this article.

reation and amusement suitable to their station in life, which, if denied, they would seek outside the limits of the camp." (SEAMAN.)

"The Post Exchange or Canteen is an enlisted man's club, supported by the profits on the articles purchased at wholesale for sale to its members at retail; and its prosperity depends, as does that of all similar organizations, upon its being made acceptable to those for whom it is intended, so that they will patronize it liberally instead of going abroad for their purchases. *So far as its resources permit*, it is provided with newspapers and periodicals, with games and various forms of amusement and entertainment, *and made so attractive that men of the garrison will have the least possible temptation to seek for recreation and good fellowship in quarters where they are subject to influences that tend to demoralize and degrade them, and to make them forgetful of the duty they owe as soldiers.*" (CHURCH.)

"Every enlisted man in the garrison is a stockholder in it, and from it, when it is a success, he obtains the benefits which promote cheerful endurance of hardship, make him more content with his lot, and thus a better soldier and a better citizen. At the Post Exchange the soldier can buy at a minimum cost, articles of luxury not included in the government ration, liberal as it is, for it is impossible so to adapt the ration in all respects to individual tastes that it shall not become monotonous." (CHURCH.)

A place, then, of amusement, recreation and entertainment, where articles necessary to the comfort and convenience of the soldier can be purchased, is the dominant, salient and "*primary purpose*" of the Post Exchange. The sale of beer and light wines is the incident only, the lesser evil, to be eliminated if possible. This "incident," however, is the chief among the "resources" of the Canteen, as appears from the following official advice:

"APRIL *27, 1903.*

"*Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, M.C., Rockland, Me.*

"SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant to the Secretary of War, in which you ask to be advised as to whether, after the passage of the act prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines at Post Exchanges" (there were never any "intoxicating liquors" sold in these establishments), "the Post Exchange was discontinued as a cooperative store and as a place of amusement and entertainment, or whether the only change that was made in the Post Exchange system by the enactment of the law was simply the elimination of the sale of beer and wines therefrom, and with that exception the Exchange was continued as before in every other respect as a place for amusement and entertainment, general store, etc. You add that you have received an impression that, without the aid of the profits received from the sale of beer and wines, it is thought difficult and perhaps impracticable to operate the Exchange for any other purpose.

"Replying thereto, permit me to say that the exact status of all Post Exchanges in the Army from latest reports is to be found in H. R. Doc. 252, 57th Cong., 2nd Ses., which contains official reports from every Post in the Army. From these reports it will be seen that, of the several hundred Post Exchanges in the United States and the Philippines at the time of the passage of the act, February 2nd, 1901, but very few remain, and that in the majority of cases, it has been found difficult and *impracticable* to operate the Post Exchange *without the profits received from the sale of beer and light wines.*

"Very respectfully,

"HENRY P. MCCAIN,

"Acting Adjutant-General."

This, I have no doubt, fairly states the importance of the profits ensuing from the sale of beer and light wines as the main "resource" of the Canteen, and it appears that without this "resource" it is practically impossible to maintain the primary features of the Canteen, such as recreation, amusement and entertainment.

It follows, then, that where there is no drinking of beer there is no recreation, amusement or entertainment, and the more drinking of beer, the more recreation, amusement and entertainment, and the more variety for the mess. Under the régime heretofore existing, as "every enlisted man is a stockholder in it" and participates equally in the advantages resulting therefrom, the men are naturally expected to contribute their share at least to the producing cause. Emerson truly said: "That is the one base thing in the universe, to receive benefits and render none." The total abstainer, while participating in the benefits derived from these profits, as he necessarily must, would be reaping where he had not sown, and this itself would furnish a powerful and insidious incentive to universal beer-drinking by the soldiers. In fact, the total abstainer was not infrequently taunted with his failure thus to contribute.

It will be seen that all of the considerations involved in this scheme, appetite, financial needs, pleasure, etc., tend inevitably to the universal and increasing consumption of beer and light wines.

The inquiry at once arises, Why cannot the "primary purpose" of the Canteen be accomplished by supplying the funds necessary therefor from sources other than the deprecated profits from the sale of beer, and thus eliminate the lesser evil?

The possibility of such an alternative does not appear to have

occurred to either Major Seaman or Colonel Church, surcharged as they are with information on this question. Colonel Church does say:

"If we could have at or near each Army Post such a building as that located near the Brooklyn Navy Yard, which owes its existence chiefly to the generosity of a single individual, Miss Helen Gould, it might lessen the demand for the Canteen."

Yet it is a fact that, at the time when the Colonel, who is disturbed "by the studious ignoring of facts" by anti-canteen advocates, wrote his article, $1,000,000 ($500,000 available for the fiscal year 1902--3, and $500,000 for the fiscal year 1903--4) had been appropriated for that express purpose, under a clause reading as follows:

"*Post Exchanges.* For the construction, equipment, and maintenance of suitable buildings at military posts and stations for the conduct of the post exchange, school, library, reading, lunch and amusement rooms, and gymnasium, to be expended in the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of War."

The first appropriation of $500,000 was made June 30th, 1902. While the effect of these appropriations upon the situation is not yet apparent, for reasons that hereafter appear, they provide for buildings precisely like that mentioned, not "at or near" but *in* the Army Posts, and it is conceded that they "*might* lessen the demand for the Canteen."

The American Public Health Association in September, 1901, by resolution invited "the intelligent cooperation of a very large element of good citizens . . . in taking successive steps toward the betterment of existing conditions, and thus assist in controlling and largely curtailing an evil which it is powerless at present to prevent."

And its committee urged that:

"The sale of soft drinks, warm lunches, coffee, tea, cocoa, bouillon, and soups should be encouraged, as substitutes for alcoholic beverages."

This has the approval of Colonel Church, and is precisely what this appropriation is intended to accomplish. The distinguished Major and Colonel are making their appeal to the public, and the public are entitled to know all the facts involved, and especially a factor so important that it "*might* lessen the demand for the

Canteen." They either knew, or they didn't know, of these appropriations (only one had been made when Major Seaman's article appeared). If they knew, they simply suppressed an essential fact. If they didn't know, they simply demonstrate their deplorable ignorance of a subject as to which they assume to speak with ultimate authority, as these facts were obvious to the most cursory examination, so that he that "runs may read." That the anti-canteen legislation, in the absence of the assistance to be derived from these appropriations, is not expected to reach anything approximating the maximum of success hoped for and expected, is too obvious for discussion.

These appropriations will take the place of the profits from the sale of beer, and it is the expectation that they will accomplish that purpose and contribute to the "desideratum devoutly to be wished," . . . "the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army." This is the laudable purpose that has led the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the House, the Hon. J. A. T. Hull, of Iowa, to work earnestly and successfully for these appropriations that are indispensable, if the measure is to prove a success. It is only proper to add that Senator Proctor, the acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate, has been an earnest advocate of these appropriations, and the membership of both committees, both of the majority and minority parties, laudably sustained their efforts.

These are the first appropriations of the kind that have ever been made. They were introduced in the Senate and successfully urged by Senator Hansbrough, a loyal and effective supporter of this policy. It necessarily follows that, until they shall have been generally utilized throughout the Army, as generally, at least, as was the Canteen, we can have no condition or period with which the Canteen period can be compared with any propriety or intelligence.

In addition to this appropriation, another should be made for a company-fund, in order to insure the most complete success. The company-fund enables the men to vary the monotony of the mess, and contributes greatly to their comfort. Prior to 1880, there was no Post Exchange with or without the sale of beer. Up to 1889, it was operated in comparatively few instances. Then the Canteen became general, and continued until February 2, 1901; so that the Canteen period is from 1889 to 1900 inclu-

sive. Prior and subsequent thereto we have no period—by reason of the lack of the place of recreation, amusement, entertainment and lunch-room, and a company-fund to relieve the monotony of the mess—with which a statistical comparison of the Canteen period will be of any value for the purpose of demonstrating the wisdom of the anti-canteen legislation.

While this is true, it is to be observed that the facts, fairly analyzed, hardly justify the sweeping generalizations which have been made by the Canteen advocates. The theory is, that the establishment of the Canteen drives the contiguous saloons out of business, and, conversely, that its discontinuance at once increases the number. This is the only theory than can justify the Canteen. For instance, Major Seaman says regarding Washington Barracks in Washington:

"Before the introduction of the Canteen, Four-and-one-half Street, for two or three squares from the point at which it entered the Post, was lined with small saloons in which liquor was dispensed to the soldiers. Almost immediately after the starting of the Canteen at the barracks, the effect was seen upon these establishments, and before the second month, more than half of the liquor saloons had closed up and their proprietors had moved away."

The Canteen was established at these barracks in 1889. The facts, as given me by Major Richard Sylvester, Superintendent of the Police Department of the District of Columbia, are, that there were only three saloons on Four-and-one-half Street within three "squares from the point at which it entered the Post," in 1889, and, while two of them went out of existence shortly after the establishment of the Canteen, in 1890 four wholesale liquor stores, where the law authorized the sale of liquor in quantities of not less than a pint, were established, two continuing one year and two three years, and that, on the 2nd of February, 1901, when the Canteen was abolished, there were in this same location three "squares from the point where it entered the Post," four saloons—one more than when the Canteen was established—and the number has not increased up to date. The facts show that the theory failed to materialize. Of Fort Myer, Major Seaman says:

"Before the introduction of the Canteen there were between ten and twenty low groggeries, between the terminus of the street-railway and

the entrance to Arlington, largely depending upon the patronage of the troops. . . . And that, after ten years of the Canteen at the Post only two of these were left."

On the contrary, in that locality, instead of "between ten and twenty low groggeries," the Commissioner of Revenue of Alexandria County, Virginia, Mr. H. L. Holmes, informs me from his own actual knowledge that there were from three to four saloons open from 1880 to 1891, and instead of "only two of these being left" the records show that in 1900, the end of the Canteen period, there were five in healthy working order. If all of the Major's assertions of facts are equally open to criticism it may not be entirely safe to rely without any hesitation upon his conclusions.

Major Seaman asserts, that "the liquor sellers and the W. C. T. U. are the strongest advocates of the law as it now stands," and Colonel Church says: "as no whiskey or other strong drinks were sold, the stories of the influence exerted by whiskey dealers to restore the Canteen are obviously untrue." Whether the "whiskey dealers" are for or against the Canteen goes a very little way toward establishing the facts involved, but the obvious anxiety of the Canteen advocates to separate themselves from "the liquor sellers" is certainly commendable. Whether they succeed in stating the facts in that particular, it may be well to let the organs of the "liquor sellers" show:

WHAT THE LIQUOR ORGANS SAY.

The "American Brewer" says that the members of the last Congress "allowed themselves to be influenced by a band of bigoted and narrow-minded prohibitionists in abolishing a most sensible institution which was very beneficial to the Army."

"Mida's Criterion of the Wholesale Whiskey and Wine Market," a paper that has been a constant and consistent supporter of the Canteen, says: "The first act of the present Congress should be to repeal the unwholesome law abolishing the Canteen and stop the progressive demoralization in the Army."

"The Liquor Trades' and Hotel Review" says: "It is almost certain that at the next session of Congress the Anti-Canteen law will be repealed. Almost every officer who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline in the Army, and solicitous for the higher standard of morality among the men, has agreed to sign the petition to re-establish the Canteen. This bill when presented will have the sympathy and support of every friend of the 'boys in blue' and of the cause of temperance."

"Believing with the most experienced military authorities that the

Canteen is conducive to the highest standard of sobriety and discipline, the retail dealers, through their national organization, *aside from all selfish considerations*, give their unqualified approval to this necessary adjunct of the military department, and commend the firm and manly attitude of the President in its defense and maintenance." (Resolution of the Retail Liquor Dealers, at their National Convention, at Baltimore, in October, 1900.)

"We don't consider this action taken by General Miles a death-blow to the Army Canteen by any means. The fact that Mr. Miles has come out in favor of the present Anti-Canteen law, will not seriously affect the opponents to this *unjust fanatical measure.*

"*The editor of the 'Sentinel' will appear against the Anti-Canteeners before the Congressional Committee in the coming session of Congress, and we are glad to say in this connection that we, as a member of the Congressional Committee of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, are able to break down one of the obstacles which had great influence upon the committee and the various members of Congress in the last fight.*" (Washington "Sentinel," National Organ of the Brewers' Association, Nov. 11, 1901.—Lewis Schade, Editor.)

In addition to the quotations given above, similar extracts could be made from the resolutions of the conventions of brewers and liquor dealers, and from the trade journals of the brewing, distilling and retail liquor interests. I have personally seen articles of this character from the "The Brewer's Journal," "The Brewer and Maltster," "The American Brewers' Review," "Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular," "The Wholesalers' and Retailers' Review," and the "Wine and Spirit News"; and the statement has been made by those qualified to speak on the subject that every one of the other representative journals of the various branches of the liquor trade have urged the restoration of the Canteen. This even includes the whiskey industry, although whiskey and distilled liquors were said to have been barred from the Canteen, and the whiskey trade is claimed to be the beneficiary of the legislation under review.

All this shows how vigorously and effectively the liquor sellers are advocating "the law as it now stands." If these gentlemen, and others who have been rolling that assertion as a sweet morsel under their tongues, and reiterating it in season and out, would take time to read the newspapers, they would perceive how grossly that assertion perverts the truth. It is not necessary that one should rise "from the dead" to establish the attitude of the liquor sellers.

It is interesting to note how Colonel Church gains courage and tends gradually to convince himself as he gets into the full swing of his argument. He has been thinking over the important matter of desertions, which, he says, have greatly increased; and this leads him to suggest that it "is, in the opinion *of a majority* of our army officers, the result, *in part at least,* of the stimulus given to the drinking of vile liquors by the abolition of the Canteen." Note the commendable caution: "a *majority* of our army officers." . . . . "the result *in part* at least." He continues to discuss this phase for a few paragraphs, and the more he discusses it, the more the peculiar infamy of this anti-canteen legislation is borne in upon him; and getting an accretion of courage he confidently asserts, as to this discontent, that, "if the *almost unanimous* opinion of officers *and men* is to be accepted as *conclusive,* it is *very largely* due to civilian interference with army administration." In twenty-nine lines, "a majority" becomes "almost unanimous"; "*men*" are added to the officers, so as to include everybody; and "*in part* at least," becomes "*very largely.*"

Verily, if the Colonel's article had been longer, no doubt his conclusions would have been stronger. He takes occasion, for some of his "strongest testimony," to go outside of the army, and he calls as a witness "The Rev. William J. Dalton, a Catholic priest, of Kansas City, Missouri," who seems to think that all the good the women are trying to do has been "utterly ruined" by this vicious legislation. It would be more interesting, though perhaps less to his purpose, if he had quoted all that the Rev. Father said on this question. Among other things, he said:

> "Whatever could those women have been thinking of? Oh, so impracticable as these mannish women and womanish men are. In all my priesthood, when I have had a drinking man in my parish, I have worked with him to get him to remove to a house remote from a saloon, even to the extreme of getting him to go to another parish."

Where the person whose welfare is involved happens to be a member of his "parish," he moves him *away* "from a saloon." When it is nothing but a mere soldier, he moves a beer saloon *close up* to the soldier. On more mature reflection, in order not to be a "womanish man," he ought to have a beer saloon started, if possible, in his parishioner's door-yard, instead of getting him to go to another parish to get out of the way of a saloon. Why

isn't the soldier entitled to the same consideration as the parishioner? This shows the difference between preaching and practice. His criticism, when measured by his own practice, suggests the Scriptural saying, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

To sustain his contention, Colonel Church makes reference to "a volume of over five hundred octavo pages, in small type, published under the authority of Congress. It is the testimony concerning the result which followed the prohibition of the sale of beer in Post Exchanges, gathered by the War Department from nearly one hundred Army Posts." This is referred to by Major Seaman as "an enormous volume of evidence," collected by the Secretary of War, "since its abolition." Reference is undoubtedly made to H. R. Doc. 252, 57th Congress, 2nd Session.

This document is one of the most interesting, and one of the most significant and suggestive incidents in the whole Canteen controversy. It is a response to the following resolution of the House of Representatives:

> "*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, requested to transmit to Congress the various reports received by his department on the practical operation of section 38, of the Act of February 2nd, 1901, which prohibited the sales of beer and light wines in Post Exchanges."

This resolution very clearly contemplates official "reports" from "Post Exchanges," as these are clearly the only "reports" that could give any *facts* of value, and *facts* are what Congress was after.

In his letter of transmittal, however, instead of confining himself to such "reports," the Acting Secretary of War transmitted, with such "reports" as they had, 179 newspaper extracts, filling 113 of the 501 pages of "reports," every one of these extracts, where it expresses an opinion, decidedly favoring the Canteen and frequently denouncing in vigorous language the advocates of the anti-canteen legislation. These expressions were entirely legitimate as far as the newspapers were concerned, representing their opinion as to the facts; but they are hardly to be considered as "evidence" or "testimony" as to what the facts were, which is what Congress wanted and requested.

It would seem that the War Department had introduced, as one of its modern features, the patronizing of a clipping bureau,

and had ordered only such clippings as sustained the Canteen and was accommodating enough to give Congress the benefit of its enterprise, though not invited to do so. A more careful examination of this document negatives this suggestion, as it appears that it used its own machinery for that purpose. On page 356, I find this letter :

"DETENTION CAMP, ANGEL ISLAND, CAL., *April 30, 1901.*
"*Adj.-Gen. U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.*

"SIR,—I have the honor to submit herewith an article on the Canteen taken from the Kansas City, Missouri, "Daily Journal," April, 1901, day of the month unknown. In transmitting this article, I desire to add that I have been informed that the Department desires *all remarks of this nature* pertaining to the Exchange.

"Very respectfully,
"EDWIN A. MACKLIN,
"First Lieutenant, Eleventh Infantry."

This letter enclosed the Rev. Father Dalton's "strongest testimony" above referred to. Through just what channel, whether "through military channels," we are not directly informed, but it is a fair inference from the unexplained letter, that such information was general throughout the army, and that, in addition to their other duties, the officers were charged with that of collecting and transmitting "*all remarks of this nature*" pertaining to the Exchange (*i. e.*, approving of the Canteen and denouncing the opponents of the Canteen), as the "*Department desires*" that kind. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the idea that this Department has of the manner in which fair-minded men may be properly aided in reaching a disinterested and just conclusion. Fearing that Congress might have difficulty in really understanding the attitude of some of these papers, one of them is quoted nine times, two of them eleven times, and one fourteen times. Verily, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established." There are some six hundred and forty different officers, from sergeants up, making reports. A curious fact is the apparently spontaneous and sporadic upheaval of Canteen sentiment "from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas," where, including sergeants, "one hundred and sixty-five witnesses," practically all the men at that post on the 17th and 18th of December, 1902, were moved to offer their testimony in favor of the sale of beer in the Canteen. Just what caused this epidemic of "testimony"

all one way, at this particular place, at one and the same time, does not appear. Of course, it could not have been the result of prearrangement. All at once, one hundred and sixty-five men in one place felt inspired to testify. They constitute a little more than one-fourth of the whole number of "witnesses," leaving only four hundred and seventy-five "witnesses" for the balance of the United States, Cuba and the Philippine Islands. There are four hundred and seventy-four commissioned officers reporting. During this time, there were 3,820 such officers in the army, so that we have reporting about twelve per cent. of the whole—rather an inadequate representation upon which to base the assertion that "the almost *unanimous* opinion of the officers and men" sustains the Canteen. What the "testimony" of the remaining eighty-eight per cent. would be, uninfluenced by authority, we are not advised. We do know, however, that the officers testifying against the Canteen are among the most distinguished and eminent in their profession. They are such as Lieut.-General Nelson A. Miles, Generals Ludlow and Henry of sacred memory, Generals Howard, Shafter, Wheeler, Daggett, etc.

Major Seaman introduces the testimony of the Rev. S. B. Dexter, who, "hoping that truth and justice may triumph," sends the result of his investigations to the Secretary of War, and it appears in this document. (H. R. 252, pages 246--9.) It seems that certain Chicago clergymen were appointed a commission to investigate Canteen conditions at Fort Snelling and Highwood. The Rev. Mr. Dexter says that they made majority and minority reports, though the first report would appear to be unanimous. At any rate, it is signed by the Rev. Mr. Dexter twice, once in his capacity as a member of the Commission, and once as its Secretary. The minority report is signed by him alone. In his letter of transmittal, he refers to the fact that the investigation of the majority "covered but nine hours of actual time." He says: "I mention this, however, with no intention to reflect upon the members of the Commission." Inasmuch as he signed that report twice, manifesting his approval thereof, this is evidently the exercise of great consideration on his part. Perhaps, in fairness to the reverend gentleman, it should be stated that, in his great work entitled "Cant and Canteen," he says that "the members of the Commission, in making their report on the morning of May 6th, 1901, certainly had no intention of misrepresenting

the facts in the case," (p. 20), leaving the necessary inference that, in his view, the report did to some extent misrepresent the facts. He apparently intends to discredit the report. Having signed and endorsed this discredited report twice, he naïvely says that he "wishes to state that he signed the report under protest," although no protest of any kind appears thereon. An ingenious method, peculiar to the reverend gentleman, of establishing the weight to be given to his investigations! In order to satisfy us of his undoubted credibility, he shows that he twice signed a report "misrepresenting the facts." Apparently apprehensive that the suggestion of a mental protest may not meet with a cheerful reception, and that he may not have been entirely successful in establishing his credibility as a witness, he thinks corroboration is necessary, and says that "almost all the morning newspapers of May 7th will prove this assertion." Why newspapers could not be quite unanimous on so simple a proposition we are not informed. In his work he defines Cant as "to speak with exaggerated unction, to descant with false fervor or enthusiasm" (p. 115). Just what "misrepresenting the facts" is, he doesn't say.

He misquotes the amendment in controversy by striking out the words "for military purposes" after the word "used," and inserting in place thereof, italicized, the words "or owned," changing the whole scope of the amendment (p. 45). He says that "the full benefit of Mr. Littlefield's principal speech is given to the reader, that the whole question might be studied from an unprejudiced point of view," after he has cut out the paragraph quoted at the beginning of this article, in which I state that there is "an honest difference of opinion as to the propriety of this amendment," though he had to cut a sentence in two in order to eliminate what seemed to me to be a proper, fair and candid statement (p. 47). He is still hoping, no doubt, "that truth and justice may triumph," and that the reader might get the "full benefit" . . . "from an unprejudiced point of view," but apprehensive apparently that the public might get the idea that, in an unguarded moment, a lucid interval, the parties supporting the anti-canteen legislation might entertain a conservative or reasonable view. It is believed that all of the clerical friends of the Canteen do not indulge in this *suppressio veri* method of argument.

H. R. Doc. 252 gives an itemized table from the "reports." In referring to this document, Colonel Church says:

> "Of all the posts expressing positive opinion one way or the other, ninety per cent. reported that drunkenness, desertion, absence without leave and trials by court-martial had increased."

I know nothing about the verity of these tables and take them as I find them. They cover the United States, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. The following facts are taken from the table. In answer to the question, "Has drunkenness increased?" 120 answered "yes," 55 "no," 17 were uncertain: 175 expressed a positive opinion; only sixty-nine per cent. thought it had increased. To the question, "Have courts-martial for offences caused by drunkenness increased?" 114 answered "yes," 55 "no," 18 were uncertain: 169 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; only sixty-seven per cent. say that they "had increased." To the question, "Has the number of cases of desertion and absence without leave increased?" 87 answered "yes," 84 "no," 15 were uncertain: 171 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; fifty-one per cent. only say that they "had increased."

Colonel Church says "ninety-five per cent. stated that the conditions of health had deteriorated, and all agree that morality and discipline had been injuriously affected." To the question, "Is the effect on health of command bad?" 108 answered "yes," 68 "no," 15 were uncertain: 176 expressed positive opinion one way or the other: sixty-two per cent. only say that the effect is bad. To the question, "Is the effect on morality and the discipline of the command bad?" 129 answered "yes," 45 "no," 17 were uncertain: 174 expressed positive opinion one way or the other; seventy-four per cent. only stating that the effect was bad. These statements made by a critic who charges the friends of the anti-canteen legislation with "having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the *studious ignoring of facts*," require no comment. The inference is too obvious. Let us hope that this is not a sample of what we would get if "one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth." It is to be observed that these questions, instead of being framed so as to draw out a disinterested reply, are all leading, and intimate that an answer adverse to the legislation is expected.

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

(To be Continued.)

A MENACE TO AMERICA'S ORIENTAL TRADE.

BY WONG KAI KAH, HIS IMPERIAL CHINESE MAJESTY'S VICE-COMMISSIONER TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

THE United States, as a government and a people, stands with the Chinese, if such a thing is possible, in the position of a most favored nation. The humane action of American soldiers, officers and men, who, in the late trouble in the north of China, everywhere acted in a spirit of fairness, justice and equity towards all, without question as to race, color or creed; the friendship of the United States Government in granting China's appeal to accept payment of the heavy war indemnity in silver; the recognized facts that the United States has no ulterior object beyond trade, no designs of seizing Chinese territory, have caused a feeling of sincere friendliness both in the Chinese officials and people, with a desire to encourage American interests in our country. I do not want to criticise American laws, for I must admit that laws made by the wisdom of American legislators must be accepted as good ones for the people of the United States, even if a discrimination against another people, the policy of excluding Chinese laborers, is one that might, no doubt, lead to a division of opinion. But I am sure that, if the abuse in the carrying out of the provisions of the exclusion law, as applied to the Exempt Class, were understood by the great American public, there would be a unanimous opinion, especially upon the part of the merchants and business people who want to trade with China, that a wrong is being needlessly inflicted, which, unless checked, is sure to lead to retaliation and to drive China's great trade into more friendly hands.

The laws of the United States specifically provide that certain classes of Chinese—the merchant, the student and the traveller for pleasure or curiosity—can enter this country upon producing an appropriate certificate from their Government, endorsed by the

United States consul or diplomatic officer at the port of departure; but under the rulings of the Treasury Department:

"Collectors of customs are directed to admit only Chinese whose occupation or station clearly indicates that they are members of the Exempt Class."

Under the Chinese regulations issued by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, approved by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, July 27th, 1903, it is provided as follows:

"*Rule 6.* Immediately upon the arrival of Chinese persons, it shall be the duty of the officer in charge of the administration of the Chinese exclusion laws to adopt suitable means *to prevent communication with them by any persons other than officials under his control,* to have said Chinese persons examined promptly, as by law provided, touching their right to admission, and to permit *those proving such right to land.*"

"*Rule 7.* The examination prescribed in Rule 6 should be separate and *apart from the public,* in the presence of Government officials and *such witness or witnesses only as the examining officer shall designate;* and if, upon the conclusion thereof, the Chinese applicant for admission *is adjudged* to be inadmissible, he should be advised of his right of appeal, and his counsel should be permitted, after duly filing notice of appeal, to examine, *but not make copies of,* the evidence upon which the excluding decision is based."

"*Rule 8.* Every Chinese person refused admission under the provisions of the exclusion laws by the *decision of the officer in charge* at the port of entry must, if he shall elect to take an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury, give written notice thereof to said officer *within two days* after such decision is rendered."

Rule 6 prevents a Chinese visitor from even communicating with friend, adviser or counsel. One man decides he is not admissible, and there is given to one who is a stranger to the United States, its customs and laws, not even an explanation of the reasons why he is refused permission to land; and though, more than probably, he has no knowledge of the English language, he is allowed forty-eight hours in which to secure advice, assistance, and file a notice of appeal.

"*Rule 9.* Notice of appeal provided for in Rule 8 shall act as a stay upon the disposal of the Chinese person whose case is thereby affected, until a *final decision is rendered by the Secretary;* and, *within three days* after the filing of such notice, unless further delay is required to investigate and report upon new evidence, the complete record of the case, together with such briefs, affidavits and statements *as are to be considered*

in connection therewith, shall be forwarded to the Commissioner-General of Immigration by the officer in charge at the port of arrival, *accompanied by his views* thereon in writing; *but on such appeal no evidence will be considered that has not been made the subject of investigation and report by the said officer in charge.*"

Two days are given to a stranger to get advice, assistance and file an appeal, and three days to get evidence to reverse the ruling of the officer who decides against him; and if the officer does not investigate (and there is no obligation upon him to do so), the evidence cannot be considered at the resource of appeal.

Is not this a travesty upon justice, and an undue "railroading," as it is called in this country, especially considering that the matter involved is the case of a Chinese gentleman, who has the *prima facie* evidence, in the shape of a certificate from his Government, examined and sealed by a United States consul, that he is entitled to land. Could harsher measures be adopted to bar out lepers, or dangerous anarchists or criminals?

"*Rule 21. The burden of proof* in all cases *rests upon Chinese persons* claiming the right of admission to, or residence within, the United States, to establish such right affirmatively *and satisfactorily* to the appropriate Government officers; and in no case in which the law prescribes the nature of the evidence to establish such right shall other evidence be accepted in lieu thereof, *and in every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt shall be given by administrative officers to the United States Government.*"

"*Rule 23.* All certificates, or other evidence, offered by Chinese persons to establish their right of admission to the United States, shall be retained by the officers in charge of the administration of the Chinese exclusion laws at ports of entry; *the immunity from arrest* of the Chinese persons admitted thereon resting upon their exclusive occupation in the pursuits for which their certificates, or other evidence, claim that they respectively seek admission to the United States."

After the Chinese visitor has run the gauntlet at the port of entry, the United States takes from him and keeps all his documents and turns him loose, liable to arrest; and if he is arrested, the burden rests upon him in a strange land to prove that he is innocent. At any moment, any officious officer or other person can maliciously cause his arrest, simply because he is a Chinaman without a paper, and the law says: "Now stay in jail until you prove you are innocent or have a right to be here."

"*Rule 28.* The omission from a certificate prescribed by Section 6 of the act approved July 5, 1884, of any of the information required by said section *is fatal* to the sufficiency of such certificate, as evidence of the right of the person to whom issued to enter the United States."

As the United States consul is required to visé this document, why should he, if it is not in order, pass, sign and deliver it?

"*Rule 32.* In considering evidence touching the right of a Chinese student to enter the United States, administrative officers should be governed by the opinion of the Solicitor of the Treasury Department (of June 15, 1900), that a Chinese student within the intention of the treaty of December 8, 1894, and of the laws, is 'a person who intends to pursue some of the higher branches of study, or one who seeks to be fitted for some particular profession or occupation for which facilities of study are not afforded in his own country; one for whose support and maintenance in this country, as a student, provision has been made, and who, upon completion of his studies, expects to return to China.'"

The treaty of December 8th, 1894, provided:

"That the provisions of this Convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants or travellers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein."

This is the literal wording of this Section of the Treaty as executed by the respective Governments; and there is no doubt that the intent upon the part of the United States Government was to exclude laborers, and upon the part of the Chinese Government that the rights of those mentioned should be the same as before, to come and go upon obtaining a certificate from the Chinese Government, viséd by the United States consul:

"*To entitle* such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission into the United States, *they may* produce a certificate from their Government or the Government where they last resided, viséd by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port whence they depart."

Without questioning the definition of the word "student" by the Solicitor of the Treasury Department, would it not be as well to consider the injustice to the Chinese, and the injury to the people of the United States, involved in refusing these young men of China the right to come to the United States and study in its schools, a privilege for which they pay?

In the next decade or two, those who are now the sons of the rich merchants and high officials of China will be the dominating powers in Chinese commerce and politics, and in their hearts will be a preference, a special friendliness, towards that country wherein they formed the associations of their youth, while acquiring education to fit them for their position in life.

Is it wise to shut American doors in their faces and send them to other countries, making them pro-European as against Americans in the competition for the trade and favors of China?

Under the Act of August 18th, 1894, it is provided:

"In every case where an alien is excluded from admission into the United States under any law or treaty now existing or hereafter made, the decision of the appropriate immigration or customs officers, if adverse to the admission of such alien, *shall be final*, unless reversed on appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury."

A careful consideration of these rules and regulations, with an examination of past procedures, precedents, must predispose the customs official to the belief that the duty imposed upon, and expected of, him is to keep out the applicant if he possibly can. It cannot tend to make him regard himself as an impartial judge,—practically the sole arbiter of the fate of a passenger who has travelled thousands of miles; it will rather encourage him to act the part of a prosecuting officer, whose duty it is to seek for a technicality whereby he may detain, restrain and, if possible, send back the Chinese visitor; nor will he be without the assurance that his zeal will be gauged and appreciated by the number of applicants to whom he denies admission, and that such acts will be approved by a majority of the American people.

When a Chinese merchant or student, legally entitled to come to this country, having what he believes to be an appropriate paper which the United States consul has signed and passed, who must benefit the country if in no other way than by the money he spends upon his arrival, attempts to enter the United States, his attempt is looked upon as a criminal offence; he is discriminated against, and subjected to an inquisition which humiliates him before his fellow passengers; and if there is a technical flaw in the papers, for which he is not responsible, or if there is a doubt in the mind of the customs official as to his occupation or station —as to his being a member of the Exempt Class—he is detained

in the pen on the steamship wharf, or imprisoned like a felon, until the customs officials are satisfied, and, after all this, more often than otherwise, he is sent back to China. The archives of the Chinese legations and various consulates, especially at San Francisco, are full of cases of this kind; but I can give an instance in the case of a young man whom I brought here with me.

A nephew of one of our high officials in China (who had received his education in the United States in the seventies along with myself), the son of one of our leading merchants in Shanghai, was sent by his father, with documents from the Chinese Government, properly viséd by the United States consul-general at Shanghai, as a first-class passenger, by the Canadian-Pacific route, to the United States to complete his education. The lad, fifteen years of age, had his queue cut off, and was dressed in foreign clothes; he had attended foreign schools in Shanghai, and spoke English fluently. Upon arrival at the American frontier, the customs official did not consider his papers sufficient to clearly indicate that he was of the Exempt Class (a student); they proceeded to cross-question this boy of fifteen, and in his answers found some technicality on which they held him up. After several months' detention in Canada, the boy was compelled to go all the way back to China.

Why should not this youth have been accepted on his Government papers, signed by the American consul-general?

Who would be injured by his entering, or who benefited by turning him back on a journey of ten thousand miles, to go home to his father, a large merchant, controlling thousands of dollars of trade, with the mortifying tale that "they would not let me in?"

Is it not natural that this merchant will retaliate in his trade dealings?

The official archives of the Chinese consul-general at San Francisco contain, amongst others, the case of a party of some thirty Chinese merchants who arrived at San Francisco in August, 1899, for the purpose of making connections, buying goods and generally improving their business relations with this country. The Collector refused them admission, simply on account of an omission of particulars respecting the nature and character of their business in the English portion of the certificate, although these particulars were fully given in the Chinese portion; and they were forced to return to China.

Is it reasonable to suppose that any of this group, or any friends of theirs, will give any trade they control to the United States by preference? Who was benefited by sending them away?

When American law-makers provided that an appropriate document from the Chinese Government must be secured and viséd by the United States consular official at the port of departure, it appears to me that they, in their wisdom, deemed the representative of the Government on the spot to be the person best qualified to determine whether the applicant was of the Exempt Class; and that they relied upon his satisfying himself that the document submitted to him was proper and adequate *before he affixed his seal* to it. If this is not so, then a sense of fairness, justice, even humanity, should dictate that United States consuls should be competent and instructed to refuse their seal, unless they are satisfied, of their own knowledge, or by conclusive evidence, that the party is of the Exempt Class, and that his papers are all in order. Do not let a man (there have even been cases in which women and children have been the victims) take a trip of thousands of miles, at great expense, in the belief he is right, to be subjected in the end to all kinds of hardships for reasons for which he is not responsible. In China, where a seal is official, and business is of the greatest importance, the mere act of affixing the United States consular seal is conclusive evidence to the Chinese of all being irrevocably in order.

In the case of the young man I brought over, should it have been required, the highest mercantile and banking firms and officials, foreign and Chinese, in Shanghai would have appeared before the United States consul-general and satisfied that official that the young man was a student, going to the United States to study, to complete his education, and entitled to enter the country.

The language, customs, phrases of the two people are so different that it is difficult for the Chinese to avoid mistakes in technicalities. What I advise is not concession,—no change of laws. But let American consuls in China be clearly instructed as to the nature and wording of the document required; let him, of his own knowledge, or by substantial proofs, be satisfied that the applicant is a merchant or of the Exempt Class, and let him refuse to sign, seal and deliver any papers until all these conditions are complied with. If there is any doubt, stop the party before leaving his own country. At the most, the Government and

the people of the United States can only want the law carried out, and the United States official in China, on the spot, with all means of obtaining evidence for and against any applicant, is better able to determine whether the applicant has the right to go, than the United States customs official at the port of entry.

The fact that a Chinese gentleman travels as a first-class passenger, should be considered as *prima facie* evidence that he is not a coolie, and liable to be a danger to the American laborer; and the presentation, when he makes his customs declaration, of his documents, sealed by the United States consul, should entitle him to the same treatment as other passengers.

I hope that the merchants and business men of this country, who are desirous of doing business with China, will consider and investigate this subject, and act before the root of retaliation has grown too deep to be torn up.

China has her press, that voices these "outrages," as they are called by the better class of thinking people. Every Chinese ill-treated in America or sent back from it spreads the story of his wrongs amongst his friends and their acquaintances.

The Hon. John Barrett was sent by America to our country, with an invitation to China to participate in the coming great World's Fair at St. Louis. Our Government responded, from its friendly sentiment towards the great American people, in a way that we trust is satisfactory. It is China's first official representation at an affair of this kind. Liberal appropriation was made; a commission was sent here to erect Government buildings; and a Prince of the royal blood will be at the opening of the Fair.

Every effort was made by the Government to enlist the co-operation of our merchants, so that our display might be a credit to China and an assistance to the American people in making her great World's Fair a success. Merchants all over China became enthusiastic, and preparations were going on for participation on a large scale, when, months after the invitation was extended, came the rulings of the Treasury Department, that Chinese coming here to take part in the Fair must be photographed, must comply with discriminating conditions not made applicable to any other nationals, and must give a bond that they will leave the country after the closing of the Fair.

Among the sixty-one rules issued by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, approved July 27th, 1903, while our merchants at great expense all over the country were preparing to exhibit at the Fair, we have the following:

"*Rule 44.* Every Chinese person seeking admission to the United States under the provisions of section 3 of the act approved April 29, 1902, for the purpose of taking part in any fair or exhibition authorized by act of Congress, shall, as a condition precedent to such admission, comply with the following conditions, and officers charged with the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion laws *shall* likewise, so far as action on their part is required, conform thereto. This rule takes the place of Treasury Department Circular No. 5, Bureau of Immigration, dated January 7, 1903.

"*(a).* Every such person shall furnish to the officer in charge of the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion laws at the port of entry, *satisfactory evidence* that he is a holder of a privilege from the officers of said exposition, or an employee of a holder of such a privilege, engaged to take part therein."

What knowledge has a party in China of what will be considered "*satisfactory evidence*" at the port of entry; and how many will come ten thousand miles with a doubt as to whether they will be turned back?

"*(b).* He shall furnish to the said officer in charge at the port of entry a photograph of himself, in triplicate, *and shall submit to such examination as may be deemed necessary to insure his identification.*"

The examination here required is thus defined in previous sections of these rules:

"Physical examination of his person, required by the Bertillon system of identification."

This is a procedure that is adopted in no other cases, conditions or country, except where *criminals* are concerned, a degradation that no self-respecting person can or should submit himself to, unless forced by matters of dire urgency, under which heading a desire to participate in a foreign country's exhibition should surely not be classed.

"*(c).* He shall, *if admitted,* proceed immediately, by direct and continuous travel, to the said exposition, wherever located; remain there during his stay in the United States; engage while there solely in the

occupation for which he was admitted; return within thirty days after the close of said exposition by direct and continuous travel *to the port* at which he was admitted and thence depart, by the first vessel sailing thereafter, to China or to the country of which he is a citizen or subject.

"*(d)*. He shall furnish to the United States officer in charge, by whom he is admitted, a bond of $500, *with a responsible bonding and surety company as surety*, conditioned for his immediate departure to said exposition grounds, his constant attendance and employment at said grounds, and his departure from the United States, all in accordance with the next preceding regulation."

Merchants are exempt from this paragraph (d); also from the following (i) and (j):

"*(i)*. Should any such Chinese person desire *to leave the grounds* of said exposition temporarily, he *must* apply to the officer provided for in paragraph (g) hereof, who *may* issue to him a dated card, giving his name and other particulars for his identification, and stating that he is permitted to absent himself from said grounds *not longer* than forty-eight hours from the date of said card, which shall, upon his return within the specified time, be delivered to said officer and cancelled."

There is no obligation that the officer in charge *shall* grant the application. A man may be seriously ill, requiring medical attention that cannot be had on the exposition grounds; there is no certainty that he can be removed, and, under the requirement of this rule, he *must* be returned in forty-eight hours.

"*(j)*. All Chinese persons holding such cards who fail to return within the forty-eight hours shall be deemed to be unlawfully within the United States, and the bonds given on their behalf shall be forfeited and such person shall be deported."

There is no reason, excuse, accident or even hearing allowed. A person acting in good faith may be physically unable to turn in his card within forty-eight hours; but his bond of $500 shall be forfeited and he shall be deported.

Does this appeal to the average business man as the treatment which should be accorded to a fellow man whom Americans have invited to co-operate with them in making an American undertaking a success?

The publication of these rulings in the Chinese press led to indignation meetings of the merchants, and the determination of many to give up their contemplated exhibitions; and I fear

the participation of Chinese merchants in the Fair will not be as generous as it would otherwise have been.

For commercial reasons, it would have been to the interest of the United States never to have extended an invitation to the merchants of China, and not to have gone so far as to send an able representative there to awaken interest in the Fair. If conditions were to be prescribed for the Chinese different to those applicable to all other nations, it would have been wiser to state what those conditions were to be, so that the American representative could have made the invitation a conditional one, and not a general hearty welcome, such as our merchants believed it to be.

Every merchant in whom there was incited a desire to participate in the Fair, who made preparations, at expense of time and money, and who changed his determination upon the publication of these rules, will not bear a kindly sentiment towards the United States in his business dealings; he, no doubt, from personal grievances, either real or fancied, will become an agitator, where otherwise he might have remained passive.

In no other country is the power of boycott as strong as it is in China. Every trade, business, profession, has its guild or association, whose laws are almost paramount to the laws of the country; and often merchants accomplish the repeal of an obnoxious law or tax, or the removal of an unjust official, by closing their places of business and letting them remain closed until the remedy asked for is granted.

Let the statesmen of the East and South, the mill-owners and the thousands of operators remember that many of their mills were shut up on account of the temporary stoppage of trade during the late troubles in North China.

Let the business men and statesmen of the West and of the Pacific coast, whose growth and prosperity will be measured by the extent of American trade with the Orient, consider the danger of a commercial discrimination by China against the United States as an off-set to the wrongs the Chinese believe they are suffering under. The realization of this danger may lead to a better understanding of the real situation, and to the adoption of such remedies as will make impossible any interruption of the strong sentiment of friendship which has been cherished by the Chinese towards the great American people.

WONG KAI KAH.

AN UNTECHNICAL VIEW OF WARFARE.

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U.S.N., NAVAL ATTACHÉ TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE.

Of all abstruse subjects, warfare is to the lay mind probably the most bewildering. Military writers have a habit of using technical terms, and referring to maxims or rules that are not actually stated but are rather supposed to be understood, to the ultimate confusion of all except those who have made a concise study of military methods. If this is true of military writers, it holds to an even greater extent in the case of the average narrator of naval operations; for, while every civilian has some knowledge of troops, if only of the militia, there are few who know much about the sea. And if we leave out the professional writers, who may be assumed to understand the principles of their subject, and take up historians, who regard wars as incidents of greater or less importance in the march of events, the haze grows more intense. Their accounts of operations are often narratives strung together without a clear perception of the grand essential plans that brought about the results. They dwell often on the clash of battle and deeds of individual prowess, from which the reader carries no lasting impression of why anything happened as it did.

The reason for all this is, perhaps, not far to seek. There is a great deal of the technical in the *art* of the soldier or the sailor. It requires their life study and practice. How, then, may the civilian ever know very much about so complicated a subject? The *art,* it is certain, he will never master; the *science* he may—possibly, if he is a student, even better than the busy man of action himself; for art is the aptitude of experience, science is the knowledge of principles. The admiral and the general have the

art to handle their forces; the scientific critic, who could not command a regiment or a ship, can say whether the admiral and the general have acted wisely. Some of this knowledge of the technical critic is possible to everybody, and to the intelligent citizen a little of it is necessary.

To illustrate this point, reference may be made to the writings of the late Mr. John C. Ropes of Boston. Here was a successful lawyer, who took up the study of military matters as a recreation. Actual personal knowledge of the handling of troops he had none, yet his criticisms of certain of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War, and his "Waterloo," are unique as examples of clear perception and comprehensive grasp of military principles. Again, the historian of a certain period of our American history was asked as to his method of preparing the accounts of the various campaigns and battles, which were remarkably well done. He replied that he had no method, except to study the reports and other authorities. Asked if he had not made some study of military science, he replied that he had not, that he had found the treatises too dry and technical. He admitted, however, that he had read one book through, the late General Hamley's "Operations of War Explained and Illustrated." Though there have been many changes in tactics since this book was published, about 1866, it remains a classic, and is one of the clearest and most interesting treatises on its subject ever written.

With regard to naval writings, the case is somewhat different. Most of the successful naval critics and historians that this country has produced have had the benefit of an early naval training, as, for instance, Cooper and Captain Mahan. There are, however, exceptions, as witness Mr. Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812"; and abroad, especially in England, there are many civilians who possess a deep knowledge of nautical affairs. It may not be generally known that one of the most fascinating and convincing works on naval tactics ever written was produced by a civilian, John Clerk of Eldin, a Scotchman, who whittled out models of ships and carried them about in his pockets, fetching them out to while away otherwise idle moments in imaginary battle manœuvres. He it was who first persistently advocated cutting the enemy's line, a feat first successfully performed by Rodney, at the battle of The Saintes. It was even said that Rodney had in his possession at the time a manuscript copy of Clerk's work, not yet pub-

lished; but there is no proof that the critical movement of this battle was inspired by Clerk's writings.

Of course, not one civilian in a million has the time or inclination to penetrate the principles of military or naval science as did Mr. Ropes, or John Clerk of Eldin. But there is no secret about such matters, and in all warfare, at all times, by land or sea, the eternal principles are the same. The supreme necessity is to be superior to the enemy at the point of contact, whether in numbers, weapons, or position; and the purpose of the science of war is to effect this superiority. All results in war are produced by the application of force; and force, so far as we know it practically, is matter in motion. The power to resist force is evidently of importance also. Here are all the absolutely inherent elements of tactics. Tactics, be it understood, governs the conduct of battles, as distinguished from strategy, which concerns the whole theatre of war, of which more later.

Now, to consider more fully these inherent elements of tactics—that is, the elements that are dependent on the forces themselves, the internal elements, in contradistinction to the external or extraneous elements, which are the elements depending on the surroundings. The internal elements seem to reduce themselves to *weapons, mass, motion,* and *resistance.* Weapons are but means of utilizing force. They are of many kinds and have differed much in past ages. The peculiar weapon of the age and of the individual armed force is the predominating influence on the tactics of that age and of that particular armed force. All missile weapons are the simplest exemplars of matter in motion, but the ram of a battle-ship depends for its effect on the same factors—namely, mass and motion. The product of the mass, or weight, of the ship, and her speed, or motion, measure the momentum, which, of course, determines the injury to be done to the enemy. Similarly with the charge of a cavalry regiment. Each horse and his rider is a projectile, and the shock depends on the momentum, or the product of mass and motion.

In land tactics, mass also refers to the numbers and grouping of the individuals in the tactical units. Other things being equal, numbers will prevail; but, with the same numbers, the massing or grouping of the individuals in the tactical unit, whether phalanx, legion or battalion, is a considerable factor in the final outcome. Similarly, motion includes mobility, or ease of assuming

tactical dispositions. With infantry it lies in the soldiers' legs. On the sea, in the sail period, it depended on the wind. Now it resides in the boilers and engines, and is self-contained, causing modern steam tactics to resemble in a remarkable degree the tactics of the galley period.

Resistance, the last of the internal elements of tactics, is closely allied to protection. It is passive resistance that is meant, not active. Its reverse is vulnerability. Soldiers do not now carry body armor, and they are entirely vulnerable to all the weapons of the day. In past ages they were cased in armor, impervious to the usual missile weapons; and mailed horsemen easily rode over opposing infantry, until they met their Waterloo at the hands of the English long-bowmen at Crécy and the Swiss spearmen at Granson and Morat. The advent of firearms finished the work thus begun by the English and the Swiss, and body armor was relegated to the past. Not so in naval warfare. The walls of oak were with difficulty penetrable by the round shot of the day. Ships and fleets hammered each other interminably, until they grappled and boarded, or until a preponderating force was brought to bear against a small fraction of the enemy. Ships were rarely sunk. With the subsequent increase in power of ordnance, wooden armor-clads appeared, then iron and steel ships, and steel armor-clads. Armor is still a little ahead of the gun, but it is entirely possible that at some future time it will have totally disappeared from ships, as it did a long time since from the bodies of men. Without any protection, the quality of resistance in fighting units will vary, that is, their physical resistance to deformation. Moral and personal qualities are not here considered. The resistance of a cruiser is greater than that of a torpedo-boat, though neither may be protected. Hence, resistance means more than protection.

The above are apparently all the internal elements of tactics, that is, *weapons, mass, motion, resistance.* The external elements depend on the surroundings. They are the natural and artificial features of the field of battle, the weather, and the light. A level plain, a hill country, forests, swamps, rivers, roads, a smooth sea, fog, mist, rain, sunlight, a gale, heat, cold, all affect tactics; but the conditions on the average are what govern the normal tactics; and the average condition is fairly constant in any age. Variations will affect the tactics of a special campaign, but they will not influence the normal tactics of the age.

On the other hand, a variation in any internal element changes the whole tactics of the period. Witness the advent of smokeless powder and the small-calibre, high-power rifle. The change produced in the normal tactics is nothing less than sweeping. So, in all ages, the internal elements are the main factors in the tactics of the time, and of these the influence that predominates over all others is the weapons. And the internal elements afford a ready means of comparing the tactics of different ages.

As an illustration, let the sea tactics of the different ages be considered in the light of the internal elements. There have been three principal periods of naval warfare, the period of oars, the period of sails, and the period of steam. Taking them in order, and considering each period in reference to weapons, mass, motion and resistance, we come first to the weapons of the period of oars. The boats, or galleys, carried fighting men as well as oarsmen. These were armed with missile weapons of various sorts, as well as the usual sword and shield. In the bows of the boats were often found war engines, such as the *ballista,* or catapult. The boat was also provided with a beak, or ram. Next, as to mass. The individual units, or boats, had to be sufficiently large to carry a number of fighting men, but they were limited in size by the method of construction and the material, wood for the greater part, as well as by the necessities of oar propulsion. The motion was comparatively rapid at top speed, for by long training the oarsmen were enabled to exert a tremendous power for hours at a stretch. The resistance of the battle unit, composed of the boat and her crew, depended mostly on the life of the boat; for the fighting men did not differ materially from foot soldiers on shore, protected by helmet and shield. The boat had an excess of longitudinal strength, but was weak transversely.

From these considerations it would seem that the tactics would be to fight bows on, and to take the enemy in flank. This would permit the development of the full offensive power of the catapult and ram, would retire its own weak flank, and seek eventually to pierce the enemy's flank. As the motive power was self-contained, swift and skilful combinations could be made to bring about a bow to flank attack, and the enemy's motive power could be deranged by sweeping along his side, with suddenly boated oars, and so chopping off the blades of the opposing oars. Once in contact, provided neither boat sank, a hand-to-hand battle would

ensue, and the best crew would win. But the result would usually be brought about by ramming, following a surprise attack or skilful manœuvring. These tactics are derived from a simple consideration of the elements as they were at the time.

The rest of this illustration must be very brief. In the sail period the weapon was the gun, and it came to be mounted principally in broadside, because there was no other place available. The mass was greater than in the galley period, because there was no limit imposed by a requirement of handling oars. The motion was variable, according to the strength of the wind, and was restricted in direction. With the wind from the north, ships could sail east or west, or any intermediate course by way of south, but could not lay a course any appreciable amount to the northward of east or west. The resistance of the hulls was considerable in relation to the smooth-bore ordnance of the day, and it required heavy punishment at close quarters to produce decisive results. The hulls were not usually materially damaged by running aboard of each other, being strong in relation to the habitual speed.

Hence we should expect to see the ships of a fleet strung out in a line, one ahead of the other—column, as it is called—in order to give all the guns a chance. In a fleet engagement, the enemy would have to be in a similar line, heading in the same or the opposite direction. In either case one fleet would be to windward, the other to leeward. The windward fleet would have certain advantages of position, for it could give or refuse battle on its own terms. We should then expect to see the fleets manœuvre for this windward position, that is, the weather-gage. Ramming would not be of much avail, for though the mass was sufficient, the motion was too uncertain, and the damage, in view of the relatively strong hulls, would be slight. Actual sea-fights have justified these deductions. Fleets passed in opposite directions, or stood on together in parallel lines, each vessel hammering its opposite. The French often took the lee-gage, and fired at the masts and rigging of the enemy to cripple his motive power. The English always manœuvred for the weather-gage, and always fired at the enemy's hulls. Battles were often indecisive, as the fire was distributed along the line and the hulls were relatively strong. Rodney in the West Indies was the first to show that the line might be cut, and a concentration effected on a part of the enemy's force. Nelson's great victories made use of the same principle.

Warfare in the steam period is much more complicated. This is due to the excessive differentiation of the fighting units, as from battle-ships to torpedo-boats, and also to the intricate construction of each unit. The principal weapon is still the gun, but of much greater power, range and accuracy. It is no longer carried principally in broadside, but is so distributed as to give a great volume of fire in every direction. The torpedo and the ram are the other weapons. The mass is anything, from that of the small torpedo-boat to that of the large battle-ship. It must therefore be separately considered for each separate action. The motion is now self-contained, as it was in the galley period; but it has advanced in a degree commensurate with the power of the weapons. The resistance of the units is nothing in torpedo-boats, and well-nigh perfect in battle-ships.

We should expect, then, to see fleets manœuvring for position as they did in the days of oars. The tactics would, in fact, greatly resemble those of the galley period, owing to freedom of motion in all directions. The galleys had fought in line abreast of each other, to keep their beaks to the front. It has been seen that, in the sail period, the ships were in line ahead—that is, column—to give their broadside guns a chance. The first steamers were wooden frigates with full sail power, and the battery arrangements remained the same as they had been. But with the freedom of motion, the ram had a period of development, and head-on fire came to the front. This resulted in the old galley formation of line abreast and tactics entirely similar to galley tactics. Now, with all-round fire, and the vastly greater range of the guns, the ram is discredited as a weapon of first instance; and the column, or line ahead, has reappeared as the principal fighting formation. Its advantage is that it permits follow-your-leader tactics, the simplest in actual battle. Line abreast, however, may be instantly assumed from line ahead by causing the ships to turn together through an angle of ninety degrees.

The battle now will be settled largely by gun-fire and skilful manœuvring to bring a preponderance of fire on a portion of the enemy. Ramming is largely a matter of chance, in which a skilful combatant places himself on an equality with a less able adversary. It would be resorted to at times in emergencies, or against a partially disabled ship of the enemy. The torpedo also serves to keep the combatants farther apart in the earlier stages of the

action. The range and accuracy of this weapon are still on the increase; and it is part of the equipment of most battle-ships.

A contest between a battle-ship and a torpedo-boat could be most clearly outlined by a simple consideration of the elements already mentioned. As regards this contest, the weapons of the ship are her rapid-fire guns, of the torpedo-boat her torpedoes. The mass of the ship is huge. If she touched the hull of the boat she would crush it. But her size makes her conspicuous, and affords a large target area for the torpedoes. The mass of the boat is slight and thus makes for invisibility, especially at night or in a fog. In relation to motion, or speed, the boat is greatly in excess. As to resistance, while the ship is completely encased at and above the water-line, she is defenceless below, except in the protection afforded by her cellular subdivision. The boat, likewise, is entirely vulnerable to the rapid-firers of the ship. The tactics are obvious. The boat must steal up to striking distance, say a quarter to a third of a mile, unobserved. If she is discovered outside of that distance she will be riddled. Night is obviously her best time. Her high speed is useful in covering the ground from distant points, and in avoiding destroyers, also in rushing into torpedo range after discovery; but for the actual stealthy approach it is of no utility, as the rush of water and the tongues of flame from the funnels would betray her presence.

Space permitting, the changes in land tactics could be traced from the earliest times, and could be shown to merge in each other with gradual changes in the internal elements, weapons, mass, motion, resistance. So is it possible to compare the tactics of land and sea forces. Battle-ships are infantry and artillery combined, cruisers are the scouts and cavalry of the sea. A most interesting similarity exists between the tactics of modern cavalry and that of ancient galleys. The internal elements in each case happen to bear the same mutual relation to each other. Hence, the resulting tactics are the same. With cavalry the principal weapon is the horse; that is, true cavalry tactics depends on shock. With the galleys it was the beak. Cavalry taken in flank is weak, so with the galleys; both are handy and manageable and both can be given considerable speed and impetus. Hence, the tactics will be to attack at speed, by surprise if possible, and in the flank. This must not be considered merely an ingenious comparison, of no practical utility. It simply shows how the same results must

follow when the elements stand in the same mutual relation to each other.

So much for tactics. The other principal subdivision of warfare is strategy. Strategy controls the whole plan of campaign, tactics regulates the conduct of battles. There are other divisions, such as logistics and engineering. Logistics is the science of moving armies and of keeping them supplied with food and munitions of war. It touches both tactics and strategy. It need not be discussed separately. Similarly, engineering is a technical art, and its results as affecting strategy and tactics are all that need be grasped by the critic.

Strategy is not always discussed as a broad science depending on foundation principles. Military and naval men go about it in an entirely different way. In the army it is a question of bases, lines of communication, lines of operation, objectives. As any particular country is fixed in its main features, these various matters may be discussed and prearranged. In the navy, the bases are fixed; the objective, usually the enemy's ships, is by no means fixed. Nor is the path fixed. There are no roads on the ocean.

But cannot strategy afloat and ashore be brought together under certain controlling principles? Are there not essential elements of strategy as there are of tactics? First, the inherent elements, depending on the forces themselves. Strategy covers the whole theatre of war. The forces must be able to cover it also. The inherent elements, then, are their means of getting over the ground, which may be termed *locomotion;* and their self-sustaining capacity, which may be termed *endurance.* Endurance has a partly technical meaning separate from physical endurance. It means the capacity of the forces for maintaining themselves by supplies furnished, carried or captured. The coal endurance of a ship, as ordinarily understood, is her steaming radius without recoaling. If fresh supplies may be obtained from colliers or coaling-stations, the coal endurance of a fleet may be unlimited. These elements of locomotion and endurance may be applied to either land or sea forces. The army marches, or goes ahorseback, or by rail, or by transports. The navy steams at high or low speed. Supplies and munitions of war can be carried in only limited quantities, either afloat or ashore. Their presence with the forces is a very living element of strategy.

The external elements of strategy are similar to those of tactics;

that is, they are the natural and artificial features of the whole theatre of war. Roads, railroads, telegraphs, population, vegetation, cities, coast lines, harbors, coaling-stations, repair-shops, the weather, heat, cold, storms, are all external elements of strategy.

In land strategy, the external elements—that is, the features of the country—seem to be the main ones to be considered; whereas in sea strategy it is the internal elements of locomotion and endurance that play the conspicuous part. Everything depends on the sustained mobility of the fleet, largely a combination of speed and coal endurance. Thus is explained the difference in treatment of strategy ashore and afloat, though its essential elements do not differ in principle. It often happens that a comparison of the conditions of the two forms of warfare throws a mutual light on both. For instance, on shore, protection of the lines of communication is everything. These lines are fixed for the time being, and continuous streams of supplies are always passing to the front. In sea warfare the lines of communication are rarely fixed. The units depend largely on distant bases and coaling-stations; and such supplies as may be sent directly from home may never follow any established route.

The elements of tactics and strategy may sometimes be invoked to clarify thought in regard to disputed matters of policy. For instance, some years ago a French school advocated numerous small gunboats and torpedo-boats in place of a few ironclads; and, even in this country, at this day, there are people who believe it would be a good plan to stop building battle-ships and turn our whole attention to submarines. Considering the matter first in the light of the elements of tactics, there does not seem to be any self-evident conclusion in sight. If the one battle-ship and the many gunboats or submarines are actually on the field of battle within reach of each other, it may go hard with the battle-ship. But first to get them there. That concerns strategy. The elements are locomotion and endurance. Granted that the small vessels have sufficient locomotion and can make sea voyages, is it not endurance, or the power of continuous self-sustainment, in which they are totally lacking? The battle-ship carries the nation's power to any part of the world, and is independent of supplies for long periods. The gunboats and submarines are helpless without a moving base, and unless the moving base is a battle-ship, she too is helpless. This consideration seems to indicate that the battle-ship is an

essential unit of the fleet, even granted that the smaller craft are thoroughly efficient in their own peculiar sphere.

This habit of looking to the state of the elements as the mould in which tactics and strategy are cast thus helps considerably in arriving at an orderly analysis of the material and immaterial circumstances of war, and the preparation for war. Moreover, there have been no contests of equally matched civilized nations afloat or ashore for more than a generation. The elements of tactics and strategy have changed greatly in that time. Hence, an orderly analysis of the elements of tactics and strategy, with a special view to these changes, would seem to present the best chance of determining how the great battles are to be won.

Tactics and strategy having been shown to depend mainly on the internal and external elements already discussed, it may be asked if everything is not liable to be entirely upset by the mere personal qualities of the forces and their leaders. To this the only answer is, Yes. Yet personal qualities do not affect the form of the tactics and strategy of the age. They do affect the results of campaigns and battles. Tactics and strategy take for granted certain normal personal qualities on the part of the combatants, in much the same way that they take for granted a certain mean state of the external elements in any age. The tactics of civilized troops against savages may vary greatly according to circumstances, but the normal tactics of the age is not thereby affected. Personal qualities are moral, physical and intellectual, and in actual results they count for perhaps more than all else. The spirit, or *esprit,* of the same force at different times is also one of the most important of the controlling forces. The development of this *esprit,* even in defeat, is a psychological study worthy of very patient attention on the part of the leaders. As personal qualities have not changed materially since the earliest times, the knowledge of character, to be gained by the study of warfare in all ages, would alone pay for the outlay of time and labor necessary to that end. But, as has been seen, there are other valuable lessons as well.

Writers sometimes speak of the rules of war, as in the phrase, "this general violated all known rules of war." Other writers ridicule the ideas of such rules. They say that Napoleon defeated his adversaries because their ideas were cast in the old formal mould, which he broke through at will. Was it not rather that he

the better appreciated the changed conditions, and acted more in accordance with true principles? Such writers notwithstanding, there are certain axioms, rules, principles, or maxims of war that cannot be violated with impunity. They are the result of common sense and experience. Such are: Be prepared, strike quickly before the enemy is able to make out your plan, surprise him if possible, avoid as a rule doing what he expects, select ground that permits of operating by interior lines (the distances are shorter), do not make a frontal attack when the flank may be turned, protect your own flanks, do not have your line of retreat leading from a flank (an attack on that flank may cut you off), protect your communications, threaten the enemy's, do not divide your forces except in unusual circumstances, and, above all, the grand principle of war, be superior to the enemy in one way or another at the actual point of contact. Call these what you will, rules of war, axioms, or principles. They are really plain common sense, and the admiral or general who has the most of them stored away in his head, whether obtained by study or by actual experience, and recognizes the occasion for their use, is the man who wins.

Illustrations and comparisons are often misleading, yet war may be likened to the workings of a complex machine. The elements of tactics and strategy are the mould in which its parts are cast; the personal qualities of the combatants are the temper and durability of the various substances entering into its composition; discipline and training are the lubrication and adjustment of the working parts; the general or the admiral is the operator; and the maxims of war, added to his own common sense, are the rules that govern him in deciding when and how, and where, to demand of the machine its predetermined output.

A comprehensive view of war as affecting any country will take into account every circumstance that can be shown to have a bearing. Tactics, strategy and personal qualities, in their broad aspects, all enter. It is not a naval question, nor a military question. The whole armed force of the nation, ashore and afloat, will be in demand. The grand strategy of the war reckons with everything. Incidentally, in our own country, some of the machinery is lacking for this comprehensive planning of wars. It has so long been the custom to regard the army and the navy as occupying entirely different spheres, that it is actually difficult to consider them as merely parts of one harmonious whole. They

are really as essential to each other, and as much dependent on the fundamental principles of war, as are, for instance, infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the army, or battle-ships, cruisers, and torpedo-boats in the navy. There is only one science of war, and this science includes a critical knowledge of the principles of action of all the branches of the national defence. Such knowledge is indispensable to the authority that controls the conduct of the war, that is, the President, as Commander-in-Chief, advised by his Cabinet officers. The President may, and will, seek also the advice of the senior officers of the army and navy; but this advice must, in the nature of things, often be one-sided and sometimes contradictory. However good a man may be President, and however able are his advisers, they are handicapped in time of national danger by the absence of a constituted body organized to perform these duties only, by the lack of a continuous study of war plans, and by a lack of files of such plans previously perfected. It will not do to call on the army and navy for their separate plans, which will lack comprehensiveness and unity. A supreme war council, superior to both army and navy, permanently organized, and advisory to the President, would seem to meet this want. It would be a National General Staff, drawing on the materials collected by the general staffs of the army and navy.*

In conclusion, there does not seem to be any adequate reason why a thoughtful citizen should not, at the expense of a moderate amount of time and labor, directed somewhat as here outlined, add much to his knowledge of the grand principles that control wars, be the better able to appreciate the wars of history, and, of more importance still, have an accurate insight into matters affecting the military and naval policy of his country. For, if the underlying principles of war are non-technical, they are to be apprehended by the educated civilian; who will thenceforth think for himself on military and naval subjects, nor continue, as in the past, to regard all such matters as a closed book.

ROY C. SMITH.

*** This article was prepared in April, 1903, before the creation of the Joint Board on National Defence, and before it was known to the writer that the Board was contemplated.**

THE POETRY AND POETS OF AMERICA.—III.

BY CHURTON COLLINS.

SYDNEY SMITH, having occasion to discuss some subject with Lord Melbourne, and knowing that great man's habit of indulging very liberally in a certain expletive, proposed that they should save time by assuming that the said expletive had been applied to everything, and proceed to business. I propose to deal similarly with Longfellow's hostile critics. Let it be conceded at once that he had little, if any, originality; that he would have been nowhere without the lyric poetry of Germany, of which his own is often merely an echo, without the literatures of Europe generally, to which almost everything he has written can be traced; that he had no depth of thought; that he had neither sublimity nor passion; that he failed egregiously when he attempted anything ambitious; that he succeeded most when he was most modest; that he never composed a line beyond the comprehension of the *bourgeoisie,* nay, of intelligent boys and girls, and very much which was dedicated and intimately appealed to them. And yet it remains that, to thousands, whose tastes have been formed by the sympathetic study of the aristocrats of classical poetry, and who are compelled to acknowledge the justice of these allegations, they come, like those grating truths which we wish were falsehoods. It is like listening to reproaches on those we love; distressed and irritated, we long to retort on those who utter them. And, indeed, there is something almost sacred in the fame of Longfellow; for to how many thousands, to how many hundreds of thousands, is his poetry consecrated by its associations. As Froude beautifully says of the silvery cadences of our liturgy, that they "chime like church-bells in the ear of the English child," and haunt his memory with their music long after childhood has passed, so, like church-

bells have chimed for our children another music as silvery and as haunting—the music of this sweetest of poets. To how many a death-darkened household, to how many a life clouded with the cares or bending under the burdens which few escape, has his poetry brought balm and sunshine and encouragement. Such poetry as his is no more intended for critics than the Bible was intended for theologians, or the spring that gushes forth and refreshes the toil-worn traveller, to supply material for analytical chemistry.

And yet is there much satisfaction in showing that, even on the application of high and exacting critical standards, even if we accept Sainte-Beuve's theory that the question for us is not whether we admire any given work but whether we ought to admire it, even from this point of view, Longfellow's admirers have nothing to fear. He is almost always sound in quality, and sound in style. Even where sentimentally he is thinnest and most trite, as in "The Footsteps of Angels," "The Rainy Day," "The Bridge," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "Children," we are touched and rightly touched; for the pathos, though so simple, is so genuine, and its expression so exquisite in its propriety. "The Psalm of Life" is a noble poem, and all the mouthings of it in Infant Schools and in Young Men's Christian Associations, and all the strummings of "middle class" pianos will never make it other than noble. Though his themes are so often the themes so dear to Eliza Cook and her circle, his refinement and tact always enabled him to maintain a level above commonplace. He was never trivial; his style never lacks distinction. His range and power as a lyric poet and balladist would be best seen by placing beside the poems which have just been referred to, "The Skeleton in Armor," and "Victor Galbraith," which have a fire and verve rare with him, the impressive and noble quatrains in the "Arsenal at Springfield," the exquisitely pathetic verses entitled "Weariness," and the "Bells of Lynn," with its finely-cadenced lilt and swing. "The Building of the Ship" cannot bear comparison with Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke" which was its model, but the concluding lines, the apostrophe to the Union, have all the fervor and strength of Whittier's lyric when at its very best, and must go to the heart of every true American. Of his longer poems, "The Tales of a Wayside Inn" will scarcely add to his reputation; but the

"Saga of Olaf" shows how faithfully he could catch and render the note of the Eddas. "The Golden Legend," whatever exception may justly be taken to its infirmities of structure and want of unity and concentration, contains, fragmentarily, some of his very best and strongest work; Elsie's chant, in the fifth part, beginning "The night is calm and cloudless," is one of the most exquisite lyrics to be found in his poetry. His most powerful work, from a dramatic point of view, is the "Courtship of Miles Standish," but the works in this group on which his fame will rest are of course "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha." Of "Evangeline," it would be impertinent to say anything more than that it is the crown and flower of American Idyll, a poem which stands with our own Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," at the head of that poetry which a nation enshrines in its heart of hearts. If any one wished to make out a case for Longfellow's claim to what is universally denied him, originality, he would do well to take his stand on "Hiawatha." He may have borrowed his form and metre from the "Kalevala," his material from books in his library, and have failed, as he always does fail, in concentration and unity; yet he at least broke new ground, and produced a work of singular charm, which had no prototype in art.

As a translator, he is all but unrivalled. I am not speaking of the hideous fidelity of his version of Dante, but of such masterpieces as his version of the "Coplas" of Manrique, of Salis' "Silent Land," of Muller's "Beware," of Uhland's "Castle by the Sea" and the versions from the Swedish and Danish. Perhaps the only poems of Longfellow to which, generally speaking, justice has not been done are his Sonnets; but some of these Sonnets are among the finest ever written in any language; such would be "Dante," and the first and second of those on the "Divina Commedia"; excellent, also, if in a less degree, are the three others, as well as "Nature," "Giotto's Tower" and "Chaucer"—but nearly all are good.

Many would no doubt dispute Longfellow's title to be considered America's greatest poet; probably no one would dispute his title to be considered her greatest poetic artist. His supremacy there is confirmed alike by the range of his attainment and by its quality. It is a long way from the most exquisite of his lyrics to such lyrics as the "Saga of King Olaf" and "Victor Galbraith," from the "Voices of the Night" and

"Birds of Passage" to the "Courtship of Miles Standish," from the Sonnets to "Hiawatha," from "The Golden Legend" to "Evangeline"; and in every one of these experiments his success has been universally acknowledged. It is no small achievement to have been able to sound again the note of the Sagas and the Kalevala, the note of Manrique, the note of Dante, the notes of Goethe, of Schiller, of Uhland and of Heine, not as a mere imitator, but as a kinsman and copartner in inspiration; to have created a style admirable alike in lexis and in rhythm, the perfection of purity, lucidity, and propriety, with a music all its own, equally harmonious but never monotonous, because in gracious and exquisite harmony with every conception and every emotion that inspired it.

And so, having reconducted him to where he is safe from hostile criticism, we will reverently and gratefully leave him, without adding to the impertinences of that criticism by any attempt to settle his relative place among modern poets.

From the great New England trio we come to the most versatile of American men of letters, Bayard Taylor. Sensitive, receptive, finely touched and finely tempered, with a faculty of fluent expression and production, which few, even of his own countrymen, have rivalled, he dedicated a life of crowded experience and of almost limitless industry to literary work. In serious poetry, there was scarcely any note which he did not strike. Studies from the Greek, studies in Oriental life, studies in Italian life, studies in Pennsylvanian, in Californian, in Norse life: lyrics in every key and in almost every measure, Pindaric, Hafizian, Shelleyan; threnody and dithyramb, love-song and war-song, state-song and ballad: narratives and idylls of equal range and variety: drama, ideal, realistic, lyrical. And if it be said, as it may with justice be said, that he failed conspicuously in nothing except when he became metaphysical, we must not grudge him the tribute to which such gifts and such achievements are entitled, the tribute of admiration. But no poetry of a high or even of any permanent value at all has ever had its root in what we admire in Taylor. He is, like Willis, little more than an *improvisatore*. His poems having no unity and no enthusiasm, either moral or spiritual, are mere studies in song. He has neither depth nor distinction, neither subtlety nor power in reserve. At his best, he is above mediocrity, but, with very rare

exceptions, below excellence. How incomparably inferior, for example, is the Bedouin Song, praised so highly by Mr. Stedman, to Shelley's "Lines on an Indian Air" which it so nearly recalls, and which apparently inspired it. The very exquisite verses from "Euphorion" on the death of a friend's child, quoted by Mr. Stedman, seem to me to stand absolutely alone in his poetry:

"And Death, that took him, cannot claim
The smallest vesture of his birth,
The little life, a dancing flame
That hover'd o'er the hills of earth.

"The finer soul, that unto ours
A subtle perfume seem'd to be,
Like incense blown from April flowers
Beside the scarred and stormy tree.

"The wondering eyes, that ever saw
Some fleeting mystery in the air,
And felt the stars of evening draw
His heart to silence—childhood's prayer."

And more exquisite verses never came from a poet's pen. An achievement far more valuable than any of his original poems—except, indeed, for touches and fragments, is his admirable version of Goethe's "Faust." With Taylor are associated four poets, one of whom is justly distinguished, while the other three have at least individualized themselves—T. B. Aldrich, Stoddard, Boker and Read. As a writer of *vers de société*, as a balladist, lyrist, and descriptive poet, Aldrich is among the most accomplished and pleasing of American poets, as such poems as his "Palabras Cariñosas," "Babie Bell" and "Lynn Terrace" amply testify. Stoddard is the author of some pretty lyrics, of some respectable blank verse, and of a threnody on Lincoln which unfortunately invites comparison with Marvell and Tennyson; Boker of some dramas which have gone the way of W. H. Wills's, and of some pleasing lyrics and ballads. Read produced a good descriptive poem, "The New Pastoral," at least one pretty lyric, "Drifting" and a war song of real merit, "Sheridan's Ride." With this group of poets may be classed Dr. Thomas William Parsons, a scholarly and accomplished poet, whose lines "On a Bust of Dante," if perhaps overpraised, have real merit, and John James Piatt, a representative poet of the Middle West.

In singular contrast to the poetic activity of the New England and Pennsylvanian schools was the sterility of the South. It had only produced three poets whose names are worth recording. Henry Timrod, the author of "The Cotton Boll," had a touch of genius; and of merit also is the work of Paul Hamilton Hayne, who, like our own Southey, was a good man and not a bad poet: his lyrics, "A little While I Fain would Linger" and "In Harbor," are very pleasing. But by far the most distinguished poet of this group was Sidney Lanier. Lanier is plainly a disciple of Poe, whose music he often closely recalls, but he was a man of rich and fine genius, over which, however, he had no control and which seems to have intoxicated him. "The very inner spirit and essence of all wind-songs, passion-songs, sex-songs, soul-songs, and body-songs"—so he wrote of himself—"hath blown upon me like the breaths of passion, and sailed me into a sea of vast dreams, whereof each wave is at once a vision and a melody." So it is with him in such poems as the really superb "Marshes of Glynn," "Sunrise," "Corn," "Psalm of the West," "Nirvana," in such lyrics as "The Sun has Kissed the Violet Sea," the verses to Nielsson, and in the less intense but most charming "Song of the Chattahoochee." But Lanier failed to do justice to his genius as a poet, by deliberately fettering himself with a most mistaken theory. He endeavored to blend and reconcile what is peculiar to music with what is peculiar to poetry, so that his poetry tends to confine itself to the expression of what is more appropriately expressed by the sister art, too often resolving into mere sensuous melody and vague dreamy suggestiveness; but his poetry is full of beauty and charm.

Very different were the strains coming from the Pacific slope. There a poet appeared who at one time promised to be among the most eminent, as he is certainly among the most remarkable, whom America has produced. Of the genius of Joaquin Miller there can be no question. His "Songs of the Sierras" struck a new and powerful note. Full of fire and passion and color, with all the race and flavor of the wild, rich world of their nativity, they swept along, like his own Vaquero,

> "On stormy steed,
> His gaudy trappings tossed about and blown
> About the limbs as lithe as any reed."

And the woods, where

> "Birds hang and swing, green rob'd and red,
> Or droop in curved lines dreamily,
> Rainbows reversed, from tree to tree;"

and monkeys run through the leaves,

> "Like shuttles hurried through and through
> The threads a hasty weaver weaves.
> And, the long days through, from blossom'd trees
> There comes the sweet song of sweet bees,
> With chorus tone of cockatoo's
> That slides his beak along the bough,
> And walks and talks and hangs and swings
> In crown of gold and coat of blue;"

and the land of the tornado, when

> "The tasselled tops of the pines are as weeds,
> And the redwoods rock like to lake-side reeds,
> And the world seems darkened and drowned forever,"

the land of sun-maids "tawny-red like wine" with "rivers of hair and hearts of gold"—all this had found its poet. But Miller never got beyond the "Songs of the Sierras"; to the themes of which, or to themes kindred to them, he always returned, when he had anything distinctive to say. What seemed, therefore, a work of splendid promise included the fulfilment of that promise. Shallow-rooted and without buds, his poetry flaunted into full life a gaudy, broad-blown flower. But it was no exotic.

Of native growth, also, and no exotic was the prodigious product of transatlantic genius which we have now to inspect. One of the most accomplished and scholarly of English critics, the late John Addington Symonds, told us that we were to see in Walt Whitman "a Behemoth, wallowing in primeval jungles, bathing at fountain heads of mighty rivers, crushing the bamboos and the cane-brakes under him, bellowing and exulting in the torrid air; a gigantic elk or buffalo trampling the grasses of the wilderness, tracking his mate with irresistible energy; an immense tree, a kind of Ygdrasil, stretching its roots deep down into the bowels of the world, and unfolding its magic boughs through all the spaces of the heavens; the circumambient air, in which float shadowy shapes, rise mirage towers and palm groves; the globe

itself, all seas, lands, forests, climates, storms, snows, sunshines, rains of universal earth; all nations, cities, languages, religions, arts, creeds, thoughts, emotions; the beginning and the grit of these things, not their endings, lees and dregs."*

The greatest of living English poets, on the other hand, sees in the touches which awaken these astonishing elemental melodies only "the dirty and clumsy paws of a harper whose plectrum is a muck-rake," and whose Muse may be resolved into "a drunken apple-woman indecently sprawling in the slush and garbage of the gutter, amid the rotten refuse of the overturned apple stall."†

These have not the accent of impartial criticism. It may, perhaps, assist us to a more balanced estimate, if we assume the truth of three propositions; namely, that if a man six feet high, "of striking masculine beauty and of venerable appearance," chooses to stand on his head in the public streets, and proceed to other improprieties of which the police take cognizance, he will at least attract notice, and create some excitement; secondly, that the law of reaction in literature, as in everything else, will assert itself, that, when poetry has long attained perfection in form and has been running smoothly in conventional grooves, there is certain to be revolt both on the part of poets themselves and in the public taste, and the opposite extreme will be affected and welcomed; and, thirdly, if a writer has the courage or impudence to set sense, taste and decency at defiance, and posing sometimes as a mystic and sometimes as a mountebank to express himself in the jargon of both, and yet has the genius to irradiate his absurdities with flashes of wisdom, beauty and inspired insight, three things are certain to result. Those who sympathize with the reaction of which he is the representative will dwell with ecstasy on the very little which is the salt of his work, will either ignore the rest, or, coming to it with judgment prejudiced by their admiration for what is vital and excellent, invest it with factitious merits. Those of conservative tastes will dwell only on what disgusts and offends them, and have no eyes for anything else; and those who belong to neither party, but are quite willing to judge what they find on its own merits, will be perplexed and probably misled by the conflicting opinions so importunately pronounced with all the heat of partisanship by the others.

* "A Study of Walt Whitman," pages 155, 156. † "Whitmania."

This is precisely what has happened in the case of Whitman. There can be little doubt that he employed the style which he affected, as well as the shameless obscenities of such pieces as "The Children of Adam," to attract attention. It was a cheap and easy means of attaining a unique position as a poet. Nor was his mode of expression his only expedient for securing singularity. Since Rousseau, no man had presented himself absolutely nude to the public gaze. That edifying spectacle was now repeated, and all who were interested in such exhibitions could inspect and contrast them at their leisure; and, certainly, the stalwart and virile American showed to great advantage beside the puny and emasculated Frenchman. Having thus succeeded, as might have been expected, not indeed in gaining respect, but in drawing all eyes upon him, he proceeded to pile eccentricity upon eccentricity and extravagance upon extravagance. A celebrated statesman once observed, on being informed that the English people would not "stand" a certain measure which he was preparing to carry, that his experience had shown him that the limits of what they would "stand" had never yet been discovered. But what they would "stand" in art—the American people, it must be remembered, were never hoodwinked by him—Whitman resolved to try. He gave them page after page of mere jabber, of twaddle so absolutely drivelling that it fascinated by its sheer audacity. Sometimes it assumed the form of inanities and platitudes, such as any man of average intelligence would, even in familiar conversation, be ashamed to utter; sometimes it strung together long lists of names transcribed from maps and gazetteers, introduced with a "What do you see, Walt Whitman?" extracts from Natural Histories, travels and scientific treatises and even newspapers; more often it expressed itself in transcendental or political ravings. Altogether, it presented a phenomenon the like of which had not only never been seen before, but the like of which would have seemed to any sane man impossible outside the cells of a lunatic asylum. But Whitman was no lunatic, and well knew what he was after. All this was merely, in his own words, "Drum-Taps,"—the arts of the astute showman, to collect a crowd for a show which, in some respects, was well worth seeing.

But when we come even to Whitman's serious and genuine work, large deductions have to be made for what it would be

unduly harsh to call charlatanry, but which certainly comes very near it. His "chants," for that is the term he affected, have been called poetry in solution, but what is in solution in them is not his own poetry but the poetry of others. This "most original of American writers" is, in truth, more indebted to his predecessors and contemporaries than any other American writer. He simply resolved into his own diffuse jargon, and revoiced in his own barbaric yawp, what had been expressed legitimately, in the true form of poetry or in simple prose, by Burns and Blake, by Wordsworth, by Goethe, by Shelley, by Tennyson, by Carlyle, by Emerson, by Thoreau and by many others. Whether his appropriations were conscious and deliberate, or whether they were the result of what was in the air, so to speak, scarcely affects the point of importance. He was not, what by a trick of expression he affected to be, original in anything that was sane in his philosophy and propaganda. I have not space for more than one illustration, but it is typical of myriads. Wordsworth wrote, and wrote as a poet:

> "The stars of midnight shall be dear
> To her: and she shall lean her ear
> In many a secret place,
> Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
> And beauty born of neighboring sound
> Shall pass into her face."

Whitman writes, *more suo:*

> "There was a child went forth every day:
> And the first object he looked upon, that object he became
> And that object became part of him for the day, or
> A certain part of the day, or for many years or
> Stretching cycles of years. . . .
> The horizon's edge, the flying sea-crow: the fragrance of salt marsh and shore-mud:
> These became part of that child who went forth
> Every day, and who now goes and will always go forth every day."

"Plainly," as Mr. Stedman naïvely observes, "there are some comparative advantages in Wordsworth's treatment of this idea." It is pitiable to see a critic like Addington Symonds exalting Whitman into a bard and prophet, and dwelling fondly on the inspired power and beauty of chants, or portions of chants, which,

he must have known, were simply centos with Whitmanian dilutions or extravagances from Goethe, or Wordsworth, or Thoreau, or Emerson. It was this sort of homage which confirmed Whitman in his megalomania, in that monstrous and ludicrous egotism which led him to preach, and finally no doubt to believe, that, to employ his own jargon, he was all, and that all was he. To speak quite plainly, Whitman began by being in some respects a charlatan, and paid the penalty by becoming at last something very like a maniac. He had to pay also another penalty mortifying to his vanity, and, to do him justice, to a nobler instinct. He aspired to be the poet of the democracy, but the democracy would have nothing to do with him; and it was right, as it almost always is, in its judgment of what appeals to it. He has been compared to Blake, whom in some respects he nearly resembles; but, as Professor Nichol puts it, Blake was a prodigious genius marred by almost insane violence, Whitman a writer of almost insane violence occasionally redeemed by touches of genius.

How, then, are we to explain the fascination which his work has undoubtedly had, and still has, for so many? Making all due deductions for what has been explained already, there can of course be no question about Whitman's genius. Had he been true to it, he would have stood high among genuine poets; for, on the rare occasions when he is true to it, he has lyric notes of thrilling power, he has pathos, he has passion, and in his nature pictures he has often a magical touch. At times, true enthusiasm possessed and inspired him, and there is no mistaking its accent. A poem like "Pioneers," firm-blown and from the heart, rings like a clarion. The poem "When Lilacs Last" and the shorter piece "O Captain, My Captain" are noble threnodies. "Out of the Cradle endlessly Rocking" is at times beautiful alike for its pathos, nature-painting and rhythm. A poem, again, like the "Vigil on the Fields" comes from the heart and goes to the heart. In "Sea Drift" there is more which reveals him at his very best, for he is generally at his best when the sea and elementary forces are his themes. Nor can it be denied that his strange, uncouth mode of expression had at times wonderful charm.

Another secret of his fascination is his impressive and imperious personality and his cosmopolitan sympathies and gospel. If, in the first, there is much which is grotesque and disgusting, there is more which justly commands admiration. Every inch a

man, big-brained, big-hearted, fearless, resolute and robust, he is not only the incarnation of strength, but he is the soul of independence and philanthropy. Art and the humanities may look askance on him, as he on them; but mother Nature, to whom alone he did homage, had every reason to regard with pride one of the loyallest and most stalwart of her children. And, indelibly as his vices, follies and infirmities, is all this—and it is very attractive—impressed on his writings. Though there is nothing original in his propaganda or in his prophecies, he is among the heralds of the mighty future—before America, before mankind,—of the Republic of Republics, of world federation, of universal brotherhood, of the religion of humanity, of the "one God, one law, one element" of Tennyson's vision. No one can read unmoved such poems as "By Blue Ontario's Shore," "Thou Mother with thy Equal Brood," "Song of the Broad Ax," and "The Mystic Trumpeter." Let us listen to one of his clear notes:

"Marches of victory—man disenthral'd—the conqueror at last.
Hymns to the Universal God from universal man—all joy
A re-born race appears—a perfect world, all joy!
Women and men in wisdom, innocence and health—all joy!
War, sorrow, suffering gone—the rank earth purg'd—nothing but joy left.
The ocean fill'd with joy—the atmosphere all joy—
Joy, joy in freedom, worship, love! joy in the ecstasy of life!
Enough to merely be! enough to breathe!
Joy! joy! all over joy!"

But Whitman's virtues will be of no more avail, and all he has left will inevitably fall "into the portion of weeds and outworn faces." The world never respects a man who does not respect himself, and to bawl out indiscriminately "what should be said and what should not be said" was a synonym with the Greeks for a scoundrel. Of this offence, Whitman was guilty, not accidentally but on principle, not morally only, but intellectually and æsthetically. He was, no doubt, what he was fond of calling himself, a child of Nature, and his admirers have called him the poet of nature: but no *poet* can be true to nature who is not true to art.

We now pass to a poet as essentially native as Miller and Whitman, but standing in remarkable contrast to both. If Miller is the most diffuse and Whitman the most extravagant and lawless of the native school, Bret Harte is the most concise and restrained. His reputation as a humorist has eclipsed his reputation as a

serious poet, and he will no doubt live by his prose stories; but his serious poetry has scarcely had justice done to it. Much, indeed the greater part, of his verse was, no doubt, produced as mere journeyman work, and certainly does not rise above the level of what a skilful craftsman could, in the cause of that work, easily turn out. With this we need not trouble ourselves. It is in a narrow sphere that his distinction lies; it lies in the clairvoyant vividness and thrilling power with which he realizes and presents a pathetic scene or incident, in his faculty of piercing to the heart of some dramatic situation or circumstance, and reproducing it with corresponding nearness and truth, and in the nerve and grip of his narrative. Nothing could exceed the power and pathos of "The Station-master of Lone Prairie," or the charm and pathos of "Dickens in Camp." Even such waifs as "Jim" and "In the Tunnel" smite the tears into our eyes. "Guild's Signal" may owe its pathos—and what pathos there is in it!—to the fact, but how admirably is that fact presented; in "Grandmother Tenterden" he is again at his best. The exquisite little poem "The Mountain Heart's-ease" is in another vein. In "Ramon," "The Hawk's Nest," "Dow's Flat," and in "The Old Camp-fire," we have leaves from a life which no one has painted like Bret Harte. "Miss Blanche Says" and "For the King" are spoilt by too great fidelity to a bad model, Browning, and "Conception de Arguello" by a fault very rare with Bret Harte, diffuseness. His style, terse, lucid and sinewy, "with its sabre-cuts of Saxon speech," is all his own, and has set American realistic poetry to a new tune. Bret Harte has great versatility. When he strikes the notes which other poets have struck, it is generally with added charm. In spite of Longfellow there is room for such a poem as "The Angelus," and in spite of Praed and Owen Meredith room for "Her Letter." As a humorist he stands on a much lower level, and whether, as Professor Nichol opined, he must often have wished "to hang that Heathen Chinee, and to give the lie to Truthful James, and wring the neck of the Emeu and 'cave in' the heads of the whole Society on the Stanislaus," I cannot, of course, say, but it is very certain that they have intervened between the lower reputation which they have given him and the higher reputation to which he is justly entitled. Nor can it be denied that they are, *quantum valeat,* perfectly original, and have a most provoking fascination.

But Bret Harte, even when he is strongest, has a powerful rival in the author of "Jim Bludso of the 'Prairie Bell'" and of "Little Breeches." All lovers of poetry, both in England and in America, must regret that Colonel Hay's crowded life has not left him more leisure to cultivate a genius which, within its range, is as rare and fine as it is virile and powerful. It is not given to many minor poets to strike such notes as we hear in the two poems referred to, in such a sonnet as "The Haunted Room," and in such a lyric as "Remorse." How exquisite is the following:

> "Sad is the vague and tender dream
> Of dead love's lingering kisses
> To crush'd hearts hallow'd by the gleam
> Of unreturning kisses;
> Deep mourns the soul, in anguished pride,
> For the pitiless death that won them;
> But the saddest wail is for lips that died
> With the virgin dew upon them."

And now we descend to the levels where it becomes impossible to distinguish. During the last few years, there have been at least a hundred and fifty poets and poetesses, of very many of whom even the indulgent catholicism of Mr. Stedman has not taken cognizance. And in the case of the majority of these, so uniform is the standard of merit, so essentially similar in quality the work, that distinction depends, not on any application of critical tests, but purely on the accidents of personal taste. Nor has this poetry, throughout its whole range, any landmarks or eminences; whether we regard it comprehensively, or in relation to those who have individually contributed to it, nothing stands out in striking singularity. In the minor poetry of almost all periods and of almost all nations, there are particular poems with which every one is familiar, and in the writings of most minor poets there are particular poems with which we instantly associate them. But this cannot be said of any of these poets. Even the best of them remind us, I fear, of what Dr. Johnson said of the Giant's Causeway—it was worth seeing, but it was hardly worth going to see. If their volumes happen to come in our way, the chances are that we turn over their pages with real pleasure. We are pretty sure to find a pure and wholesome tone, refinement, grace, often charm, all the marks of careful culture based in many cases on a sympa-

thetic acquaintance with European *belles-lettres,* and a power of expression and a skill in technique, generally, which fifty years ago would only have been found in the work of masters. But it is, we feel, the poetry of accomplished artists, who do not sing because they must, but because they can. Eclectic and cosmopolitan, or trivially native, it is essentially the work of art and too often of nothing but art, with no root in life, national or individual; in its themes, a weary sameness; in its tone and spirit, a certain insincerity, or at all events a lack of genuine enthusiasm where enthusiasm is affected. Here and there, particular poems and particular poets may be found whose work would, in justice, require some modification of this criticism. And, certainly, an honorable place in these exceptions must be claimed for three poetesses; Mrs. Thaxter's lyrics have at times true inspiration and great charm, particularly when her themes are the sea and bird life. The refined and thoughtful sonnets of Mrs. Chandler Moulton can never lack grateful appreciation, and more than one of her simple and tender lyrics will long be gems in every anthology. But a far higher place than belongs to either of these poetesses must be assigned to Miss Helen Hay, whose sonnets and lyrics have both subtlety and power, and whose last work, "The Rose of Dawn," in its rich picturesqueness, dramatic intensity and sustained power seems to me the most memorable contribution which has recently been made to American poetry.

But it is time to conclude. The future of American poetry is as dark as that of our own, and criticism is not concerned with prophecy. The immediate prospect is, it must be owned, not encouraging on either side of the Atlantic. In the sphere of intellectual activity, nothing is seriously energetic but Science, or vitally influential but the scientific spirit; and what that spirit has engendered, the spirit of investigation, analysis and criticism is ubiquitous. Under this deadly solvent of the spiritual and imaginative faculties of man, their two creations, poetry and theology, seem to be melting away, the one resolving itself into an æsthetic appeal to the senses, the other into a code of ethics. Materialism and wealth-accumulating labor and luxury, with all that accompanies and all that follows in their train, have and must inevitably have the effects which Wordsworth, Emerson and Ruskin attributed to them. Literature generally will degenerate, as it has degenerated, into little more than a means of affording

recreation and amusement to those whose serious interests and occupations are elsewhere; and poetry will cease to appeal, or will share, as it now shares, in this degradation. But Man's finer and nobler energies can only be depressed, they can never be extinguished or even lose their vitality. Unerring and inevitable as the law of gravitation in the physical, is the law of reaction in the spiritual, world. Materialism—and let us understand the word in its most comprehensive sense—has still a long course to run. Of that we may be quite sure. But all that poetry represents and vindicates can never fail at last to assert itself. Very different, however, from the poetry of the past must be the poetry of the future. It will not imp its wing from the mythology of Olympus and Hippocrene, nor seek inspiration from

> "Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the Oracle of God."

It is more likely to find its inspiration in the immense, emancipated, undeveloped life, with its infinite potentialities and possibilities, which is unfolding itself in the New World, than in the more contracted, tradition-trammelled life of the Old. Its themes, we may be sure, will be the themes in the treatment of which Whitman fumbled and stammered, its religion and ethics the religion and ethics of which Emerson was the prophet. In a word, it is likely to be a poetry the features of which have been more clearly, if still dimly, adumbrated in the genius typical of America, than in the genius typical of any of the European nations. And, it may be that, if she has had to wait long for her poet, for her Shakespeare, for her Goethe, he will come at last, the songster of a fuller day, if not to supersede, to stand beside, them; and the famous prophecy find its fulfilment, not politically only, but in his advent also:

> "Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is his last."

CHURTON COLLINS.

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART III.

XIV.

LATE in the afternoon of the following Saturday, Anther stopped his horse in front of the business block, as it called itself, where Judge Garley had his office over the National Bank. It was the only brick building in Saxmills, and the office of the judge was itself approached by an outer stairway of the prevalent wooden construction. The doctor met him on the landing at the moment when he turned from turning the key in his door.

"Going for the day?" he asked, with a disappointment which he could not keep out of either his face or his voice.

"Not if you're coming for it," the judge placidly replied. He turned the key in his door again, and hospitably threw it open. "Walk in."

"Oh, I don't know," the doctor apologized, but the judge took no heed of his apology, except to push him in.

"Sit down," he said, and he reached a book from the top of his roll-top desk. "There's something I think you might find interesting. It's more in your line than mine, and *I've* found it interesting. Well, it's important as a matter of medical jurisprudence, too."

"What is it?" the doctor asked listlessly, turning the book over in his lap and fluttering the leaves absently.

"Why, it's a study of the criminal settlement on that island off the northeast coast of Japan, where the Russians colonize their murderers. As they have no capital punishment, except for political offences, they have to do something with their homicides, and they collect them on that island and keep them there for life. It's very curious, especially in its reversion to some old-fashioned theories—the book, I mean. When I was on the bench—and it has been my experience as a criminal lawyer, too—it seemed to me that very few criminals suffered what we called remorse. They wished to disown their crimes, to keep from realizing that they had committed them, and they wished to get off from the penalty; but I could not make out that they were consumingly sorry for them. This man seems to think differently, and he says some things to make you think he

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is right. We generally kill off our murderers before they have time to show remorse, but the Russians keep them, in a kind of cold storage, up there in the latitude of Siberia, and they have opportunities of studying effects that we precipitately deny ourselves the knowledge of. The remorse is long in getting to the surface, but, if this man is right, it is always there, and he has heard it comes out about three o'clock in the morning, in the murderers' dormitories, when they wake rested from the fatigue of their hard day's labor, and begin to think. An interesting phase of their remorse is the pity they feel for their victims."

Anther sat with the book fallen shut in his lap, and he did not seem to have been attentive to all that the judge was saying. When Garley stopped, the doctor asked, "What do you think of a man who takes the life of another's soul—destroys his soul? It was a woman's expression."

The judge smiled intelligently. "I should imagine. But I should doubt whether it could be done. Do you want to engage me for the defence?"

"No," said Anther, falling in with his humor, "he's out of danger from the law—unless—unless some law follows up such fellows where they go."

"The old theory was that some law did," the judge suggested.

"Yes, and we can't tell how much truth there was in it. The base of doubt in me is the immunity which wrong-doing seems to have here. But perhaps it's only an appearance."

The judge laughed, now. "It serves the purpose of a reality in a great many cases. What scrape do you want me to get you out of?"

The doctor got no farther than smiling, though he fell in with the judge's mood, which is the prevailing American mood in the face of any mystery. "Nothing worse than allowing opium to a man who would take it anyway."

"Well, I see that you've decided on your line of defence."

It was a little time before Anther suggested, at an apparent remoteness from the point, "You were never here in Royal Langbrith's day?"

"No, I came here first after my last term in the Assembly, when he had been dead some time. I believe you and I came here about the same time, didn't we?"

"No, I preceded you several years. And I had known him before I came here. We were in college together."

"Am I to infer something against him on that account?" the judge inquired with the jocosity which the doctor had ceased to share, even by so much as a smile.

"He was the Devil," Anther said, with a brevity which was of almost a dispassionate effect.

The judge was amused by the succinctness so far as to observe, "In the case of a living person, that is a sort of language which we should consider actionable, I'm afraid."

"The things I know of that man—"

Anther stopped, and sat staring at the judge's law-books where they stood ranged on the shelves before him, showing their red labels on their sheep-skin backs with a uniformity in height and shape, broken here and there by cases of pamphlets and documents, and stray pieces of fiction the judge was fond of reading.

"Would fill volumes," the lawyer interpreted with pleasant interest.

Anther came back to himself with a sharp "Yes!" and Judge Garley went on:

"Well, now, do you know, I'm not surprised, somehow. I've come upon one or two things lately, in a professional way, connected with the deceased, that did not smell as sweet as the conventional memory which seems to have blossomed in the dust all over the place. It is very curious! I have sensed for a good while, by that sixth sense which we haven't got a name for yet, that there was something hushed up in regard to that man."

"There is everything hushed up," Anther nodded, frowningly.

"And you mean that you can tell me—?" The judge checked himself, with a laugh for his weakness.

"Not everything, because I don't know everything; but I know enough."

"Squalid things—the kind we don't like to handle, or pretend we don't?"

"Squalid, and lurid, too. He was the Devil."

"There you are, with your actionable language again! It's well for you that our ex-fellow citizen is out of the way."

"Do you believe," Anther asked, "that one of us can do another a wrong so atrocious as to confound the sufferer's conscience?"

"Cause his brother to offend? Isn't that rather a question for our friend Enderby?"

"Perhaps. But what do *you* think?"

"I should say that it was a theory which a great many people would like to urge for a justification, or at least an explanation of their misdemeanors."

The doctor's tragic humor broke in a joyless laugh. "Oh, of course, you are right. It is astonishing how these old theological cobwebs hang on in corners of the brain. What a comfort you legal minds are! *Advocatus diaboli!*"

"Ah, aren't *you* playing that part now? I should be quite willing to leave our ex-townsman in the enjoyment of his canonization, but you seem to want to reopen the case."

"No." Anther relapsed into his gloom. "It can never be reopened. That is the worst of the evil that lives after men. It intertwines itself with so much of the good in the survivors that you can't strike at it without wounding the best and gentlest of them. But I want to tell you, Garley, about that man— Or, no! Why should I bore you, burden you?"

"Oh, we always like scandal, even concerning the dead. I've allowed that, and I can enjoy yours all the more because I know it isn't idle scandal. Go on, doctor!"

Anther had risen, and he did not sit down at the courteous gesture toward his chair which the judge made.

"Hawberk has got back," he said.

"Ah!" Judge Garley brightened up. "It's he whom you have been allowing the opium? I supposed he always came back permanently cured."

"This time seems to be an exception. He has come back cured of seven-eighths of his ordinary dose, if you can believe him; which you can't. I used to think I could follow his lies, or their probable direction. But I give it up. Beyond having mostly an optimistic character, and being the absolute reverse of the known fact, his mendacity is an ever-new surprise. I give it a harder name than it ought to have. He doesn't mean to deceive, poor soul. It's pure romancing, absolute fiction, but it's no worse. What interested me to-day was the turn which he has taken toward the memory of the man who ruined him. He wanted to persuade me that Royal Langbrith was a fine fellow, with whom he had always been on the best of terms. The fact is—do you want to hear it? Well, I'll tell you anyway—Langbrith did him one of the deadliest and cruelest injuries that ever a man had to bear. You know they were partners in the mills here?"

"I have heard the poetic legend that Hawberk was an ingenious mechanic to whom Langbrith gave a share in the business, and then had to get rid of because he was an opium fiend. Is the legend a little too florid?"

Anther seemed to restrain a burst of fury. When he spoke it was quite pacifically. "You can decide. Hawberk *was* an ingenious mechanic, whose invention put the business on a prosperous basis. He discovered how to make from straw-pulp the light quality of printing-paper which is the specialty of the mills to-day, and which they still have the secret of. Langbrith wanted the whole business. Hawberk had been his partner from the beginning, and he forced Hawberk out under threat of exposing him to his wife, almost maniacally neurotic, in a foolish boy affair with a woman. Hawberk told me, while he could still tell the truth, that there was nothing guilty in the business; but his wife was frantically jealous, and the fact wouldn't have mattered. She would have believed anything against him, because she must." From his own science the judge acknowledged with a nod the point which the doctor made from his. "He brooded upon his injury night and day, till the night and day were one, and there was no sleep in them. Then he took to opium. I prescribed it, as I should have to do again in a case like his, if we were back where we were then with soporifics. He could not have taken choral. But the opium mastered him, while he was still hoping for justice from a man who did

not know what justice meant. His opium-eating could not be kept a secret in a place like this, and Langbrith had it all his own way. The things that *can* be kept secret are the kind of things *he* did. He had two wives: one, the woman he threatened Hawberk with, in Boston, and never married, and one, the Mrs. Langbrith you know here. He went to town for his debauches of all kinds, and sometimes when he came home so much of his drink-fury remained that he taunted his wife with the other woman. He used to strike her—she has told me, because she had to, and that is how I came to know the other thing. She told me that too, but not until it could not be kept from me any longer. What graves women are for the wickedness of men! I suppose you know it, in your profession; but in mine—!"

Anther had apparently come to an end, but he sank into the chair he had left.

"That does put another complexion on it," the judge said, sobered in his irony, but ironical still. "I don't know that I can dispute your professional superiority as a repository of family mysteries. Your case rather goes beyond any I could boast of, in some features."

"And this," Anther broke out, taking away the handkerchief with which he had been wiping his face, "is the man whom that poor young fool wants to put up a tablet to in the front of the Public Library!"

"I *noticed*," the judge said, "that you seemed to receive the suggestion rather conservatively the other night. I laid it to envy of the deceased."

"Oh, pooh! I know what you mean. I was going to tell you. I do wish to marry her. I don't think she is perfect, and I'm long past the time of marrying for 'love,' as it is called. But to me she is the most sacred of human beings. I have known her from the first days of her hideous marriage, almost from the time when that man took her from her hard work in his mills and made her his slave; for she was that from the beginning."

"Excuse me," the judge interrupted. "I oughtn't to let you go on, if you think I meant to imply what you have inferred. I didn't intend to insinuate that you had the envy of a successor."

"Oh, it doesn't matter. I don't mind *your* knowing what I've told you." Anther stopped there, as if he had lost the thread of his thinking, and the judge made his attempt to restore it to him.

"I had understood that Mrs. Langbrith was the daughter of a minister in the country near here, and was employed in the business in a clerical capacity."

"She wasn't," the doctor said bluntly. "Her father was a starving saint in the hill parish where she was born; but when Langbrith married her, she was a hand in the mills, like forty other girls. It was her inherent dignity that may have given him the notion of something else. Or it may have been *his* dignity. At any rate, he married her and martyred her, even to the blows that fell upon

her body as well as her soul. I don't say he never fancied her; and she fancied him, poor soul, as long as he would let her; and when she lost all faith in him, she was still his faithful victim. She was so gentle that, though she suffered, she could not resist evil. She was born to keep that commandment. He could outrage her nature, and abuse her to his heart's content, and he could count absolutely upon her silence. He was as safe from her as from the God he found so complaisant to his wickedness."

"Oh, come," the judge remonstrated, ironically still, though he felt the indignant passion that throbbed in Anther's words and respected it; "you mustn't allow yourself to arraign the deity for his way of doing business. How do you know but our friend is paying his shot now in what is not perhaps 'the easiest room in hell'?"

"Why I have come to you," Anther made another of his abrupt breaks from the direct line, "is because I want you to advise me what to do. It is all open between her and me, but she has to live in subjection to some one, and she lives in subjection to her son. She has never positively deceived him in regard to his father, but she has never found the time to tell him what sort of man his father was."

"It would have been difficult," the judge owned, somewhat more gravely.

"I have thought the matter over a thousand times, and tried to imagine some moment when she could have spoken to undeceive him, but I never could make it out. All that I could make out was that every moment's delay rendered the truth more impossible." The judge nodded his large head in unconscious assent. "As time went on, the man became a sort of town myth. He grew into the tradition of a conscript father, the founder of our prosperity, the benefactor of the community; and it would have been an insult to the public faith, as well as a terrible ordeal for the boy, if his real character had been proclaimed."

"I see," the judge assented, with a certain pleasure in the perfection of the situation.

"It became a sort of moral necessity," Anther continued, "to leave the past undisturbed, to let the lie remain. The only man who might have unmasked Langbrith living was held from it by the grip Langbrith had of his throat, and Langbrith dead has been safe from him through the optimistic turn his opium craze has taken in the direction of a legend of close friendship between them. Besides, Hawberk's repute as a liar had become so firmly established that his word wouldn't have counted, in a place where Langbrith's fair fame is the richest jewel of the local history. There couldn't be a more acceptable, a more entirely popular, thing proposed in Saxmills than his commemoration in the way his son has suggested. It wouldn't cost the town anything, and it would be such a credit to it!"

The doctor laughed for helplessness, and the judge joined in the bitter merriment. "Yes," he assented, with the ponderous movement of his mind, which found expression in his formal and weighty diction, whether he joked or whether he adjudicated. "There appears, as you say, doctor, to be a sort of moral necessity to let lying dogs sleep, if we may reverse the axiom, especially when they have slept long. What is the advantage, the better element might ask, of rending the veil of oblivion from errors which Providence has seen fit to leave in the shadow, doubtless for some wise purpose? The morals of the community, they would contend, would be more contaminated by the effluvium from our late fellow townsman's tomb, if we were to open its ponderous and marble jaws for the purpose of drawing his frailties from their dread abode, than if we were to leave the past undisturbed. They could argue that his success, which is now an example and an incentive to light our young men on the upward way, as long as they suppose it to be founded upon virtue, would be a means of endless corruption if it were known to be the putrescent splendor of his moral rottenness, and would prove an *ignis fatuus* to lure them into the abyss. As far as our community is concerned, doctor, I think you will do better to leave the late Royal Langbrith's memory alone."

"As far as the community is concerned, Garley," the doctor returned hotly, "I think you are perfectly right. But that isn't the point, except for the psychological publicist, if there is such a thing. I am interested solely in the personal view."

"And what is that?"

Anther replied, after a moment of silent chagrin, "I hoped you might have inferred. But it is simply this: Mrs. Langbrith and I both have the belief that our marriage would be abhorrent to her son, not because he has any dislike for me—he is rather fond of me, and I like the boy, when he is off his high horse, and isn't patronizing me—"

"He patronizes me, too," the judge observed; the doctor ignored his reflection in proceeding.

"—but because he has this extraordinary infatuation for his father's memory, and would consider his mother's second marriage with any one a desecration not to be voluntarily endured. Simply, she is afraid to bring our wish to his knowledge, and she is afraid to let me do so. I have been almost a father to the boy from his first years; and, under ordinary circumstances, there would be no reason to suppose that our marriage would be distasteful to him. But as it is—"

Anther stopped, and the judge said, with the air of summing up, "Your conclusion is that the defamation of his father is the only means of—"

"Why do you speak," Anther cried out, "as if his father were an innocent man, and not the wickedest and filthiest scoundrel that ever lived?"

"My dear old friend," said the judge, leaning forward in his rocking-chair and laying his hand on the doctor's arm, "let us be careful not to employ actionable language, even in regard to those who can only cite us to appear before the higher tribunal, which has no jurisdiction in this county, or, so far as I know, in this State. I quite enter into your feelings, and I should be the first to wish you joy of the fulfilment of your hopes, the fruition of your wishes. But you will certainly not further them by adopting anything like a violent line of expression. Now, go on. The boy has returned to Harvard. Have you seen Mrs. Langbrith since?"

"I parted with her in anger Sunday night. But she had tried my patience beyond endurance. She proposed to me, as a way of propitiating James, that—" Anther choked, and the judge had to prompt him:

"She proposed to you—?"

"Well, that I should humor his notion of putting up this memorial to his father; that I should stultify myself, and help to perpetuate the—the—"

"Careful, careful!" his friend suggested.

"Oh, you know what I mean! I don't believe she felt the enormity of it as I did. She couldn't, in that meek forgivingness of hers. But I left her in anger—yes, for the first time; and I don't see my way to making her understand the shame, the iniquity—"

"Really, you ought to have been a doctor of divinity! I think we can leave your reconciliation with her to nature," and the judge finely smiled at the doctor. "But now, in regard to the son's undeception—or shall we say enlightenment?—is it your notion that some third party might undertake the task of accomplishing the end desired?"

"Oh, I don't know what my notion is," Anther replied, rising with a finality which he expressed in superfluously buttoning his coat about him. The day was a warmish day in April, and he might well have found his winter great-coat uncomfortable, even in driving. With the afternoon sun pouring into the thinly shaded windows of the judge's bare office, it was almost a summer heat in which he had been sitting. He added, with a quick sigh, "I didn't know but you would be able to advise me—"

"I will think it over," the judge promised, with bland placidity, and he turned from taking leave of his friend, and rearranged some papers on his open desk. "By the way," he called after Anther, "I meant to ask you: the brother, who has charge of the business, does he know anything of this double life and character?"

"John Langbrith?"

"Yes. How long has he been in charge?"

"Oh, ever since Langbrith's death. Somebody had to take hold of the business. He was here before that."

"But nothing has ever passed between you and him as to the facts?"

"Not a word. They were not things I could speak of first, and John Langbrith speaks of nothing. I suppose he talks business, but I have no business to talk with him."

"Does Mrs. Langbrith know whether he knows?"

"We have never mentioned the matter, but I don't believe she does. You know how close he is. He never goes to her except on business, and she has never seen the inside of his house. The mill is his home."

"In his way, he is as successful a secret as his brother?"

"Quite," the doctor said gloomily.

XV.

On his way home to the early tea which Mrs. Burwell's primitive tradition obliged him to accept, in place of anything like a late dinner or later supper, Dr. Anther drove by the Langbrith mansion, and looked hard at it. He turned, when he got by, drove back, stopped his buggy at the gate, and hurried up the brick walk to the door. It was opened, before he could ring, by Mrs. Langbrith. "Both the girls are out," she partially explained, and she could have said further, that the middle-aged serving-women, who were still girls to her, had not outlived their youthful passion for mingling with the crowds which thronged the long main street of Saxmills on pay-day, and that she had yielded to it for the sake of the pleasure which the fine weather would add to their outing. But he paid no heed to her opening words, and she did not go on.

"Amelia," he said with the fervid rashness that was natural to him, "I want to beg your pardon for the way I left you last night."

"Oh!" she murmured so deeply that the murmur was almost a sob.

Then these two elderly people did by one impulse what they had never done before. In the dim hall, beyond which Anther had not tried to penetrate, they cast themselves into each other's arms, and he kissed one cheek of hers, while she buried the other in his neck, and smoothed her silvered brown hair, and kept saying softly, "Poor girl, poor girl, poor girl!"

He kissed her cheek again, as if it were to be the last time as it had been the first, and then he walked slowly and thoughtfully down to the gate, and got into his buggy and let his horse take its own gait and course. Not only a tender patience with her swelled Anther's heart, but an unwonted tolerance for young Langbrith also found room for itself there. What wonder that the boy was reverent of his father's memory, since he knew no evil of him? Was it for this he must be called fool and despised for an ass? Anther saw that there were yet many steps to be taken with regard both to him and his mother, and that they could not be separated in relation to himself. He softened more and more toward the whole situation, and momently the thought of the weakness he had surprised in her consecrated and endeared her to him.

He drove along the village street with his figure stooped well toward the dashboard, when his ears were saluted with a succession of girlish trebles.

"How do, doctor!"

"How do, doctor!"

"How do, Dr. Anther!"

He looked up blankly, and presently realized that he saw Hope Hawberk, Jessamy Colebridge, and Susie Johns, walking with arms more or less intertwined, along the pavement which he was closely skirting by the erratic preference of his horse. They smiled brightly upon his daze, and nodded gaily to him, hanging over one another and laughing at him over their shoulders when they got by. He gathered himself together to call back to them. "Oh, how do you do?" and the charm of their differing prettiness very sweetly possessed him. They were like his own children to him, in his long intimate acquaintance with their ailments as a physician, and with their accomplishments as chairman of the school board. Their young voices, and their arch, familiar, trustful tones made the blood play warmly about his heart, and he let his horse take him home to supper in a mood which he could not have imagined of himself when he parted such a little while ago from Judge Garley.

The girls walked on down the street toward the denser part of the town, chattering, singing snatches of song, humming and laughing, leaning over to mock at one another, and then straining outward or forward in their fun. They sobered as they got more into the crowds thronging the sidewalks, till they distinguished themselves from the mill-girls by a demure state, which could not leave one in doubt of their quality as village girls who did not work in the mills. Mill-hands of both sexes were exuberantly filling the street, after their release from the week's work, in a tumult of shopping, of carrying on, of courting, which would last far into the night. The young men stood at the corners or lounged along the curbstones, smoking, and challenging the girls to a stand which here and there stopped the way, with giggling and slanging and tussling groups; the girls, when they did not stop, tossed chaff and sauce at the young men over their shoulders and tempted them to pursuit, as they passed chewing gum. But neither the young men nor the girls molested the three friends, who had now separated, and were pushing sinuously through the open spaces toward the post-office. The mill-hands knew who each of them was, and how they were nearly always together; some had been in school with them, or in Sunday-school, and these exchanged nods with them; others who were strangers to them, looked inimically after them, as representatives of class.

The three were not equally friends, though they were all friends. Hope Hawberk was chief among them, and Susie Johns was next her in the understanding that Jessamy Colebridge was capable of being silly at moments when the others would rather have died.

Without being untrue to her, they sometimes laughed a little at her; but that did not keep either of them from laughing a little with her at something queer in the other. Susie and Jessamy both knew about Hope's father, but her grandmother was of a family which no one in Saxmills could look down on. Her grandfather had been Squire Southfield, once the chief lawyer of the place, and he had been in Congress; though that was a long time ago, and her mother had certainly married beneath her in taking Hope's father. He was then a skilful young mechanic, but it quite passed the knowledge of Hope's friends that he had been a very fascinating fellow, whom such a girl as Hope's mother could not resist. Hope was like him in the dark coloring of her beauty, her dusky hair, and her black eyes; but there was a passionate irregularity of her mouth when she smiled which was the trace of her mother's stormy temperament. She had really more of her father's amiability, which, to the strict New England sense, erred almost to the guilt of easy-goingness. His dreams had not begun with opium. There were psychologists among his critics who regarded the opium as the logical consequence of his dreams, and who, if they had been asked in time, could have prophesied from the first all that he had come to since.

Neither of the three girls expected a letter, but when it seemed that there really was a letter for Susie Johns, Jessamy confessed her own disappointment with a quick "Oh, dear!" in taking the letter from the girl clerk behind the boxes, who severely announced "Ain't nothing for you or Hope." But Hope, if she had a disappointment, hid it under a laugh.

She caught the letter from Susie's lax hand, and said, "Let me read it for you, Susie dear," and Susie wrinkled her nose, and said, "Well, you may." But Hope contented herself with looking at the postmark.

Jessamy joined her in the inspection, and it was she who proclaimed their joint discovery. "It's from Boston! Why, Susie Johns, who's been writing to you from Boston? Oh, I'll bet it's Mr. Falk."

It appeared that the letter was really from Mr. Falk, but not till the girls had left the anteroom of the post-office and made their way back homeward on the up-hill street leading out of the business thoroughfare. Then, when they could have the whole sidewalk to themselves again, each of the others passed a hand through Susie's arms and prepared herself to help her make out any hard words, leaning forward in readiness. Jessamy kept babbling, as Susie read her letter silently through, and by the time she reached the end, Jessamy was offering the twentieth variant of her wonder. "What in the world is he writing to you about?"

"Oh, it's just manners," Susie responded serenely. "I suppose he thought he ought to write and say something pleasant about his visit here."

"Is that all?" Jessamy innocently protested, and this made Hope laugh.

"What else did you expect there would be?" Susie folded the letter up and put it back in the envelope.

"Well, I don't know. He might have sent some message!"

"He did. He said 'give his regards to all inquiring friends.'"

"Oh, that sounds nice. It's just what *we* say—village people. But I believe Mr. Falk isn't from a very large town. Only you always think students must be like city folks. Dear, I wish *I* had a letter."

"Well," Hope said, "I'll ask Harry Matthewson to write you one."

"No, you mustn't, Hope. Will you, really?"

Susie squealed, "Jessamy Colebridge, you certainly are almost a goose"; and Hope said, "Well, I won't if you don't want me to."

They had come to Jessamy's gate, and Hope pushed her arm through Susie's and ran her on, while Jessamy stood looking in rueful puzzle after them.

"Jessamy *is* such a simpleton. I should think she was a child of ten yet." Hope put her face down on Susie's shoulder and laughed, and when she lifted it Susie put her face down on Hope's shoulder and laughed. Then Susie offered to let Hope read Falk's letter; but Hope had never shown her the letter which she had got from Langbrith the Monday before.

XVI.

Beyond the village, the little lake from which the mills drew their power had been clear of ice for weeks, but its waters had kept the look of winter. The logs weltering at the gates where the current which was to grind them into pulp left the lake, dipped and lifted with a cold wet gleam as they pushed at the pales on the pull of the stream. A day came when the whole aspect of the landscape changed. No leaf had started, and scarcely a bud had swelled on the water-elms that showed their black trunks and boughs amidst the green gloom of the pines and spruces overhanging the shores, and the white nakedness of the birches had not yet clothed itself, except for a thin veil of catkins. But the water had taken a warmth of tone from the sky, which was of a deep blue, heaped with milky clouds roughed to a superficial dusk by the southern wind. Blue-birds rose and sank with the rhythm of their querulous notes in their short flights about the farmsteads and village houses. The robins in the chilly mornings and evenings shouted from the door-yard trees. Ragged lines of blackbirds drifted with a glassy clatter over the woods and rested in their tops, or slanted toward the water, where they showed their iridescent splendors, as they strutted up and down on the logs and parleyed harshly together.

Hawberk sat tilted in his chair against the southern house wall where the sun struck into the garden, and listened with a dim smile to their clatter, coming over to him through a cleft of the land that

let the lake shine through below the hill. He had begun the joyful day with half a gill of laudanum, and he was feeling the primary effect of the drug in the delicious lassitude he won from it at continually increasing cost. He was smiling, not only at the noise of the blackbirds, but at the comfort of the cat, which had found the stone warm at the base of the sun-dial in the walk of the little garden, and lay coiled there. He liked the look of the dishevelled beds, where the dry litter of the last summer's stalks and stems was mixed with the tawny blades of the grassy borders, and he liked the softly waving plumes of the pines which beckoned to him from the brow of the hill behind the little dwelling. He heard, with the same sensuous pleasure, the jar of the mills below the street on which the house fronted, and he vaguely recalled the relation his life once had to that busy sound, now no more to him than the idle sound of the wind in the pine tops with which it was effectively one. Exquisite thrills passed through his relaxing nerves, and the twitching of his muscles was divinely voluptuous. Then, suddenly, he was in that pit again out of which he had slowly fought his way at the Retreat, but which he knew he must now sink back into day by day. The green dwarf was there as he had not been for a long time, and was at his work of slowly filling in the sides of the pit, making it smaller and smaller, and arabesquing its surfaces with patterns of men's bones. He choked in the thickening air and dug his way upward with his hands, toiling for months, for years, for ages; but the pit was always filled in again, and its roof and sides faced with those hideous arabesques. After centuries, he saw the light break through from above; then the dwarf came slowly overhead, and covered him in again and shut out the light. The groans of his torment ascended continually; when the dwarf extinguished the last gleam, the horror was such that it burst into a scream of despair—a cry of agony so sharp that it cut his dream asunder, and he woke wet with cold sweat, and saw the cat dozing at the base of the dial.

"Father, father!" the voice of Hope called, while she caught his reeking hand in hers.

He tilted forward out of his chair, trembled to his feet and stared around, gasping.

"Oh, Hope, child, don't let me sleep, don't ever let me sleep again. How long have I been here?"

"Only while I could go in and get my hat and a book to read to you. Grandma wanted me a minute."

"It seemed eternity. Don't let me sleep again. I'm all right if I don't sleep. Promise me that."

"Well, I won't, father. But come now—or aren't you able to go up the hill with me?" He had sunk back into his chair, and she kissed his forehead, blotched from the opium, with its sunken eyes beneath it, and the red scars seaming his cheeks from which a sickening odor came. "But must you—*must* you?"

"Yes, yes, I must. Don't talk to me that way. I must, I tell you. If I had a little, now! Where is it?"

"In your room. I'll get it, if you say so—"

"Well, get it then, quick, quick. I don't want to sleep again."

"Don't be afraid. I'll be back in a second."

She vanished, and reappeared with a bottle in her hand which she put into his shaking hold.

He pushed it to his lips without looking at it. When he had drained it he glanced at the empty bottle. "Was that all?"

"Yes, every bit. But I can get some more this afternoon if you want it."

"Of course I want it, it puts life into me. Ah!"

He drew a deep breath and stretched himself. "That's something like. Now come on." He laid his shaking hand on her arm, and they began to climb the hill together on the path that found its way upward by little juts of the ledge, and little turns round them, and over the rough surfaces where the thin soil left the rock bare. "It's astonishing what it does for a man. It's all that keeps me up, in these enterprises. But don't *you* ever touch it, Hope. It's the best of servants but the worst of masters. If I didn't know how to control it so well, it would play the mischief with me."

Hope said, with the lightness which all the horror of the situation could not sadden in her, "And even *you* don't seem to have the upper hand *always,* father."

Hawberk laughed in sympathy with her lightness. "That's a fact, Hope. But it's very seldom. The great thing is to know when to pull up. I'm all right as long as I'm awake, and there's nothing like it to keep you awake. You've got to use it regularly if you want to get the good of it."

"Well, you've wanted to get the good of it about two hours too soon to-day, father," she said, with caressing mockery.

"Why, what time is it?"

"About eleven."

"Lord, I thought it was after dinner, and I'd gone by my time. You oughtn't to have given it all to me, Hope. I don't know what I shall do now till night."

"I'll get some more for you from Dr. Anther. He wanted you to have it."

"I don't know about that. I believe he wants to keep it away from me, though he knows it's the only thing that will carry me through this pinch of work. I want you to go right after dinner for it—before he starts on his visits."

"I will, I will, father."

"It's the only thing that will keep me awake, and as long as I don't sleep I'm all right."

"Well, I should think you would find it pretty hard to manage without any sleep at all," Hope said, always in the same drolling fashion. "Why don't you try to stop it altogether?"

"That's just what I'm going to do when I get through this pinch. I've talked it all over with Dr. Anther. We've got the whole thing mapped out, down to the last dot."

They had reached the top of the hill in their talk, which had had as much silence as parlance in it.

Hawberk let go the arm to which he had been clinging less and less dependently, and straightened his bent, wasted frame.

"Fine, fine!" he said, looking dimly out of the caverns under his brows at the prospect. "I think I shall put the house right here. You know I've bought this hill, Hope."

"No, I didn't, father. But I'm not the least surprised to hear it. You keep buying all sorts of things." She had settled herself on the warm brown needles under the pine where he stood; and, as she spoke, she pulled her skirt closely about her knees, and folded it under them. He looked down into her face, and they both laughed.

"But this is a fact, Hope. That last little thing of mine is doing so well in the hands of those people at Boston, that I've decided to build here. We haven't passed the papers yet, but I've got old Arlingham's agreement to sell. Drew it up yesterday before Judge Garley, and left it with him. I'm going to have an architect make the plans. It's to be for you, Hope."

"Me? Oh my! I like the little old place at the foot of the hill well enough."

"It's well enough for your grandmother and me, but I want you to have a decent place when—"

"Well, well! That's all right, father; and I'm ever so much obliged. But you better sit down and have a rest before you begin building." She kept the same joking tone, but there was a sort of nervousness in the haste with which she cut him off from the topic, and hastened to say, "I'll read to you now."

Hawberk obeyed, and leaned his bared head against the trunk of the pine at whose foot he sank; his eyes closed, and he instantly started forward, with a shudder and a cry of "Ugh!"

She closed on her thumb the book which she had just opened, and asked, gravely, "Was it the green one?"

"It's always the green one, now," he lamented.

"Well, then, I'll tell you what, father: you're getting pretty bad again."

"No, no! I'm all right—or I shall be, if I can keep awake. I guess you better talk to me, Hope. Better not read. Seems to set me off at once. You'd just as lief talk, wouldn't you?"

"Oh, yes. It doesn't matter to me. You'll do the talking, anyway."

Hawberk laughed. "I guess that's about so, Hope. The reason I want you to have this place here is because Langbrith and I used to talk about building here together. We used to be great cronies, Royal Langbrith and I did, and it seems quite appropriate—"

"Now, look here, father," the girl broke in, "you're getting on

to forbidden ground. You may choose any other subject to talk about, and I'm with you, but I can't follow you there."

"Oh, all right, I wasn't going to. But now let me tell you the kind of a house I've got in my head for this place. Of course, some of these pines will have to come down." He got up, and began to walk about and take in the shape of the ground, and pace off certain measurements, and look up at the different trees. "But I shall leave a row of them in front, and a lot off to the side, here." He gestured toward the right, as he came back, and sat down again. "But all back of here the trees have got to go. I want to have you a good big garden, behind the house."

"Well, I'm almost sorry for that," Hope humored his fancy. "I believe I'd rather have the pines than the garden. They do smell so nice, with this sun on them."

"That's a fact," her father assented, sniffing the balsamic odors that the heat drew from the boughs softly stirring themselves in the wind. "Well, I'll leave as many as I can, Hope." He broke off with, "What sort of young fellow is that one who was up here at Easter, with James?"

"He's pretty nice, I believe. What makes you ask?" Her own question had something of the anxiety in it which marked her escape from his approaches to the forbidden topic of Langbrith.

"Oh, nothing. They tell me he's something of a draughtsman; kind of artist."

"Yes, I told you that. What of it?"

"Nothing. But I've thought some of employing him to illustrate the advertisements of that last little thing of mine. Those people down at Boston are going to have it written up in great shape for the back part of the magazines, and I want to have pictures. Suppose he could do them?"

"Yes, I should think so. But now, look here, father: you mustn't go talking this around."

"No, no! I just mentioned it to Dr. Anther the other day. He thinks very well of it."

"Did you say anything about James, to him?"

"No, no, no! Not a word."

"Nor to anybody else?"

"Why, I haven't been home long enough to see anybody else."

Hope left that subject. "Well, now, I'll tell you what, father. I think after you get through this pinch, as you call it, you had better talk with Dr. Anther about leaving off, gradually."

"Why, that's exactly what we did talk about the last time I saw him. We've fixed up a splendid plan. The doctor's all right. I told him what I thought the weak points at the Retreat were, and he agreed with me right along. He's going to study into my case. It's peculiar. I've kept it up so long, and yet there hasn't been a day when I couldn't have left it off. My idea is to stop the thing short off. No dilly-dallying."

Hawberk's words expressed an energy which his weak tones, and his stumbling gait in his restless movement to and fro as he talked, altogether belied. Hope sat watching him, with a face which her mocking words in turn belied when she spoke.

"Do you think you can manage to catch a little waking spell every now and then till I've been to the doctor's? I don't want that green one round when I'm gone, even if he isn't real."

Hawberk laughed joylessly. "He's got to stay away till night, now, anyway. I can manage him. Don't you be afraid. I'll get your grandmother to give me a good strong cup of coffee at dinner, and that will help to keep him down."

"Well, shall I read now?"

"Yes, read away. I'll keep moving; or if I get to dozing when I stop to rest, poke me with this stick."

He gave her a fallen bough which he stripped of its dead needles and broke to a stout club, and she took it in the drolling humor which formed the atmosphere of their companionship.

There was enough of this feeling in her face and voice to make Anther pause a moment when she asked him, a few hours later, "Doctor, can't something be done about father?" She sat with the stout bottle of laudanum which Anther had given her in her hand, and tilted it back and forth on her knee.

"How do you mean?" he finally asked.

"Well, to make him stop it."

The doctor rose and closed his door, and then sat down again and kept his eyes absently on her smiling face, as if his mind were at work beneath its surface, seeking the measure of her portion in the suffering to which her young life was helplessly related. He was not likely to exaggerate her sympathetic suffering. He had seen how the young life is always defended from the worst misery of the old; how from their common source it flows on in the same channel, and takes no tint or taint from the concurrent stream, but keeps itself pure and glad side by side with the darkest anguish.

"Do you know how much he's taking now?"

"I guess he's got back to nearly the old quantity."

Anther waited again before he spoke. "I didn't expect it so soon after he had got home."

"I don't think the Retreat did him much good. But I believe *you* could, Dr. Anther."

"I don't know, my dear! Does he believe it?"

"Oh, he believes in you; and I know he would like to make an effort to stop it. I know he'd help you. I don't know what he's going to do. He has got to sleep, of course, but the minute he goes off he begins dreaming, and that green one comes, he says, and tries to wall him in. It's pretty awful." She laughed in a queer way, and then the tears burst from her eyes. "You must think I'm a strange person, to laugh at such things."

"No, no," the doctor said, tenderly. "I understand, Hope."

"I suppose it's my being used to it all my life, that I don't realize it as some others would. And then father is so funny, when he tells about it, and acts it out, as he does. I suppose I'm like him. He knows it's nothing, as well as you do. But it's real while it lasts."

"Yes," Anther said. "But you're right not to distress yourself about it, Hope. That wouldn't do any good, and you can help your father best as you are."

"Well, I am afraid I am of a light nature. Grandma says so. Now and then it all comes to me, what he goes through, and then"—she quivered on the verge of a sob, but controlled herself and said, "Well, I didn't make myself; and I haven't got myself to blame for ever forgetting him, anyway."

"I know that, my dear." Anther sat thinking, till Hope recalled herself to him.

"Don't you believe it's worth while to try again, doctor?"

"Yes, indeed! We must never give up trying." Anther rose again, and opened the silk-lined glass doors which shut in the shelves where he kept his office-supply of drugs, and began mixing a bottle from various bottles before him. He shook the mixture vigorously, with his thumb over the mouth of the bottle, and then corked it, made a little pencil mark on the top of the cork, and gave the bottle to Hope. It was quite like the bottle of laudanum, in size and shape. "There!" he said. "I've marked the cork so that you'll know it, and I want you to keep it where you can substitute it for the laudanum every other time. Understand?"

"Yes, I understand, but—"

"It won't hurt him if he gets the laudanum bottle, now and then, instead of this; it may even help to tide him over a bad place. But try to make the alternations regular. Gradually—"

"Yes, but hadn't he better break it off altogether—at once?"

The doctor shook his head. "It might do in some cases, but it won't do in his." At something insistent in the girl's face he said, "You want a reason? Well, because we've tried it once. It was a good while ago, when you were little, and before you were old enough to know anything about it. We agreed to stop it short off. We agreed with Wason, the apothecary, he was then—young Wason's father—that he wasn't to let your father have anything without my orders on any conditions, whatever. I took his laudanum away, and the third night he came to me half-dressed, through the blinding snow, and woke me, and made me give him the laudanum. I have always been humbly thankful that I had the sense to do it, and I have never tried to stop him short off, since. I tell you this, for I don't want you to let him tempt you into any experiment like that. He is quite likely to smash his laudanum, and try to go it on the other alone."

"I know it!" Hope smiled in recognition of her father's optimism. "He does feel so sure of himself when he makes his good resolutions!"

She rose with a large bottle in either hand, and the doctor, seeing how she was cumbered, said, "I'm going up your way. Get into the buggy with me, and let me take you home. Nobody else seems coming to-day."

When she was tucked in beside him, he let the old horse jog at will in the direction he had given, and resumed the talk broken off in the office. "Does he take to the same hopeful view of things generally as ever?"

"Well, whenever he can get away from the green dwarf, he does," the girl said. "You know," she smiled across her shoulder into the doctor's face, "he has bought the hill back of our house?"

"I think he mentioned it," the doctor returned with the same quality of smile.

"Yes, he's going to build for me, there. Nothing can stop him. Doctor," she went on with a note of tragical imploring which had not got into anything else she had said of her father, "did he speak to you about—about—James Langbrith?"

She gasped out the name, and nervously put her hand on the doctor's, pinching the buckskin of his glove between her little thumb and forefinger. "Because there isn't—there isn't— Oh, it would kill me if I thought he was talking to people!"

"Oh, poor thing!" said the doctor. "Don't worry! He did speak to me, but, of course, I understood."

"Oh, I don't mind his speaking to *you*," she said. "You're like one of the family; but—but—"

"Well, you needn't be afraid. You know he sees almost nobody out of your own house but me; I cautioned him against talking of that matter, and he usually regards what I say."

"I suppose it's just the dreadfulness of it that scares me. But it would be more than I could bear. Will you speak to him again, doctor?"

"Yes, yes, I will, my dear. Don't you worry!" Anther turned his face away, and smiled to realize that the girl who could keep her courage in the face of misery like her father's should lose all her strength at the thought of having her name coupled with the name of the young man who loved her, and made the talk of the village. But that was youth, and that was life. "Don't you be troubled!" he said, looking at her again. "Nobody would mind what he said."

"Is that much comfort?" she asked.

"It's the most there is," he answered. They drove along in silence broken by the rattling of the loosened nuts in the framework of the old buggy, and the dull clump-clump of the horse's hoofs on the road. Suddenly, as if at the end of a sharp decision, he asked, "Hope, does your father ever speak of James's father?"

"Why, yes, he always says what friends they used to be—cronies. He says he was the best friend he ever had. He was, wasn't he?"

"Oh, yes—yes," Anther said in a lie that sickened him; but he had brought the necessity of it upon himself, and he could only hang

his averted head in merited shame. "I didn't know but sometimes he took the other turn. You know," he went lying on, "how his mind works by contraries."

"Oh, yes, I know that," Hope said, and she did not reason to the corollary, in her concern with the more personal fact. "But that wouldn't help if he got people gossiping about me."

It came to Anther again, as it had come before, that each generation exists to itself, and is so full of its own events that those of the past cannot be livingly transmitted to it; that it divinely refuses the burden which elder sins or sorrows would lay upon it, and that it must do this perhaps as a condition of bearing its own. He idly flicked the road with the lash of the whip which he so seldom laid upon the back of his lazy old horse.

XVII.

A letter for Hope came from Langbrith the day after he went back to Cambridge, and letters had come from him at frequent, irregular intervals since. They were nearly all of the same tenor, growing more urgent and impatient in their protest of his love for her, and in his demand for some answer more definite than she had been willing to give. She had gone no further than to say, "I do not know whether I care for you or not, in the way you mean. I should not think our being children together had anything to do with it. If it had, I ought to hate you, because you always used to try to domineer over me. If it is any comfort to you, I will say that I do not hate you, but that is the most I can say now. As for promising anything, that is ridiculous as long as I am not certain. I am going to keep myself as free as the air, so that if any one comes along that I like better I shall not be bound to refuse him. But there are such droves of young men passing through Saxmills all the time, I may not be able to choose. If anything can make me choose somebody else, it will be asking so much to choose you. I don't like to be followed up."

Langbrith tried to read the meaning into her letters which he could so little read out of them. But when it came to this last declaration of hers, he thought it best to forbear, and in his answer he held his hand altogether. He did not recur to anything she had said, but made his letter, not without resentment, about Falk and their contributions to *Caricature,* and about some teas and dances which he had been going to in Boston. He wished to philosophize these social facts, and contrast the manners and customs of Saxmills with those of the town. It was his conclusion that, with some superficial advantages, the city was not politer than the village. "The society buds here have a rudeness which strikes me as worse than the freedom among our village girls, which would shock them. People talk of the decay of social life in the country; but I shall be very well satisfied to settle down at Saxmills, when I have got all my tools, and go to work there for life. By the way, I

hope you will be interested to know that I have been talking with that young sculptor here whom I told you about, and he has taken my idea of a medallion of my father in a very intelligent way. He is a great worshipper of St.-Gaudens, and he is quite with me in not wanting to do anything round or oval. He thinks of an oblong, with the greatest length horizontal, for a head of my father; in the upper left-hand corner, an inscription of three or four lines, with dates and the name, and in the right corner, a relief of the mills as they looked when my father first took hold of the business. He did want to have him holding a relief of them in his right hand, as people are shown holding cities and temples in some of the old sculptures, but I am afraid this would not be understood, and I do not want to have anything that could detract from the serious feeling which the tablet ought to inspire. I wish you would think it over and tell me how the notion strikes you. Don't talk with any one else. I want your opinion alone."

Hope wrote back a scoffing answer, so far as concerned the appeal for her judgment in such a matter, but she freely gave it against the archaic treatment. She said it would look funny. As to the best time for the ceremony of dedicating the tablet, she refused to say anything whatever. But she did say that it seemed to her Decoration Day belonged to the few old soldiers who were left and their families, and it ought to be left to them. It appeared that this notion struck Langbrith as of the most immediate importance. He did not wait to write an answer; he telegraphed: "Thanks about Decoration Day. Perfectly right. Would be ridiculous."

The telegram was brought to Hope while she sat trying to talk her father out of a plan he had for taking Dr. Anther's prescription only half as often as directed. His reason was that he had proved its efficacy so thoroughly that there was no hurry about his cure. He was satisfied now that he could drop the opium habit whenever he liked; but, at present, just while he was working at a new invention in his mind, he needed the tonic and strengthening effect of the laudanum. Hope argued the question with him half jocosely, as she treated all the phases of their common tragedy, and prevailed with him to continue the doctor's treatment to the end of the week. "If you stop it now," she urged, "you'll have that green dwarf back the first time you drop asleep, and I can't stand him. He's made more trouble for this family!"

The grandmother, a fierce little spectre of a woman, with burning blue eyes and a whorl of white hair crowning her wrinkled face, could not make the father and the daughter out. She kept the housekeeping fast in the strong shrivelled hands into which Hope's dying mother's hands had let it fall, but she did not meddle with the girl and her father except in the way of censure and prophecy of doom. "If I had my say, I should fill that laudanum bottle up with good strong black coffee, and not let him have anything but the coffee and the medicine."

"Then you'd have him tearing the roof off. Father would know the difference between coffee and laudanum the first sip," Hope said.

"And is it a daughter's place to give her father poison?"

"It seems to be *this* daughter's place, grandma. Besides it isn't poison for him, and it's Dr. Anther's orders."

"Oh, a great doctor! I tell you, child," and the old woman flared her fierce visage close in the girl's face, "it won't be the doctor that will have to answer for this."

"Well, I hope nobody will. There must be a great deal of harm in the world that nobody in particular has to answer for."

"Do you mean to tell me," the old woman demanded, "that all the sin doesn't come from sinners?"

"Now, grandmother, you know I don't understand about those things, and I never did, even when I was little and expected to. You'd better ask the people at evening meeting some time. I can't tell you. All that I know is that I'm going to follow the doctor's directions in spite of father and you both, and I'm not going to make it all medicine or all laudanum to please either of you. What is it, father?"

Hawberk had gone down to the side gate at the first menace of dispute, and left Hope and her grandmother to contend over him, while he remained beyond the hearing of the censure which the old woman could always make him feel that he merited, though he had his theories that he was the helpless prey of his evils. Hanging over the gate in his nerveless fashion, he was approached by the boy from the telegraph office, who preferred climbing the hill on a bicycle to bringing a message less laboriously on foot. At sight of him, the old woman quenched her flaring presence in the dark of indoors. She was afraid the boy had heard her lifted voice, and Hope sauntered across the grass while the boy was taking the despatch out of the inside of his cap.

Hawberk looked at the address, and then handed it up over his shoulder to her. "Why, who in the world," she wondered, "has been sending *me* a telegram? Dear, I wish they wouldn't, whoever it is," she said in a laughing panic. And then, having read it and frowned darkly at it and puzzled over it in a second reading, she started back to the house with the laugh, but none of the panic, and the proclamation, "Well, certainly he is the greatest—"

"Any answer?" the boy demanded as sternly as a boy could in supporting himself on his stationary wheel by holding to a picket of the gate.

"No, of course, not," Hope called back, and she added in a lower voice, "Goose!" which, if it was meant for the boy, did not reach him in the swift scorch on which he had instantly started down the hill, in compensation for his difficult climb.

Her grandmother, lurking in the shadow of the cramped entry, tried to stop the girl in her flight up the sharply cornering stairs to her room in the half-story. "What is it, Hope?"

The girl called down from above, "Just some nonsense from James Langbrith," and, with the telegram flattened and reperused on her table before her, she began to write.

"I have just received your despatch. At first, I thought it must be somebody dying, or telling me that I had been left a fortune; but I decided against that before I opened it. Of course, I am proud to think my opinion is so important that it has to be acknowledged by telegraph. But I guess you had better wait and write the next time. I was not very likely to run off and see the Selectmen and have a town meeting called before I could hear from you by mail. I hope you will not be disappointed if I don't telegraph back. But if everything you have anything to do with is so important, perhaps you will be. I don't know what that new telegraph-girl at the depot will think. She must be trying to puzzle it out by a cypher code and racking her brains over it. Why *did* you send it? Did you think what you had suggested was so very silly that you could not bear to let it go another night before taking it back?"

After venting the agitation of her fluttered nerves in these railleries, she went on to make Langbrith what amends for them she could by writing a longer and friendlier letter than usual; and, when she had finished it, she told her grandmother she was going to the post-office, and perhaps she would stop to see Susie Johns on the way, but she would be back again soon. She tilted down the long hillside street, and her face was as gay with the fun reverberating in her mind from her letter as if she had left nothing but a sunny serenity in the house behind her, where her father was fighting away from the horrors of his dream, and her grandmother was gloomily exulting in the doom that must follow his ill-doing, as if for the reward of her well-doing. While Hope was with them, she felt the oppression of their unhappiness; but out of their presence, it existed for her only as something inevitable, which she must not take any more seriously than James Langbrith's self-importance. The unhappiness made her laugh sometimes, as Langbrith's pomposity did, or the thought of his clumsy truth and the humble pride with which he owned himself wrong in his absurdities.

"What long steps you take!" a voice called after her at a corner she was passing, and she whirled her face over her shoulder to see Mrs. Enderby hurrying to join her. "Hope," the rector's wife said, breathlessly, "you're the brightest and blithest thing in this town."

"Am I, Mrs. Enderby?" the girl laughed, slowing her pace for the friendly lady.

"Don't you know it? Or perhaps you don't, and that's the reason why you can keep it up. Don't try to realize it, child. How are you all at home this lovely morning?"

"Oh, we're always well, Mrs. Enderby. That is—"

She stopped, and Mrs. Enderby went on for her. "I'm not going to make you conscious and you mustn't let me, but just to see that face of yours is inspiration. Were you always so?"

"Why, I don't know what kind of 'so' you mean. I suppose I'm pretty well all the time, and that makes a difference."

"And I'm not going to tell you that you're pretty without the well, for that never makes any part of the difference. But, Hope, you *are* pretty whether you know it or not."

"Well," the girl drolled, "I don't know as I could do anything about it if I did.

"No, and that's what makes me feel so safe in praising you. I know it won't spoil you. When you came rushing along past the corner, you made me think of some tall flower sloping in the wind. I wish you would tell me just what flower you made me think of! If there was some kind of black iris! Well, I must try to find out."

They laughed together, and Hope said, "If I knew, I might think you wanted to flatter me, Mrs. Enderby."

"No, I'm not flattering you. If I told you what I thought of you that night at Mrs. Langbrith's, you might suppose I was. I couldn't keep my eyes off you. And other people couldn't. I dare say you didn't know it?"

"If I did, I must have forgotten it by this time; it was such a long while ago."

"Hope, you are not only the gayest and prettiest girl here, but you are the wittiest."

"Well, now, I *know* you're not flattering me. It's no more than my just dues to have you say that."

"Oh, I'm only repeating what I hear other people say. I wonder," Mrs. Enderby went on, as if to the very next thing, "whether Mr. Langbrith spoke to you about a great scheme that he has in mind?"

Mrs. Enderby was launched, and nothing in her own nature or the situation could keep her from sailing to her destination. As a Boston woman valiantly and loyally following her husband, not only from the Unitarian cult in which they were both born into the church on whose ritualistic heights the rector had planted his banner, but also from the many lively interests of her native city into the social desolation of Saxmills, she realized from time to time that she owed herself all the amends within her reach, and she was not one to be guilty of the injustice of withholding them. She had been charmed with Hope from the first, and when she perceived, as she did very early in the history of her establishment in Saxmills, what this poor, pretty, happy, tragical creature obviously was to the young owner of the local industry and prosperity, the mother heart of her childlessness bowed itself upon them both, and held her in the hope of at least so revealing them to each other that they need not err as to their mutual meaning. The affair satisfied the most recondite demands of her soul by its romantic properties; and that disparity in the worldly fortunes of the pair did not affect her with a sense of unfitness, as it might have done if they had been Bostonians. They were both natives of a place that, without any sort

of social traditions, had grown from a small village under the magic of the elder Langbrith's enterprise into the busy little town she knew; and the picturesque legend of Langbrith's forbearance with the infirmity of Hope's father until he could forbear no longer, touched the fancy of Mrs. Enderby as the material of a peculiar tie between the young people. Something better than her fancy was pleased with the notion of the fathers' reconciliation in their children.

"About what scheme?" Hope asked with the inevitable hypocrisy.

"He was speaking of it to the gentlemen after the ladies left the table that night, and Dr. Enderby mentioned it to me. Why! I don't know but it's a tremendous secret, and I oughtn't to talk of it!"

Hope wished to talk of it, and now she had to unmask. "Was it the tablet he wants to put into the library to his father?"

"You do know about it, then!" Mrs. Enderby rejoiced. "What do you think about it?"

"Why, nobody could have any objections, could they? If his father gave the library building to the town?"

"No, certainly. I fancy they'll be only too glad to have him do it. At any rate he's going on with it. He's got a sculptor to design it, and as soon as it is finished he is going to have it dedicated here. He hasn't fixed on just the time. Dr. Enderby had a letter from him this morning, saying he had thought of Decoration Day, but that he had consulted with some one in whose taste he had special confidence, and this mystical unknown had suggested to him that it would be taking the day from those whom it belonged to for something else; and he wanted Dr. Enderby to suggest another date not much later. Dr. Enderby proposed his father's birthday, and very likely he will decide on that unless his unknown adviser counsels differently. Do you suppose it is that Mr. Falk who was here with him?"

"I think he would be likely to *ask* Mr. Falk," Hope demurely conceded, with eyes that could not help falling under Mrs. Enderby's.

"Well, whoever it is, Dr. Enderby admires his sense and his feeling." And, at this, the question in Hope's mind whether she should tell Susie Johns about the affair went out of it. She could not do so now without seeming to brag. She was not going to brag, but she felt proud of having the sense and the feeling that Dr. Enderby had praised. "Dr. Enderby liked Mr. Langbrith's frankness, too, in confessing his own want of thoughtfulness."

"Yes, that was nice," Hope said, with some tacit misgiving for the sarcastic tenor of the letter in her pocket. She said to herself that it was the only way to get along with James Langbrith. If you did not laugh at him a little, he would be unbearable. But she thought that, if she found a letter from him in the post-office, she might not mail hers, at least till she had read his.

"Dr. Enderby," the rector's wife pursued, "thinks very highly of Mr. Langbrith. Of course, every one has their faults, but he

thinks Mr. Langbrith really tries to overcome his when he sees them, and he bears being shown his weaknesses very well. Dr. Enderby says that is the most uncommon kind of virtue. I didn't quite like Mr. Falk's sarcastic tone with him, but I suppose Mr. Langbrith knows how to take care of himself. Sometimes young men seem to enjoy that. It's like their 'scrapping,' as they call it. But Dr. Enderby says that Mr. Langbrith was just as nice with the cold way Dr. Anther took his plan for the tablet."

"Didn't Dr. Anther like it?" Hope asked.

"Apparently not. He didn't say why, and that made it all the more awkward for Mr. Langbrith. Dr. Anther didn't seem to take any interest in the project, and yet Mr. Langbrith's father was his old friend."

Hope mused darkly for a moment, then she brightened to a laugh. "Well, it doesn't seem to have discouraged Mr. Langbrith very much."

"No, it hasn't," Mrs. Enderby recognized with a laugh of her own, "and I'm glad of it. I think it's a very good plan, and it will be an attractive addition to the front of the library—so very plain. I believe in commemorating such things. It helps to make a place historical, and we have so little history. But Mr. Langbrith is so very sensitive, and I don't like to have him hurt. I know he suffers very much when he has found himself in the wrong."

"Nobody enjoys that," Hope suggested.

"No, of course not; but his ideal is so very high. He does always want to do what is fine and noble. I can see that. *I* think he is *rare*. I almost trembled when you got into that little dispute with him that night: he's not as quick as you, Hope." Mrs. Enderby questioned with eager eyes the young face which masked itself against her pursuit in a smile.

"Oh, it wasn't very serious."

"Not for you, of course, but it was for him. He was making a brave show, but I could see how very—very— He isn't as satirical as you are. You must be careful of that keen little tongue of yours. Oh, dear, what am I saying? You do forgive me? But girls don't know how the things they say rankle in young men's minds, and how eager young men are to have the approval of girls they respect. There! There comes Dr. Anther *now*. I wish I had the courage to ask him why he doesn't approve of the tablet. Good-by, dear; I'm going into this store. Are you going to the post-office? I believe I'll go with you—or no! If I waited to meet Dr. Anther, I should be sure to ask him, and I've no right to. Well!"

Mrs. Enderby slipped into the doorway where she had scarcely halted the girl, and Hope tilted on toward the post-office with not so light nor so swift a gait as before. It was silly, of course, to mind what Mrs. Enderby said; but she had now fully agreed with herself that she would not mail her sarcastic note to Langbrith till she had seen whether there was a letter. She flushed when the girl

clerk gave her a letter from him, and she turned the corner at the post-office to be able to read it unmolested in the by-street leading to Susie Johns's. It was so full of what seemed to her a swelling self-satisfaction, that she did not look up the date to see whether it had been written before her last reached him, but pushed it into her pocket, and hurrying round the square, without stopping to see Susie Johns, she reached the post-office again, and shot the note she had with her into the slot in the door, and walked vigorously homeward, with the full approval of her judgment and a just indignation for her momentary betrayal into a mistaken mercy for an offender so hardened as James Langbrith. She had to pass his mother's house on the way, and she saw Mrs. Langbrith out in the sun before it, stooping to look at the perennials in their bed beside the door. But Mrs. Langbrith did not see her, and Hope got home in a defiance of Mrs. Enderby that kept itself from being articulate with difficulty.

(To be Continued.)

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THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

To requests which have been made to me to write on the political bearings of the war between Japan and Russia I have felt compelled to return refusal, on account of a fear of doing more harm than good in matters of such delicacy. Before, however, I comply with the request of the Editor to put on paper some very brief notes as to military and naval questions arising from the war, there are some considerations bearing upon the future relations between the United Kingdom and the United States which may possibly be treated with safety and advantage.

A very able writer in my country has asserted within the last few days that the present war will not terminate without an attempt at German intervention, calculated to lead to the creation of an alliance between Germany, Russia and France, to the detriment of the British Empire, and that it is a mistake on our part to think that, after Japanese successes, we can count upon a friendly feeling in the United States towards a policy capable of being represented as pro-Japanese.

It has, of course, been stated upon high French authority that the alliance of Germany, Russia and France, which was successful in expelling Japan from Manchuria after her Chinese war, has on two other occasions been suggested by Germany to France,

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with a view to an anti-British policy, to be pursued even at the risk of war. It is asserted upon competent authority in Paris that, at the time of the Fashoda incident, and again in reference to Transvaal affairs, Germany proposed, and France declined to be a party to, this alliance. It is an alliance into which the present peaceful feeling of France, and the belief that the brunt of war would fall chiefly upon her, prevented France from entering; but it might be more tempting if it were accompanied by the offer of the retrocession of the lost provinces. No French Government, it is argued, could abstain from taking the steps which might be necessary to recover Alsace. On the other hand, the present German Emperor is deeply and personally committed to the absolute permanence of the incorporation of Alsace in the German Empire. But these speculations will carry us too far.

There is, of course, sufficient risk of an alliance against ourselves of the three Powers which hold the coast line of Northern Europe from the Atlantic to Asia, with the exception of the little bit of coast of the Low Countries, to make it a matter of which we think, if we do not talk of it. The "two-Powers standard" for our fleet has never corresponded to any real necessity. There has never been, at any time, the slightest chance of an alliance against us of France and Russia in which we should have only France and Russia to consider and should feel able to leave out of our account the rapidly increasing German fleet. The standard adopted of equality with two Powers in battle-ships, "plus a margin," with a more considerable superiority in cruisers, has always had this practical effect: that it made war with us, on the part of the three Powers suggested, impossible on account of the certainty, in the minds of the French authorities, that they would be left face to face with a fleet able to devote a large portion of its attention to themselves. Within the last year or two, and since the accession of his present Majesty, King Edward VII., the relations between Great Britain and France have vastly improved, all trace of anti-English feeling in the French populace has suddenly disappeared, and the change has been accompanied by an immense growth in France of really pacific feeling. So that, if one looks to general considerations, and detaches one's mind from the more narrow issues presented to us by the writer to whom I referred above, one is inclined to think that such danger as there was of a coalition against us is greatly lessened.

It is, however, the case that Germany might attempt to bring about the coalition, at a moment suitable to her preparations, automatically, and without any act of present volition on the part of France. If Germany were to declare war on Japan, Great Britain would be bound by her treaty engagements to declare war upon Russia and Germany; and France, it is understood, to declare war upon Great Britain and Japan. The result would, doubtless, be the diversion of Japanese efforts from Manchuria to the safer field for their ambition presented by the defenceless condition of Tonquin; and the war would have to be fought out in Europe between the British fleet on the one side and Germany and France upon the other. The light which has been shed upon the state of preparation for war of the Russian fleet seems to postpone any such danger for a time, but when people enter into conditional alliances they ought to remember the form which those alliances may assume at an unexpected moment. It is like going guarantee for a friend. One always has to pay the money at a time less convenient to oneself than the original day of signature.

The point from which I set out, and from which I have diverged, is that suggested by the writer who finds in the consequences of the war the probability of estrangement in our policy for the Pacific between Great Britain and the United States. He neglects, however, the main fact, which is, that the two Powers have the same interest in keeping China open to their trade, and that Japan probably does not desire, and certainly cannot afford, to pursue a different policy.

Turning to the safer subject of the war itself, it may be well to say a word as to Russian denunciation of the act of war which preceded any declaration. The steps taken by the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg constituted as fair and complete a warning of war as is now usual before the first acts of war. America has produced some of the greatest text-books on international law, and they are there to confirm this statement. The greatest books on war are the German treatises, in all of which—and most recently by Von der Goltz—we are informed, upon the highest military authority, that acts of war will in future invariably precede the slower formal declaration. Von der Goltz goes much further than the Japanese in practice went, for he asserts that the moment that a Government has made up its own mind that war is neces-

sary to its policy, it must strike at once, without waiting for any other considerations. Every writer on naval warfare, and they are unfortunately many, who has discussed imaginary wars between ourselves and France has started with an attack exactly similar to that which the Japanese made upon Port Arthur, and at a date, as compared with the dates of negotiations, also exactly similar. That, after the action taken at St. Petersburg on the 5th of a month, the Japanese torpedo-boats should have been off Port Arthur on the night of the 7th, was "classic"; and it is an amazing fact that Russian want of preparation for war, always prophesied by competent political and military writers, should have been demonstrated in a fashion so absolutely astounding.

There remains for consideration the nature of the Japanese forces, and the bearing of their character upon the progress of land war, supposing that we are right in thinking that the Russian fleets are cooped up, partially destroyed and wholly paralyzed.

The foreign observers who saw the Japanese during the allied operations known as the relief of Pekin, have all told us the same story. Some, perhaps the English only, were frankly pro-Japanese; but even those who were the most anti-Japanese, such as the best German officers employed in the joint operations, have, to the credit of their scientific impartiality, recounted exactly the same facts in exactly the same fashion. At the attack on the walled city of Tientsin the Japanese had, perhaps, the most difficult portion of the task, the direct advance in the centre falling to their share. Under a murderous fire they went forward without a check. All others hesitated; and, after hesitation, the English and American blue-jackets went forward also. No one else on that occasion seems to have done well. On the other Tientsin day, when the Russians were holding the railway station, and the river lay between them and the ammunition and reinforcements for which they had asked, detachments of troops of various Powers tried to get across the bridge to their assistance. The Chinese artillery had got the range and were playing steadily on the bridge with shrapnel. When others had completely failed, a Japanese party came along with two mule wagons full of ammunition. The mules were mostly killed or wounded as soon as they got on to the bridge; the Japanese soldiers harnessed themselves to the carts with ropes and safely conveyed them over. Those of us who know much of the best of our Goorkha battalions in India—those short,

bandy-legged Mongolians from Nepal—who are the best mercenary troops that the world has known, fighting for fighting's sake, but full of discipline—class the Japanese private with the Goorkha, in the fact that alone he has never run away. The Americans are remarkable for courage, but perhaps even Americans have, on rare occasions, been known to run. We, most certainly, have been, on many. The Sikhs are sometimes quoted as superior to the best European troops; but though they are often excellent, they do not deserve this place. The Goorkhas, however, hold it without contestation among all who know them, and are now matched in a class by themselves with the Japanese. The drawback to the Goorkhas is that they are mercenaries, commanded by officers of a different stature and color, as well as of an alien race. The Japanese are officered by themselves, and officers and men are animated, not by mere love of fighting, but by a common patriotism. The Russians and the Japanese, engaged against one another in the present war, are indeed beyond all doubt the two most truly patriotic nations of the Old World.

With such material, what are the Japanese likely now to do? On paper, there can be no doubt as to what strategy would be suggested to them by any Intelligence Department of any War Office in the world. A good many years ago I ventured to contend, against the opinion then held by our War Office, that the only place where Russia was vulnerable to our arms was on the Pacific coast—at Vladivostock as matters then stood. There alone she could be bled, as, in the days before her southern railroads, we bled her in the Crimea. When I came, in conjunction with Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, to help to prepare our joint volume upon "Imperial Defence," there was some little difference between us on this subject, which we afterwards admitted in a later edition of that book. As often occurs between those who work together, each of us converted the other, although perhaps the conversion did not continue. The argument against me was that, although we could be successful on the Pacific coast, yet the blow would not be sufficient to induce Russia either to give up the fight or to relax her efforts in other portions of the world. She would know that a peace would ultimately be reached in which, unless she were everywhere unsuccessful, she might hope to regain the provinces and the influence which she had temporarily lost. Her railway to Port Arthur has made her not less but more vulnerable to Powers

possessing the command of the sea, and the alarm which led a panic-stricken Cabinet to seize the useless position of Wei-hai-wei has given way to a sound understanding that the Russian railway to Port Arthur is much exposed to attack throughout the greater portion of its southern course. The Japanese would, then, naturally expect to be able to cut the railway somewhere near Port Arthur, and to intrench themselves upon it in a position both naturally strong and easily reachable from the sea. A second Torres Vedras would naturally be found in the northern portion of Korea, where the defending army would also be on the flank of any attacking army which might try to relieve Port Arthur. On the other hand, the capture of Port Arthur would be a terrible blow to the prestige of Russia throughout the East.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

SOME REVELATIONS OF THE WAR.

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN.

WAR is always revealing. In itself the highest manifestation of a nation's spiritual and physical unity, clarifying the mind, exalting the heart and precipitating into visible coherence and substance the ideals and policies and aspirations of the Powers actually engaged in it, its influence over those who merely stand on its fringe and pretend to no more than a subsidiary interest in its fortunes, is hardly less masterful and condensing. Beneath its awful shock the cobwebs of tradition, vagueness and indecision are scattered, realities are unveiled and fundamentals made manifest. A hundred conflicts might be quoted that have emitted this illuminating flash, but it will suffice to mention two. The Spanish-American war revealed Europe to the United States, the United States to Europe, and the destiny of America to the Americans themselves. The Boer war revealed the British Empire to Great Britain, and laid bare at a stroke and in all its momentous fulness a profound political antagonism between British and German aspirations. Not less evident, and perhaps of even weightier significance, are the discoveries which have burst from the flames of this Far Eastern conflict. Affecting the United States primarily, their reflex action and the issue that cannot but flow from them must ultimately, I conceive, connect with the whole world of international politics. Briefly, those discoveries amount to this. In the first place, there is an end of the "traditional" friendship between the United States and Russia. In the second place, Americans realize, as they have never realized before, how vast is their stake in the future of China, and how impossible it is for the United States to hold aloof from the strife of policies and interests that centres in the Far East.

One of the first things that an inquirer notices about the United

States is the contrast, so great as to be quite extraordinary, between the intelligence of the people and their susceptibility to "crazes." The sum total of American intelligence is undoubtedly immense. I am speaking, of course, rather of quantity than quality; in sheer bulk the mass of American "mentality" far outweighs that of any other country. Nowhere else have so many people been raised to the level of what is known as "middle-class opinion"; the average which few rise above or fall below is of a high standard and remarkably sustained. And yet, in spite of this, it is safe to say that no nation gets so constantly swept away by movements opposed to all human experience or contradicted by ordinary facts of economics. There is no country in Europe where such a fundamental fallacy as Bryanism, for instance, could have made the headway it made in the United States. Several reasons might be given to account for this. The most important of them are to be found in the changes that have come over American politics since the Civil War; more specifically in the great and growing power of the "machine," and the sway of the Boss, and the consequent decline in leadership of the Clay and Webster type. Argument and instruction, as weapons of political persuasion, always tend to fall into disuse in a country where "machines" accumulate and men decay. Electioneering and the mere mechanism of politics, party tactics and the ballot-box point of view, acquire in such a country an ascendancy positively injurious to the political education of the people. This will perhaps be made clearer if we compare the English and American systems. In England, almost since the time of Burke, it has been the custom to require of an M. P. at least one address to his constituents a year. These meetings are the saving clause of the English democracy. They are held at a time when electioneering is in abeyance, and nothing worse than a merely human partisanship is expected of the speaker. An M. P. who has no immediate need to worry about his seat may condescend to an impartiality which a candidate can hardly afford. He has no personal points to score, no opponent more formidable than a stray heckler to meet, and no stress is put upon him to enforce more than the reasonable party view. And even that he need not press too eagerly, for the average Englishman dislikes political zealots. The speeches made on such occasions are as a rule far more temperate and informing than those which the same speaker delivers during

a campaign or from the floor of the House. Again, these meetings help to concentrate attention on the work of administration and the broader aspects of policy. This is to perform a most important service, for democracies everywhere are too apt to think that they have solved the problems of government when they elect one set of candidates to office in preference to another set. Too much thought is given to who is to do the work and too little to how it is being done. The constant appearance of members of Parliament on public platforms serves to put elections in their proper place. They keep the public informed on the rights and wrongs of public questions, not spasmodically or for the purposes of a single election, but regularly and continuously. I doubt whether democracy has ever justified itself more emphatically than in England during the past months of the fiscal discussion.

Before the Civil War and before the organization of politics reached its present comprehensiveness, this used also to be a characteristic of American public life. That it is so no longer will scarcely, I think, be disputed, in spite of Mr. Roosevelt's attempts to make the Presidential office a sort of provisional Judgment Seat on all things human and divine. Bossism and the dominion of the caucus are incompatible with the light and leading of the older school of statesmen. Moreover, the American theory that one's next-door neighbor is only a little less qualified than oneself to run the United States does not tend to make Congress an intellectually inspiring body. The habit of regarding representatives in the light of pledged delegates, bound to carry out the mandates of their constituents, and of leaving as little as may be to their discretion and individual judgment, likewise helps to dam the flow of instruction from its natural fountain-head. Again, compared with the devouring interest that is concentrated on the House of Commons, the people of the United States are indifferent to Congress. Congressional debates are not usually reported in the daily papers at any serviceable length, and consequently have practically little influence on public opinion. The very idea of looking to Congress for real guidance in public affairs is disappearing, if it has not already disappeared. Very few Congressmen or Senators dream of visiting their constituents, except at election time, for the purpose of addressing a meeting on political topics. The result is, that the national legislature, as a factor in the political education of the country, may be almost

ruled out. There remain the Press and the annual "Messages" of the President and State Governors. The latter, thanks to their unconscionable length, are for the most part "taken as read" by the average citizen. That, at any rate, is not the fate of the Press, but the political influence of the American Press is a most uncertain quantity—so much so that at times one doubts whether the Press has any such influence at all. And, after all, the most impressive, and in the long run the most adequate, way of educating the democracy is not by writing but by speaking. Instruction by word of mouth is always more lasting and effectual than instruction doled out in print. That is why "correspondence colleges" are such poor things. A nation, indeed, that rarely resorts to the platform except at moments of supreme excitement when reason is at a discount, dooms itself to political incompleteness, if not to political ignorance. Except when his vote is wanted, the average American is too rarely appealed to for an opinion, and any conclusions he may come to on matters of national policy have, therefore, the disadvantage of not being submitted to the touchstone of a riper and more experienced judgment. While, therefore, one may say that the operative force of English politics is middle-class opinion revised and corrected by the best or nearly the best intelligence of the country, that of American politics is middle-class opinion left pretty much to its own devices.

This is a shortcoming which the intellectual uniformity of America is liable to aggravate into a defect. An idea once implanted in the average man sweeps over the entire continent with a speed and completeness that no other nation can even begin to parallel. It is, therefore, doubly desirable that the idea should be a sound one and not the mere outcome of caprice, unreasoning emotion or half-baked knowledge. And what is desirable in the domestic politics of the United States becomes almost imperative in its foreign affairs—first, because their immense complexity makes a firm grip of fundamentals essential to the prosecution of a stable policy; secondly, because the average American, having hitherto treated them as a mere parergon, to be studied cursorily, if at all, is more than usually liable to form judgments that have little relation to the facts; and thirdly, because public opinion in the United States determines, with a minuteness unknown elsewhere, the lines on which the foreign policy of the nation is to run. I know of no greater American need at this mo-

ment than a course of systematic instruction in the elements of international politics, and the need is all the more insistent because of the peculiar difficulties in the way of meeting it. There is no country in which a political prejudice lives longer than in the United States. Americans have good memories; they live intensely in the stirring events of their brief and brilliant past; and the impressions left by those events crystallize into traditions with a facility absolutely unique. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, before the conflict with Spain, the idea of revising in the light of present-day realities the "traditions" bequeathed by the Revolution and the Civil War, would have been regarded by most Americans as almost sacrilegious. The international results of the Spanish War created from Maine to California a surprise so ingenuous as to be positively laughable. Then for the first time did it dawn on Americans that it might not be the height of wisdom always to judge the present by the past, to assume that the England of the "Alabama" days must necessarily be the England of 1898. In a flash, England fell from her time-honored position as the appointed foe of the United States; and, in a flash, her place was forced upon Germany. Germany was now installed as "the enemy." The next war, it was settled, would be with Germany. Much of the Teutophobia was exaggerated; a good deal of it was irrational and could draw no warrant for its vehemence from a calm survey of either German or American policy. Nevertheless, it was a sign of advance and a symptom of enlightenment. If it showed that the unhingement of the public mind produced by the revelations of the Spanish War had not yet adjusted itself, it also showed that the view of England as the sole and predestined "enemy" had at last been outgrown.

But there remained one stronghold of "tradition" still to be captured. The Spanish War had indeed battered a breach into it. Inspired Russian journals had discussed a European coalition against "the presumptuous Yankees," had pointed with bewildering tactlessness to the unfortified state of the Pacific coast, had received the American acquisition of the Philippines with a growl of intense and prophetic displeasure; and these things Americans had made a note of. But, in effect, the towering citadel of "Russo-American friendship" still flew its old deceptive flag. It needed the tangible experience of actual participation in *Weltpolitik*, a year or two of focussed attention on the realities of Rus-

sian policy in the Far East and at home and on the unchanging characteristics of Russian diplomacy, before Americans could clear their minds of all illusions. And now enlightenment has come. Rising, year by year, in progressive volume, it has now poured like a flood over the national consciousness, sweeping away the phantoms and hallucinations of the past. The belief that Russia and the United States were natural affinities had its central root, so far as I could ever discover, in the legend that Russia was prepared to resist any intervention by France or England on behalf of the Confederate States. The legend itself sprang from the fact that in 1863 half a dozen wooden vessels belonging to the Russian fleet did actually drop anchor in New York Harbor. Not a single line can be found in the Washington archives to connect the arrival of those vessels with the crisis through which America was passing. It is an assumption absolutely unsubstantiated by any evidence in the possession of the administration. So far as I know, the only reference, if reference it be, to any understanding between the Russian and American Governments at that time is to be found in a private letter written by Mr. Seward—a mere hint, abundantly qualified, of vague possibilities that might happen "sooner or later." But the matter may easily be brought to a decisive test. We have been assured that the commander of the Russian squadron had "sealed orders." A copy of those orders must surely exist. Let the Russian Government produce them—if it dares. It will not dare because from first to last the whole tale is a pure fabrication.

And yet for a whole generation the legend has held sway, gaining new power and confidence by the mere magic of repetition. For a whole generation Americans have felt themselves under an obligation to Russia, predisposed to receive Russian proposals with sympathy, and sentimentally interested in the movements of Russian policy. The positive results of this partiality have been inconsiderable because until now Russian and American interests have lain too far apart for the operation of practical friendship or practical antagonism; but its indirect results have been greater than most Americans can realize even now. The adroitness of successive Russian Ambassadors at Washington in keeping England and America apart, in perpetuating and fomenting the unnatural divisions that used to separate the two Powers that have more in common than any other two Powers on this

earth, in fostering the bitterness of the Irish-American element, and in constantly emphasizing through the Press the peculiar bonds of gratitude that linked the United States to Russia, has from the Russian point of view been admirable. There has not for years been a single question at issue between England and America, the settlement of which Russian diplomacy has not tried to thwart. If any one doubts that the supreme object of Russian diplomacy in Washington has been the maintenance of Anglo-American suspiciousness and distrust, let him turn to the article contributed to this REVIEW about five years ago by Vladimir Holmstrem and Prince Ookhtomsky ("*Ex Oriente Lux*," July, 1899). In it he will find an almost embarrassingly frank avowal of Russia's determination to rescue the United States from "British tutelage," and an appeal to Heaven to "preserve America from the curse of Western Imperialism into which England is now tempting her." That has always been the Russian goal. To keep America at odds with England and away from the Far East is the end to which a long line of Ministers and Ambassadors have devoted their shrewdest and most pertinacious efforts; and in prosecuting it their strongest weapon has been the "traditional friendship" uniting Russia and the United States. But that, while the supreme, was by no means the sole, object of Russian policy. Sentiment counts even in Wall Street, and Russia has for years been hoping to offset the exhaustion of France and the reluctance of London and Berlin by tapping the financial markets of America. Here again the "tradition" has been brought into play and worked to its fullest capacity.

So that the marvellous legend has had its visible, still more its invisible, uses. And yet to a detached onlooker there was always a false and hollow ring about the "friendliness" to which it gave birth, always something against the grain of nature in the "sympathy" so loudly trumpeted. Apart from politics, what real affinity could there be between the nation that had raised Western civilization to its highest level and the nation that regards Western civilization as the tottering forerunner of anarchy; between a free republic and a church-supported autocracy; between a people to whom religious liberty, personal liberty, political liberty is as the breath of life and a people dominated by the obscurantism of a mediæval orthodoxy, by the passport system, the censorship and bureaucratic espionage; between a race nourished on individualism

and a race that owes whatever strength it possesses to the intensity of its communistic instincts; between education and illiteracy, progress and the obstinate lethargy of feudalism, Anglo-Saxon honesty and Oriental evasiveness, freedom and a despotism only mitigated, if at all, by venality? Merely to think of Russia and the United States together is to be confronted, as de Tocqueville long ago divined, with an array of immutable contradictions. It could therefore be only a question of time before the shock of some great event would shatter the notion of "sympathy" between such irreconcilable opposites.

The process of American disillusionment began, indeed, with a clash of political interests. The widening scope of America's activity and the swift development of the Far Eastern drama revealed for the first time an antagonism in material aims between Russia and the United States. But, once begun, nothing could prevent that process from spreading beyond the sphere of politics. A general recanvassing of Russo-American relations as a whole, spiritual and ethical as well as political, was bound to follow; and its issue was not hard to foresee. Freed from the bondage of "tradition," no longer willing to accept declarations as facts or smooth professions as realities, Americans awoke with reluctant amazement to a perception of things as they were. Several incidents happened along to hasten the work of emancipation—a small but irritating war of tariffs, the Russian swoop upon Manchuria with its flagrant menace to American trade, Blagovestchenck and the brutality of the Russian troops after the occupation of Pekin, Kishineff and the whole question of Russia's treatment of the Jews, and lastly the illuminating tissue of broken pledges, equivocation and shifty deceit woven into recent negotiations and reproduced in the dealings with Mr. Hay. Of all this we see in the present war the culmination and predestined issue, amazing and all but incredible to Russia and not less wonderful to any American who will allow his thoughts to travel back a brief decade. It is not merely that Americans feel the fascination of Japan, applaud her vehement gallantry, and find their Far Eastern policy substantially at one with hers. This, while it would account for the sympathies of the American people being strongly pro-Japanese, would not explain why they are even more strongly anti-Russian. For that we must look deeper, and it will, I think, be found in this fact, that, over and above a political antagonism

deeply rooted in national interests, Americans have developed towards Russia a feeling of moral repulsion.

I question whether Americans are yet fully aware how much solid ground they have for this sentiment. With the bulk of them it is at least as much an instinct as a reasoned conclusion, and perhaps only a few realize how amply it might be substantiated if a verbatim report of the Russian negotiations with the State Department could be given to the world and if the triumphs of Mr. Hay's patient, pertinent and relentless diplomacy over the subterfuges, casuistry and blandishments of the Russian diplomacy could be set forth in detail. No diplomacy could have shown a higher union of practicality and imagination, or a politer or more deadly insistence on the essentials, than Mr. Hay's; and what he has had to face not only in the way of ultra-Oriental evasions but of offers—such, for instance, as the offer of preferential treatment for American trade in Manchuria—that practically amounted to colossal national bribes, will perhaps never be adequately known. There is a good deal that might be written, and some day, I hope, will be written, on this head; but it would be beyond the scope of this article to enter upon it now. My present purpose is rather to enforce what I take to be the vital lesson that Americans should learn from the record of their relations with Russia—thirty years of enslavement to a myth, a legend, a fantastic invention, taken on trust with uninquiring confidence; thirty years of docile mobility as a pawn in Russia's game against England; thirty years of obstinate blindness to the plainest facts of international politics; thirty years of effusive "sympathy" with the Power of all Powers whose system most flatly denies the ideals that America has made her own. Is this, may I ask, a record with which Americans, as they glance over it, can feel in any way satisfied? A grave responsibility there is no shuffling out of rests upon every politician and every journalist who has helped to perpetuate this amazing "tradition," and thereby contributed his quota to the further engulfment of his country in a morass of unrealities. I know perfectly well what reply it is that Americans make to such criticism. They argue that the truth about Russia's supposed action in the Civil War has always been known and understood at Washington; that the "tradition" has never deluded any one of importance, that it made for harmony between the two countries, and that, in the days of America's isolation, it was not

worth while exposing it. But against this I would urge that, as the foreign policy of the United States must be responsive to public opinion, it is of the first importance that that opinion should be instructed in the facts; that a nation cannot feed on fairy tales without harm to its powers of seeing and thinking clearly; and that as a matter of fact the Russian "tradition" has more than once decisively influenced the relations between the United States and other Powers. Besides this, there is a real peril in the revulsion that follows the moment of awakening. It is clear, for instance, that American opinion to-day is running to extremes. The same sort of reaction was visible after the Spanish War in the violent outburst of Teutophobia that swept across the country. Such outbursts are of course destructive of the quiet and comprehensive reflection that can alone enable a nation—as it has enabled the Japanese—to adopt and pursue a settled line of policy. Yet I do not see how they can be prevented unless the influences that do most towards the moulding of opinion—particularly the Press and the leading politicians of the country—recognize the necessity of discussing America's foreign policy more frequently, more temperately, and, above all, as a cohesive whole. For five years during which I lived in the United States I never heard of an American politician, except Senator Beveridge, devoting more than a passing reference to the Far-Eastern question in an address to his constituents. That, obviously, is not as it should be; and there is no moral to be drawn from the record of Russo-American relations more apparent than the need of accustoming the people to examine and debate the foundations of their foreign policy. I hope the time may come when the Secretary of State, the leading members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, the editors of the great papers and those shrewd and far-seeing business men who have grasped the importance of China to the commercial future of the United States, will more or less unite in giving the country a lead in this vital matter through the agency of public meetings and addresses and the Press. Only so can the nation pursue in the Far East the same unwavering policy it has pursued in South America. Only so can those violent fluctuations of opinion which are the mark of distracted counsels and shifting aims be avoided. Only so can preposterous "traditions" be challenged and exposed and bed-rock realities unveiled.

There is one fundamental point in the Far-Eastern question,

as it affects the United States, which Americans have yet to settle within themselves. The United States stands definitely committed (in Captain Mahan's words) (1) to the open door, and (2) to "the prevention of preponderant political control by any one external state or group of states." American policy, that is, insists upon an equality of commercial privileges and respect for the territorial and administrative integrity of China. I may, perhaps, be permitted to recall the deductions which Captain Mahan drew from the enunciation of this policy. That foremost of living commentators on international politics warned his countrymen that their policy differed from that of other states, that the prosecution of it demanded the application of sea-power, that the valley of the Yangtse was "the central scene of our general interest," and that to exert her proper influence along that penetrating highway the United States must be prepared not only to employ force, if necessary, but to get rid of that "caricature of independence," that supremely elementary fallacy, which rules out the possibility of voluntary cooperation, from time to time, with other Powers, on the ground that it is opposed to, instead of being, as it is, a condition of, her complete freedom of choice and action. "Briefly," said Captain Mahan, and these words strike down to the root of things, "we cannot be sure of the commercial advantages known as the 'open door,' unless we are prepared to do our share in holding it open. We cannot count upon respect for the territory of China unless we are ready to throw, not only our moral influence, but, if necessity arise, our physical weight, into the conflict, to resist an expropriation, the result of which might be to exclude our commerce and neutralize our influence." But it will be said that Mr. Hay has already secured these objects without moving a single ship or a single soldier. Mr. Hay's diplomacy, I heartily admit, has been singularly adroit, pertinacious and so far successful. It has conciliated China, baffled Russia, and amply established the American position. But nothing can be more certain than that diplomacy, to be permanently effective, must rest and can only rest on the implication of force. For a while, despatch-writing and the pressure of "moral influence" may apparently be all that is needed; but the time will assuredly come when the pregnant common sense of the Kaiser's dictum will have to be admitted: "If anything has to be done in this world, the pen will be powerless to carry it through

unless backed by the force of the sword." Now, I do not think that Americans have yet realized this axiom as a hard and constant fact. I do not think that war in defence of American rights in the Far East has yet presented itself as a serious possibility to the national consciousness. "Fortunately for the United States," wrote Mr. Josiah Quincy during the Boxer *émeute* of 1900, "in spite of our large army in the Philippines and our troops now in China, no sane American thinks that we will fight with any other member of the Concert, whatever may be our policy or our interests, either to prevent the dismemberment of China or to secure any share in the partition for ourselves, or to reform the Chinese Government, or even to maintain the open door for our trade." That is a definite and categorical statement. Does it or does it not reflect the sentiments of the United States to-day? Is it true that the open door and the territorial integrity of China represent the wishes, but not the determination, of America; that opinion will support Mr. Hay only so long as he spills ink but no blood? Is American policy in China nothing more than the policy of the French at Fashoda—a policy of bluff, to be abandoned when seriously challenged? Until these questions are answered, until it is known whether America regards her stake in the commercial future of China as sufficiently important to justify, if need be, a war in its defence, it is impossible to say whether such a thing as an American Far-Eastern policy really exists, or, if it exists, whether it is based on rock or on sand. No pen has flowed faster than Mr. Hay's since he first launched his Circular to the Powers in September, 1899; but the Chinese question, I must again insist, is not one of those cases in which the pen is mightier than the sword. Had Mr. Hay all the qualities of a Bismarck—and I believe he has most of them—he would still, in the last resort, be fundamentally helpless without a Moltke in the background. This, then, is preeminently the question which Americans have to face, and I would most earnestly press upon them the urgency of revolving it not in the light of what Washington may have said in the eighteenth century, not in the light of any such "tradition" as for a whole generation hypnotized the relations between Russia and the United States, but simply with reference to present-day conditions and the probabilities of the immediate future.

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

STATE MONOPOLIES OF INTER-STATE COMMERCE.

BY E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

THE commerce clause of the Federal Constitution presents the remarkable instance of a national power which was comparatively unimportant for ninety years, and which, in the last twenty-five years, has so developed that it is now in its nationalizing tendency the most important and conspicuous power possessed by the Federal Government. The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case marks the latest, and perhaps the longest, step yet taken in this rapid progress.

The Constitution gives to Congress power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." Federal authority on this subject is compassed in these words. There is naught else save what may be found by implication.

Congress has also jurisdiction over a number of subjects of a kindred nature, such as the power to coin money; to establish uniform laws of bankruptcy; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to regulate weights and measures; to grant patents and copyrights. All these powers, in the early days of the Government, the States shared, in a greater or less degree, with the United States. In Maryland, for example, the Federal currency was established by the Act of December 21st, 1812, "recognizing the coin of the United States." In Massachusetts, this was done by the Act of February 25th, 1795, "introducing the dollar and its parts"; and other statutes of this sort may be found.[1] Patents were granted by a number of States.[2] That the copyright

[1] New York, Act of January 27th, 1797; North Carolina, Act of 1809, Ch. 17.

[2] New York, Act of Feb. 26th, 1789; Vermont, Act of Oct. 19th, 1801; Massachusetts, Act of June 15th, 1793; Maryland, Act of Jan. 22d, 1785.

granted by New Hampshire in the Act of November 7th, 1783, was considered in force after the adoption of the Constitution, is indicated by the fact that the statute is included in the "Laws of 1815,"[1] a book "published by authority" and containing "all the general and public statutes now in force."

It may well be assumed, therefore, that, at the outset, it was not generally considered that possession by the United States of the power to regulate commerce restricted in any way the authority of the States. The nature of the power which had been granted to Congress was very little understood. "Commerce among the States" had hardly come into existence. At the commencement of the Revolution there was but one connected road from North to South, and that a very imperfect one.[2] The only roads which were maintained were those which led from the interior of each State to the principal towns on its navigable waters. Even in 1796, these were the only roads with which the States were much concerned; the care of the "cross-roads," as they were called by one who had been a member of the Constitutional Convention, the States were unwilling to undertake.[3] Foreign trade was the chief commercial interest of the country; but all trade on a large scale, whether foreign or inter-State, was conducted by water, and for this reason the Federal power over commerce was naturally defined in terms of water transportation. Said President Monroe:

"Commerce between independent powers or communities is universally regulated by duties and imposts. It was so regulated by the States before the adoption of this Constitution equally in respect to each other and to foreign powers. The goods and vessels employed in the trade are the only subjects of regulation. It can act on none other. A power, then, to impose such duties and imposts in regard to foreign nations, and to prevent any on the trade between the States, was the only power granted."[4]

In "The Railroads and the Commerce Clause" (p. 19), Mr. Hartshorne says:

"The phrase 'regulate commerce' was a familiar one at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, having been used in no less than twenty-seven Acts of Parliament passed before that time. Those laws

[1] Laws of New Hampshire, 1815, p. 365.
[2] President Monroe's Message of May 4, 1822.
[3] Speech of Abraham Baldwin, February 11th, 1796, Annals of 4th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 314.
[4] Monroe's Message of May 4th, 1822.

consisted mostly of port and harbor regulations, navigation laws, etc., and had relation more to the vessels and other instruments employed in commerce, than to the commerce itself."

This statement is, perhaps, too strong, for the Act of 23 Geo. II., ch. 29, sec. 9, though it did not use the phrase, nevertheless exercised the power by forbidding the manufacture in America of the products of iron. As employed by the States, however, before the adoption of the Constitution, the meaning which Mr. Hartshorne attributes to the phrase is substantially accurate.[1] Edmund Randolph, the first Attorney-General under the Constitution, in the opinion which he rendered to President Washington on the 12th of February, 1791, said:

"The power to regulate commerce amounts to little more than the power to establish the forms of commercial intercourse between the States, and to keep the prohibitions which the Constitution imposes on that intercourse undiminished in their operation; that is, to prevent taxes on imports or exports; preference to one port over another, by any regulation of commerce or revenue; and duties upon the entering or clearing of the vessels of one State in the ports of another."

As thus defined, there was nothing in the Federal power over commerce which would prevent grants by a State of exclusive privileges of inter-State transportation.

On the other hand, it seemed necessary that such monopolies should be established. Inter-State communication was required both for political and for commercial reasons; but the States could not themselves build the roads and run the coaches, and the profit to be derived from the business was not sufficient to induce individuals to incur the risks of competition. The result was, that many grants of exclusive privileges were given by the several States.

An interesting illustration of such legislation is found in the Act of Vermont of October 31st, 1792, "granting to Levi Pease the exclusive privilege of running a stage on the route from Springfield on the post-road to Dartmouth College through this State for the term of twelve years." This statute, which contrasts strangely with present theories of the law, reads as follows:

"Whereas Levi Pease, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, has, at great expense and trouble, established a stage from Springfield, in the

[1] See Act of New Hampshire, November 26th, 1778; Law of North Carolina of 1785, Ch. 3; See Laws of 1715-1795, Ch. 234.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, up Connecticut River as far as Dartmouth College; which stage runs a large distance, in the State of Vermont. And whereas the said Levi represents that the emoluments of the stage, though at present small, may in a few years by proper encouragement, become lucrative to himself, and advantageous to the inhabitants upon Connecticut River and the adjacent country. Therefore, for the due encouragement of so beneficial an undertaking,

"It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, that the said Levi Pease have, and there is hereby given to him, the sole and exclusive right and privilege of running the stage on the aforesaid route through this State, for and during the term of twelve years, on the following conditions, to wit: that the said Levi Pease shall not exact more or greater fare than is usually received on the different routes of the mail stage through Connecticut and Massachusetts. And

"It is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the mail of the United States should be hereafter continued up the River Connecticut, to Newbury, the said Levi shall have the same privilege of extending his line of stage to Newbury aforesaid upon the same conditions as are heretofore mentioned in this Act.

"Provided always, that if the said Levi shall neglect to run the stage, as aforesaid, for the space of two months, at any time within the said term of twelve years, then, and in that case he shall be deprived of all benefit of this Act, anything herein expressed to the contrary notwithstanding."

On November 4th, 1799, the State of Vermont granted to an individual an exclusive right of ferriage from Rowley's Point, Vermont, to Sandy Battery, New York; the rates of ferriage to be fixed by the Selectmen of Shoreham, and the monopoly to last ten years. On October 26th, 1801, Vermont granted to individuals an exclusive right of ferriage from Windmill Point, Vermont, to the opposite shore in New York; the rates of ferriage to be fixed by the Selectmen of Alburgh, and the monopoly to last ten years. On October 27th, 1801, Vermont granted an exclusive right of ferriage to Putnam's Point, New York, the rates to be fixed by the Selectmen of Bridport, and the monopoly to last ten years. In 1795, the State of New Hampshire granted to an individual the exclusive right to maintain a toll-bridge across the Connecticut at Bellows Falls, forbidding the erection of any other bridge for a mile above or a mile below. The bridge so authorized was erected, and the monopoly created over a hundred years ago still exists.

On March 30th, 1797, the State of New York granted to an individual the exclusive right to run stages, etc., between Goshen,

Orange County, and New York City. The natural course of this coach would be through the Ramapo Valley, past Tuxedo, and through a portion of New Jersey. The statute does not specify the route to be followed, but it excludes all competition between the two points named, and therefore covers all routes. On March 30, 1798, the State of New York granted to an individual the exclusive right of transportation between Lansingburg, near Troy, to Hampton, Washington County. The latter point is very near the Vermont State line, west of Rutland. Another statute of the same sort is found in the Act of New York of February 26, 1803, giving for seven years an exclusive right of transportation between Albany and a point to be selected by the grantee on the north boundary line of New Jersey. A similar statute, granting a monopoly to a point on a State line, was passed by Maryland on December 21, 1790, and another by Virginia, Act of December 21st, 1790. Many statutes of the same general character may be found.

The question of the constitutionality of such laws was brought before Congress in 1792, upon a motion to allow the proprietors of stages employed in carrying the mails to carry passengers also. This, it was answered, was not within the power of Congress. Said Mr. Niles:

"The question is simply whether Congress have a right to authorize the carrier of the mail to carry passengers on hire, through those States, where an exclusive right of carrying passengers has been granted by the State government and still exists. You are empowered by the Constitution to establish post-offices and post-roads, and to do whatever may be necessary and proper to carry that power into effect. Now, sir, is it necessary in order to the transportation of your mail that you should erect stage-coaches for the purpose of transporting passengers? What has your mail to do with passengers transported for hire? Why, sir, nothing more than this,—by granting to the carrier of your mail a right to carry passengers for hire, the carriage of the mail may be a little less expensive. Does this consideration render it necessary and proper for you to violate the laws of the States?"[1]

The motion was lost. No suggestion was made that the State laws in any way concerned the Federal power over commerce, or that their validity was open to question on this ground.

In 1824 the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden[2] brought the whole subject before the Supreme Court. This great case

[1] Annals 2d Congress (1792), pp. 303-309.
[2] 9 Wheat., 1.

involved the validity of a law of the State of New York giving to Livingston and Fulton, and their assigns, the exclusive right to navigate the waters of that State by steamboats. On the part of the appellant it was contended, that such a law was an attempt by the State to regulate commerce, that this power of regulation had been given to Congress, and that the State had no jurisdiction over the subject. For the respondent it was urged, that the Federal power over commerce, in the absence of Federal legislation, did not exclude State action, and, furthermore, that, if a law passed by a State in the exercise of its acknowledged sovereignty come into conflict with a law passed by Congress in pursuance of the Constitution, they affect the subject and each other like equal opposing powers.

Thus, eight years before the ordinance of South Carolina, the doctrine of Nullification was presented to the Supreme Court.[1]

In the opinion of the court the supremacy of Federal authority and the exclusive character of the national power of regulation, were clearly defined.

In reading that momentous decision, apprehending as we do now the interests which were at stake, and with which the conclusion was pregnant, one cannot help pausing to wonder what might have been the result had that decision in any way been different from what it was. Had the utterance of the Court upon the powers of the States been ambiguous; had expression upon the relation of the States to the Federal government been avoided, and the element of nationality, which was involved, less explicitly been disclosed and asserted; had it been allowed to cripple the commercial power of the nation in any way,—where would the influence of that decision have led us now? We may find some suggestion of an answer to this question in the dissensions of the court in New York *vs.* Miln, in the Passenger Cases, the License Cases, and in the statement of Mr. Justice Barbour, that the police power of the State is "complete, unqualified and exclusive."

In the years to come, said Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, it will probably be recognized that among Chief-Justice Marshall's decisions "none will surpass in permanent material advantage that

[1] The same subject had been before the United States Circuit Court in South Carolina a year earlier, and the decision rendered by Mr. Justice Johnson had supported the national authority. Elkisson *vs.* Deliesseline, 2 Wheel., Cr. Cas., 56.

decision which determined that the power to regulate commerce resided exclusively in Congress, and must be kept inviolate from any intrusion by the States, under any guise whatever."[1] Senator Sumner expressed similar views. "If there be any single fruit of our national unity," he said, "if there be any single element of the Union, if there be any single triumph of the Constitution which may be placed above all others, it is the freedom of commerce among the States under which that free trade which is the aspiration of philosophers is assured to all citizens of the Union, as they circulate through our whole broad country, without hindrance from any State."[2]

For reasons which are apparent, however, the decision did not at once have the full weight which has since been given to it. The judgment in Willson *vs.* Blackbird Creek Marsh Company,[3] upholding a local regulation of commerce enacted by the State of Delaware, soon showed that the Federal power could not be, throughout its whole extent, exclusive of all State action. The doctrine was further limited by decisions establishing the validity of State grants of exclusive rights of ferriage over boundary streams;[4] it was not applied to monopolies of transportation by land; and it appears, as late as 1866, to have been considered inapplicable to the monopoly for transportation between New York and Philadelphia which the State of New Jersey had granted to the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company.

State monopolies, therefore, continued; but, owing largely, no doubt, to the changed conditions of transportation, they were no longer created by prohibiting others to exercise the right allowed the grantee, as was done by Vermont in its grant to Levi Pease. Transportation had come to be conducted by corporations, and the State created a monopoly by refusing to give more than one corporation the right to transport between certain places. The whole subject of corporate charters was, it was held, within the jurisdiction of the State. These charters it might grant or withhold at pleasure. The uses to which they might be put were subject to State control alone. States could not be required to grant

[1] Address at Marshall Centennial, reported in 180 U. S., 671.

[2] Speech of Senator Sumner, February 14th, 1865. Cong. Globe, 38th Cong., 2d Session, 793.

[3] 2 Pet., 245.

[4] Conway *vs.* Taylor's Executor, 1 Black, 603; Louisville, etc., Ferry Company *vs.* Kentucky, 188 U. S., 385; State *vs.* Faudre (West Va.) 46 S. E. Rep., 269.

a franchise, nor to divide jurisdiction over the creatures of their own legislation.[1]

When the Erie Canal was built it was the policy of the State of New York to give to the canal a monopoly of transportation of merchandise between East and West. For this reason, when the Utica and Schenectady Railroad was incorporated, it was expressly enacted in the charter of the company that "no property of any description, except the ordinary baggage of passengers, shall be transported or carried on said road."[2] Subsequently,[3] the Utica and Schenectady Railroad and other roads which now form part of the New York Central Railroad were authorized to transport goods, during the suspension of canal navigation, paying the Erie Canal Commissioners the toll which would have been required had the goods been carried on the canal. In 1847, these roads were authorized to transport merchandise during the whole year, but upon payment of tolls as before.[4] The requirement of tolls was not abolished until 1851.[5] It appears from statements made in Congress that these tolls were imposed upon the transportation of grain from the Northwest, and other inter-State freight.[6]

In 1833, the State of New Jersey granted to the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company a monopoly of transportation between New York and Philadelphia.[7] This provision was sustained in the State Courts.[8] In 1861, it was found that this company was unable to meet the demands for transportation of troops and supplies, and a Government quartermaster impressed another railroad and passed over it some eighteen thousand men and four hundred tons of freight. For this, the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company brought suit against the road so impressed, and recovered from it the money received for this service.[9]

[1] See argument of the Court in Railroad Co. *vs.* Md., 21 Wall., 456.
[2] See New York Laws of 1833, Ch. 294, p. 462.
[3] Laws of 1844, Ch. 335, p. 518. 1 Rev. Stats. N. Y., 3d ed., p. 219, Pt. 1, ch. IX., title 2, Sec. 40, 45.
[4] Laws of 1847, c. 270, p. 298.
[5] Laws of 1851, ch. 497.
[6] Remarks of Senator Hale, February 14th, 1865, Cong. Globe, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 794.
[7] Acts of N. J., 1829-30, 83—Harrison Co., N. J. Laws (1833), 284.
[8] Camden & Amboy Ry. Co., Case 22, N. J. L., 623; Raritan, etc., Railroad Co. *vs.* Delaware, etc., Canal, 18 N. J. Eq., 546.
[9] See Speech of Senator Sumner, February 14th, 1865, Cong. Globe, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 793; Senator Chandler, May 29th, 1866, Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 2,870; Senator Foot, January 15th, 1866, *id.* 227.

Besides the larger interests involved in these exclusive rights, there were also local interests connected with the railroads. "Nearly every railroad in its origin has been independent of all others, and in the early history of such roads they were commonly provided for as local conveniences, with no prevision of the great highways of trade and communication they have since become. It was in many cases thought to be important that a road should be kept as distinct in its business from all others as possible, and at their *termini* in some instances they were not allowed to have the same freight or passenger stations with other roads, lest the local draymen and hackmen should be deprived of a profitable employment."[1]

It was on account of all these impediments in the way of free transportation, but chiefly on account of the military difficulties which arose from the Camden & Amboy monopoly, that Congress, on June 15, 1866, enacted that:

"Every railroad company in the United States, whose road is operated by steam, its successors and assigns, is hereby authorized to carry upon and over its road, boats, bridges and ferries, all passengers, troops, Government supplies, mails, freight, and property on their way from any State to another State, and to receive compensation therefor, and to connect with roads of other States so as to form continuous lines for the transportation of the same to the place of destination."[2]

Thus the motion which was lost in the Second Congress in 1792 was, in a somewhat different form and with some limitations, renewed and passed seventy-four years later.

In the meanwhile, in 1851 the Supreme Court, in the case of Cooley *vs.* Port Wardens,[3] had reviewed the earlier decisions upon the nature of the Federal power over commerce, and had announced the rule which it is now said "may be considered as expressing the final judgment of the Court."

Mr. Justice Curtis in delivering the opinion in this case—his first constitutional opinion—said:

"The diversities of opinion, which have existed on this subject, have arisen from the different views taken of the nature of this power. But when the nature of a power like this is spoken of, when it is said that the

[1] 1st Ann. Rep. Int. Com., Council Bluffs *vs.* Kansas City R. Co., 45 Ia., 348.
[2] U. S. Rev. Stats., Sec. 5,258.
[3] 12 How., 299, 319.

nature of the power requires that it should be exercised exclusively by Congress, it must be intended to refer to the subjects of that power, and to say they are of such a nature as to require exclusive legislation by Congress. Now, the power to regulate commerce embraces a vast field, containing not only many, but exceedingly various, subjects, quite unlike in their nature; some imperatively demanding a single uniform rule, operating equally on the commerce of the United States in every port; and some . . . . as imperatively demanding that diversity which alone can meet the local necessities of navigation."

The rule was, therefore, established that, in all matters of a general nature, such as admit only of uniform regulation throughout the country, the Federal power is exclusive of all State action. In local matters, the States may legislate until their action is superseded by Congress. Pilotage, quarantine, inspection laws, and all those matters which are of purely domestic concern belong properly under this rule to the States, until their action be superseded by Congress. Matters which concern more than one State, on the other hand, are of national concern, and are within Federal jurisdiction alone.

It probably needs no argument to show that the organization and consolidation of inter-State railways, and the purchase or leasing of other lines of road,—if within the foregoing classification at all,—are matters of more than local interest and concern more States than one. If, therefore, laws on this subject be regulations of commerce, they have long been wholly beyond the competency of the States, and this, not because of any Federal statute, but because of the broad prohibition of the Constitution. The Sherman Anti-Trust law, if it have any application to such cases, is merely a statutory declaration, made in 1890, of a rule which has been recognized at all times since 1851, and whose origin traces back to 1824.

As a matter of fact, however, the great railway system of the country has been built under State law.[1] With comparatively few exceptions, the corporations have been organized by the States. From time to time, they have sold their property, or have purchased or leased the property of other companies, and have consolidated or merged with other railroads. All this has been and must still be done under State law.[1] Plainly, then, the control by a State of its own corporations, whether engaged in inter-State

[1] Louisville, etc., Ry. Co. *vs.* Kentucky, 161, U. S., 677-702.

commerce or not, has never until recently been considered a regulation of commerce. The primary relation of the carrier is to the State in which he operates. Federal control relates directly to but one of his functions, and to the carrier because of that function. What the nature of this control has been is well shown by the character of Federal legislation on the subject. Congress has required the use of safety appliances on railway cars, forbidden transportation of diseased cattle, etc., but has never interfered with State control of State corporations.

In the Northern Securities case a new step is taken, and a form of organization is declared illegal under Federal law because, in the language of the Circuit Court,[1] it amounted to a "virtual consolidation" of competing inter-State railway corporations. Whether the combination was illegal under State law, is beyond the present discussion. The Attorney-General contended that the States could not authorize such a consolidation, and so far as the opinion of the Supreme Court appears to sustain this contention, a new limitation is placed upon the powers of the States.

The foregoing discussion has traced in outline the increasing restriction upon the States. The growing authority of the central Government can also be traced affirmatively in the establishment of new Federal powers. This brings into view the history of the long struggle over internal improvements.

In the early days of the Constitution, there was no suggestion that the United States could, under its power over commerce, establish lines of communication between the States. It was argued that this might be done under the power to establish post-roads, but the view did not prevail, and where roads were built the sanction of the States was required.[2] Thus, on January 10th, 1803, Maryland passed a law "giving Congress power" to appropriate money for the repair of post-roads within the State, "provided that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize Congress to pass any law for changing the direction of the roads, or any of them, as now established, or to authorize them to pass a law for the opening of a new road." Even with this legislative consent the Federal power was doubted.[3] Without State consent the Federal Government was powerless,

[1] United States *vs.* Northern Securities Co., 120 Fed., 721.
[2] Conf. Searight *vs.* Stokes, 3 How., 151.
[3] See Clay, Speeches, Vol. I., p. 69; Von Holst, Const. Hist., 1750-1815, pp. 389-390; Statesman's Manual I., p. 491.

and sometimes the State would not consent. When Pennsylvania became fearful lest the Susquehanna River should form a highway whereby the products of that State and of New York should float to a market at Baltimore, rather than go to Philadelphia, laws were enacted by the legislature of Pennsylvania forbidding the removal of obstructions to the navigation of the river.[1] For this condition, the Federal Government could offer no relief. "Nobody has contended, and I presume that nobody will contend," said Senator Morrill, of Maine, in 1866, "that the right of eminent domain exists anywhere except in the States. Nobody ever did contend, and I am sure nobody ever will, that a right to land, the title to real estate, ever vested in the Government of the United States. . . . From the earliest period of this government down to the present time, never has the general Government undertaken to enter upon the soil of any State to exercise the right of eminent domain in its own right or to take possession of the soil of the several States, except by the consent of the States."[2] Land could be acquired then only by negotiation, or by eminent domain when this right was granted by a State. Many statutes of this sort were passed. An illustration is found in the Act of North Carolina of 1813,[3] authorizing the United States to obtain sites for lighthouses and fortifications by application to the Governor of the State, who thereupon caused proceedings to be instituted in the State Courts for the condemnation of the needed property.

In 1875, the Federal power of eminent domain was established.[4] "It is true," said the Court, "that this power of the Federal Government has not heretofore been exercised adversely; but the non-user of a power does not disprove its existence,"—a doctrine which Mr. Justice Bradley later extended, so that the power may be exercised within a State even over its protest. "In matters of foreign and inter-State commerce, there are no States."[5]

In the Northern Securities case, the Federal power is once more extended to control, in some respects, the corporate affairs of companies organized under State law to exercise these powers.

[1] Remarks of Senator James A. Bayard, of Delaware, February, 1807; Annals 9th Cong., 2d Session, 56.
[2] Cong. Globe, May 28th, 1866, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 2,853.
[3] Laws of 1796-1820, chap. 857.
[4] Kohl *vs.* United States, 91 U. S., 367.
[5] Stockton *vs.* Baltimore & N. Y. R. R. Co., 32 Fed., 9.

The grant of power to Congress to regulate commerce was given in broad terms, and was undefined. Monroe said that the creation of this power involved "a radical change in the whole system of our government,"[1] but there was no suggestion as to the specific nature of the change; while, on the other hand, as has been seen, the States continued to legislate as if no change had been made. The Federal authority as it exists to-day is the work of the national judiciary, and the decisions of the Supreme Court which mark its extent and its limitations are the enduring monument of the greatness of the men who have occupied that bench. "No instrument," said Judge Cooley, "can be the same in meaning to-day and forever and in all men's minds;" but the court, in the construction of the commerce clause, has persistently adhered to the original purpose of the framers of the Constitution under circumstances wholly unforeseen. Decisions like the recent one in the Securities case mark, in some respects, a change of law; but with greater truth they may be said to show how much more intimate are the commercial relations of these States than they were even thirty years ago.

E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

[1] Bancroft, History of U. S., Vol. 6, p. 143.

THE GREAT WEST AND THE TWO EASTS.

BY HENRY E. REED, SECRETARY OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK CENTENNIAL, PORTLAND, OREGON.

A RESOUNDING chorus of gratulations will herald to the world the first centennials of two events upon which the history of the Great West is founded—the purchase of Louisiana and the journey of Lewis and Clark to the mouth of the Columbia River. Whether the students of history pause, at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, in admiration of the political foresight of Jefferson, or join, at Portland in 1905, in the general acclaim of the heroism of our first explorers, the fact that will most impress them is that geographical lines have been obliterated and that there is no West. Migrations, having their origin in the dim, remote past, and continuing down to the present, have brought the Aryan race face to face on the opposite shores of the great western ocean. The East that Columbus sailed westward from Spain to discover will ever be the world's East; the West, "the remote shores that Drake had once called by the name of New Albion," will be the East of the World's Great East, and the West only in its geographical relation to the Atlantic seaboard of our own country.

The West has refuted every prediction of dire effect made by the opponents of its acquisition. When the purchase of Louisiana was under consideration, the fear was expressed that people who moved to that region would scarcely ever feel the touch of the general government, their affections would be alienated by distance and American interests would become extinct among them. The generous response in men and money made by Missouri, Kansas and Iowa, when the Union was in the throes of a struggle for its preservation, attests the loyalty of the Louisiana region. A Southern Senator asked, in 1843, what good Oregon was for agricultural purposes, and said he would not give a pinch

of snuff for the whole territory. Yet the Oregon Country has given the Union three sovereign States, and part of its territory has been taken to form two other States; its occupation by Americans was a direct cause of the annexation of California; it has, in the Columbia River and Puget Sound, two important bases for military and naval operations; far from being inhospitable to the honest farmer of the Atlantic seaboard or the Ohio Valley, it has 100,000 farms, valued at $600,000,000. Alaska was denounced as a barren waste, that would never add one dollar to our wealth or furnish homes to our people. Yet, in less than forty years, Alaska has supplied gold, fish and furs worth $150,000,000, and has paid revenue to the government exceeding by $1,500,000 the price Russia got for it in 1867. At no distant day, Hawaii and the Philippines will justify our occupation by like statistics.

If a non-expansive policy had prevailed in our national councils at the beginning of the nineteenth century; if the Presidential chair had been occupied by another than the broad statesman who saw beyond the Mississippi, over the Rockies to the Pacific, and over the Pacific to the cradle of the world, we should now have an intolerable situation of affairs in North America. Had we refused Louisiana from Napoleon, what is now the United States would be partitioned, geographically, about as follows: East of the Mississippi would be the Republic of the United States of America of 1783, with England in Canada on the north, and Spain in Florida and fringing the Gulf of Mexico. Louisiana would have fallen into England's hands as a result of the Napoleonic wars; and so, perhaps, would Oregon, either by reason of a favorable interpretation of the Nootka convention or Vancouver's discoveries. Mexico, as the successor of Spain, would own Texas and all the remainder of the West south of the 42nd parallel and not included in Louisiana. With a republic on one side, and European sovereignty on the other, the Mississippi would to-day be bristling with cannon. The purchase of Louisiana was due to political foresight, and the completion of our title to Oregon was a direct result of the Louisiana transaction. The war with Mexico was the logical sequence of both. From whatever point we may regard it, the acquisition of the Trans-Mississippi region, viewed in the perspective of a century, was worth what it cost in money, in actual war, and risk of war, with what, in our early history, was the most powerful nation on the globe.

The beginnings of the West date from 1850. Further back, the census reports do not present statistics that can be compared for valuable purposes with present standards, although as early as 1840 there were 900,000 people along the western shore of the Mississippi in Arkansas, Iowa, Louisiana and Missouri. These States were long on the firing line of American civilization, and their people subsisted by general farming or by outfitting ox-team merchandise caravans for Santa Fé and Chihuahua, or by outfitting and trading with pioneer settlers *en route* to Oregon, or gold-seekers flocking to California. Jim Bridger put up in southwestern Wyoming in 1843 the first post for the purpose of trading built west of the Mississippi River; and its establishment marked the beginning of the era of emigration to the far West. Until a comparatively recent period, a goodly portion of the public domain lying west of the Missouri River, and comprising perhaps 500,000 square miles, was mapped as the "Great American Desert," and they who penetrated its solitudes and returned unscathed to "civilization" were viewed with the curiosity attaching to a traveller who has visited an unknown land. Progress in the half-century comprehended in this brief review has been remarkable. The present position of the West is shown in the appended table, which represents its percentages of the total for the United States for the different items tabulated. In a few cases comparisons are made from 1890 and 1850:

	1900.	1890.	1850.
Gross area with Alaska	75.4	—	—
Gross area without Alaska	59.1	—	—
Population, gross	27.5	26.6	8.6
Urban population	17.6	a13.1	14.1
Number of farms	35.8	32.6	8.2
Acres improved	48.8	44.4	6.3
Farms, total valuation	44.1	a36.7	6.9
Farm products, value	43.2	a37.4	20.3
Farm animals	59.4	—	11.9
Wool, yield	69.8	—	4.7
Hops, yield	64.3	—	7.1
Timber, area	55.4	—	—
Lumber product, value	32.4	24.9	10.0
Gold, yield	99.6	—	—
Silver, commercial value	99.8	—	—
Coal	15.1	—	—
Railroad mileage	45.2	—	0.25
Manufactures, value product	16.1	14.5	3.9
Operatives in factories	12.2	11.9	3.1
Imports and exports	19.0	—	—

a For 1870.

POPULATION.

The aggregate population has increased 957 per cent. in fifty years, and foreign population has grown faster than native:

	1900.	1890.	1850.	Per cent. increase. 1850-1900.
Americans	18,375,337	14,117,931	1,785,462	929
Foreigners	2,659,317	2,556,478	213,942	1,143
Total.....	21,034,654	16,674,409	1,999,404	957
Per cent. American..	87.3	84.6	89.2	
Per cent. foreign....	12.7	15.4	10.8	

The percentage of native-born, which suffered a sharp decline between 1850 and 1890, because of the influx of foreigners to the mines of California, Montana and Nevada and to the farm lands of Minnesota and the Dakotas, is again in the ascendant, the net gain for the decade just ended having been 2.7 per cent. The native population is largest in the group of southwestern States and Territories, Arkansas leading with 98.9 per cent., Indian Territory 98.8 per cent., Louisiana 96.2 per cent. Along the Pacific Coast it is highest in Oregon with 84.1 per cent., and lowest in California with 75.3 per cent., Washington coming in between with 78.5 per cent. North Dakota, with 64.6 per cent., makes the poorest showing. The proportion of natives in the West, as a whole, in 1900 was 1 per cent. above the average for the Union, which was 86.3 per cent. The percentage of foreigners is highest in North Dakota, where it is 35.4, and lowest in Arkansas, where it is 1.1. Minnesota is the only State having over 500,000 foreigners. California and Iowa have over 300,000 each.

The population of the West in 1850 consisted of 1,500,000 farmers and traders in the Louisiana country, that is, Missouri, Iowa, Arkansas, Minnesota, 200,000 odd who had swarmed into Texas after it had been wrested from Mexico, some 60,000 in New Mexico, a group of gold-diggers in California, a few thousand Mormons in Utah, and a handful of hardy pioneers who had braved privations and hostile savages on the plains in following the footsteps of Lewis and Clark to the Oregon Country. At that time, there were not quite 2,000,000 people in all the boundless region west of the Mississippi River. The establishing of direct communication by the overland stage, followed by the building of the trans-continental railroad, stimulated growth; and by 1870

the West had attained considerable importance in population. In 1850, it reported 8.6 per cent. of the total population of the Union, 26.6 per cent. in 1890, and 27.5 per cent. in 1900. The appended table shows the progress in population:

State.	1850.	1890.	1900.
Arkansas	209,897	1,128,179	1,311,564
California	92,597	1,208,130	1,485,053
Colorado	—	412,198	539,700
Idaho	—	84,385	161,772
Iowa	192,214	1,911,896	2,231,853
Kansas	—	1,427,096	1,470,495
Louisiana	517,762	1,118,587	1,381,625
Minnesota	6,077	1,301,826	1,751,394
Missouri	682,044	2,679,184	3,106,665
Montana	—	132,159	243,329
Nebraska	—	1,058,910	1,066,300
Nevada	—	45,761	42,335
North Dakota	—	182,719	319,146
Oregon	13,294	313,767	413,536
South Dakota	—	328,808	401,570
Texas	212,592	2,235,523	3,048,710
Utah	11,380	207,905	276,749
Washington	—	349,390	518,103
Wyoming	—	60,705	92,531
Alaska	—	32,052	63,592
Arizona	—	59,620	122,931
Indian Territory	—	180,182	392,060
New Mexico	61,547	153,593	195,310
Oklahoma	—	61,834	398,331
Total	1,999,404	16,674,409	21,034,654

Louisiana, with 11.4 inhabitants to the square mile, was the most thickly settled State in the West in 1850. Missouri followed with 9.9; Arkansas with 4 and Iowa with 3.5. The average for the Union was 7.9. That year, the little State of Delaware, with 91,532 inhabitants, boasted of 1-263rd part of the total population of the Union. Where was Oregon with about one-seventh of Delaware's population and Minnesota with less than one-half of Oregon's? In 1900, the density of the Union was 25.6 inhabitants per square mile. Three States—Missouri with 45.2, Iowa with 40.2 and Louisiana with 30.4—exceeded the general average. In the remainder of the States, the density ranged from 0.4 in Nevada to 24.7 in Arkansas.

Throughout the West, with the exception of Louisiana, the number of females to each 100,000 males is under the national average of 95,353. Louisiana reports 98,871 and Utah for obvious reasons follows with 95,324. Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri

and Texas also have between 90,000 and 95,000 females to each 100,000 men, and in Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma, the average is over 85,000 and under 90,000. The proportion of women to each 100,000 men is exceedingly low in the Pacific Coast and Mountain States, being 80,987 in California, 73,265 in Idaho, 62,390 in Montana, 65,352 in Nevada, 77,495 in Oregon, 70,329 in Washington and 59,032 in Wyoming. Alaska reports 38,629.

Here, as in other parts of the Union, urban population is growing faster than rural. Comparison for this discussion is with the census of 1870, as the returns for any previous year make too meagre a showing. In 1870, the West had 56 of the 226 places that reported a population of 4,000 and over. In 1890, the number was 176 out of 899, and in 1900 it was 251 out of 1,158. Of the West's total population in 1900, 20.3 per cent. was urban, against 37.3 per cent. for the Union. In 1900, 17.6 per cent. of the total urban population of the country lived in the West, 13.1 per cent. in 1890 and 14.1 per cent. in 1870. California with 48.9 per cent. and Colorado with 41.2 are above the average for the Union, while Washington, with 36.4, makes a close approach to the mark. For other States the average is: Iowa 20.5; Kansas 19.2; Louisiana 25.1; Minnesota 31; Missouri 34.9; Montana and Wyoming 28.8; Nebraska 20.8; Oregon 27.6; Utah 29.4; Arkansas 6.9; Idaho 6.2; Nevada 10.6; North Dakota 7.2; Texas 14.9; Arizona 10.6; Indian Territory 2.5; New Mexico 6.1; Oklahoma 5. The following statement shows the drift of the population into the cities:

	1900.	1890.	1870	Increase per cent. 1870-1900.
Urban population.	5,024,876	3,723,427	1,145,033	338
Rural population.	16,009,778	12,950,982	5,732,063	179
Total.....	21,034,654	16,674,409	6,877,096	206

In 1870, St. Louis, New Orleans and San Francisco were the only cities that had over 100,000 population. In 1900, ten cities exceeded 100,000, while eight other cities, Portland leading the contingent, had between 50,000 and 100,000. Since 1880, Seattle had advanced from 151st place to 48th place in the rank of American cities; Los Angeles from 135th to 36th; Duluth from 152nd to 72nd; Kansas City, Kansas, from 155th to 76th; Portland

from 106th to 42nd; Tacoma from 157th to 104th; Spokane from 158th to 106th, and Dallas, Texas, from 137th to 88th.

Agriculture.

The area of improved land in farms has increased nearly thirty-fold in fifty years, but has not kept pace with population:

	Acres Improved.			Acres per Inhabitant.		
	1900.	1890.	1850.	1900.	1890.	1850.
Arkansas	6,953,735	5,475,043	781,530	5.3	4.8	3.7
California	11,958,837	12,222,839	32,454	8.0	10.1	0.35
Colorado	2,273,968	1,823,520	—	4.2	4.4	—
Idaho	1,413,118	606,362	—	8.7	7.0	—
Iowa	29,897,552	25,428,899	824,682	13.3	13.3	4.2
Kansas	25,040,550	22,303,301	—	17.0	15.6	—
Louisiana	4,666,532	3,774,668	1,590,025	3.3	3.3	3.0
Minnesota	18,442,585	11,127,953	5,035	16.2	8.5	0.83
Missouri	22,900,043	19,792,313	2,938,425	7.3	7.3	4.3
Montana	1,736,701	915,517	—	7.1	6.8	—
Nebraska	18,432,595	15,247,705	—	17.3	14.4	—
Nevada	572,946	723,052	—	13.2	15.8	—
North Dakota	9,644,520	4,658,015	—	30.2	26.0	—
Oregon	3,328,308	3,516,000	132,857	8.0	11.2	9.9
South Dakota	11,285,983	6,959,293	—	28.1	21.1	—
Texas	19,576,076	20,746,215	643,976	6.4	9.2	3.0
Utah	1,032,117	548,223	16,333	3.7	2.1	1.4
Washington	3,465,960	1,820,832	—	6.6	5.2	—
Wyoming	792,332	476,831	—	8.5	7.8	—
Alaska	159	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	227,739	104,128	—	1.8	1.7	—
Indian Territory	3,062,193	—	—	7.8	—	—
New Mexico	326,873	263,106	166,201	1.7	1.7	—
Oklahoma	5,511,994	563,728	—	13.8	9.0	—
Total	202,543,416	159,097,543	7,131,518	9.6	9.5	3.56

The new farms opened since 1850 are nearly equal, in the aggregate, to the land area of the original thirteen States. The new farms opened between 1890 and 1900 equal more than the combined land areas of the States of Tennessee and West Virginia. North Dakota, with a little over 300,000 population, has more land under farms by 1,500,000 acres than has all New England with 5,600,000 people. The average number of improved acres per inhabitant more than doubled in the West between 1850 and 1890, and showed in 1900 a slight increase over 1890.

The West has 2,056,748 farms, as against 1,491,405 in 1890 and 119,510 in 1850. Texas, with 352,190, leads the Union, and Missouri, with 284,886, holds second place. Iowa has 37,000 more farms than all the New England States combined. While

the West has not quite half the improved acreage of the country, it has 63 per cent. of the unimproved acreage, or 269,000,000 acres out of 426,400,000. Farms average in size from 93.1 acres in Arkansas to 885.9 acres in Montana, 1,174.7 acres in Nevada and 1,333 acres in Wyoming, where stock-raising predominates and requires large ranges. The average for the West is 229.1 acres, against 146.6 acres for the Union.

The proportion of the total land area in farms ranges from 3.7 per cent. in Nevada to 97.4 per cent. in Iowa. Kansas has 79.7, Missouri 77.3, Texas 74.9, Oklahoma 63, Nebraska 60.8, and Minnesota 51.8. No other State has 50 per cent. In the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States, the average, considering the capabilities of the soil, is surprisingly low. California reports 28.9, Washington 19.9, Oregon 16.6, Wyoming 13, Montana 12.7, Utah 7.8 and Idaho 5.9. Iowa leads the nation in this respect, followed by Indiana with 94.1, Ohio with 93.9 and Illinois with 91.5. It is from these four States, whose areas are so largely taken up and whose land values are high, that the extreme West is seeking, by reason of its cheap lands and equable climate, to draw its new population. East of the Mississippi River, the percentage ranges in New England from 32.9 in Maine to 80.8 in Vermont. Along the Atlantic Coast, the average is from 59 per cent. in New Jersey to 85 per cent. in Delaware. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have already been shown in comparison with Iowa. Kentucky has 85.9, Tennessee 76.1, Wisconsin 57 and Michigan 47.8. The values are as follows:

Total Farm Values.	The Union.	The West.	Per cent. in West.
1900	$20,514,001,838	$9,155,558,744	44.1
1890	15,982,267,689	5,872,985,782	36.7
1850	3,967,343,580	276,464,837	6.9

Value Farm Products.	The Union.	The West.	Per cent. in West.
1900	$4,739,118,752	$2,050,766,816	43.2
1890	2,460,197,454	920,823,920	37.4
1870*	2,447,538,658	499,092,093	20.3

* Not reported by United States census prior to 1870. Values for this year in depreciated currency. To get true value, reduce one-fifth.

Productions in quantity of principal crops in the West in 1890 and 1850, and percentages of the total for those years, are thus shown:

Product.	Yield, 1900.	Yield, 1850.	Per cent. of total, 1900.	Per cent. of total, 1850.
Wheat, bush.....	431,963,900	5,288,868	65.5	5.2
Corn, bush.....	1,363,983,943	70,467,713	51.1	11.9
Barley, bush....	93,767,657	47,709	78.2	0.92
Buckwheat, bush.	312,456	77,341	2.7	0.86
Oats, bush.....	454,460,412	7,849,962	48.1	5.3
Rye, bush.....	7,705,168	76,255	30.1	0.53
Total grain, bush.	2,352,193,536	83,807,848	53.1	9.6
United States ..	4,424,800,923	867,453,967	—	—
* Butter, lbs.....	390,810,814	15,184,444	36.4	4.8
* Cheese, lbs....	7,609,331	614,732	46.4	0.58
Flaxseed, bush...	19,791,647	16,010	99.0	0.28
Hay, tons.....	44,799,194	253,297	53.3	1.8
Potatoes, bush...	87,288,453	1,764,969	31.9	2.6
Hops, lbs.....	31,673,821	12,719	64.3	7.1

* Made on farms only.

The West leads the East in flocks and herds, viz.:

	The Union.		The West.	
	1900.	1850.	1900.	1850.
Dairy cows	17,139,674	6,385,094	7,011,333	722,221
Other neat cattle.	50,682,662	11,393,813	35,585,356	1,756,059
Mules and asses..	3,366,724	559,331	1,655,654	122,371
Horses	18,280,007	4,336,719	10,063,260	528,459
Sheep	39,937,573	21,723,220	26,940,389	1,628,159
Lambs	21,668,238	—	13,632,117	—
Swine	62,876,108	30,354,213	32,274,381	4,193,895
Total.....	213,950,986	74,752,390	127,162,490	8,951,164
Per cent.....	—	—	59.4	11.9

MANUFACTURING.

The centre of area in the United States, excluding Alaska and recent acquisitions, is in Northern Kansas, the centre of population in Indiana, and the centre of manufactures in Ohio. Manufacturing in the West is of minor importance, though the aggregate of output exceeded the agricultural output in 1900 by over $50,000,000. Relatively, its position is not so strong, being but 16.1 per cent. of the total, against 27.5 per cent. for population and 43.2 per cent. for value of farm products. Manufacturing increased substantially in the 1890 and 1900 decade and materially in the past fifty years. Thus:

	1900.	1890.	1850.
Value product.....	$2,104,940,868	$1,367,835,887	$40,398,488
No. operatives	652,561	508,371	30,084
Dollars per operative	2,991	2,690	1,342
Per cent. of total:—			
Product	16.1	14.5	3.9
Operatives	12.2	11.9	3.1

Missouri is the principal State for manufactures, California the second and Minnesota the third. These States stand for nearly half the total output of Western factories. The output of California, Oregon and Washington, in 1900, was $435,670,399, constituting 3.3 per cent. of the value of products for the United States. Commenting on this, we find the census of Manufactures (part 1, Page CLXXVIII.) saying:

"The industrial conditions in this group of States in 1900, considering the value, but not the character, of the products, was about the same as the New England States in 1860 and the Middle States in 1850. From this point of view, the growth of the Pacific States has been remarkable. The character of its industries is still determined largely by its natural resources of farm, forest and mine, but the recent wars in the Orient, resulting in the opening of new markets, gave to the industries of this section stimulus which had only begun to be felt at the time the twelfth census was taken."

Commerce.

The combined imports and exports of the United States in the year ended June 30, 1901, were geographically distributed as follows: New York 45.73 per cent.; other ports east of the Mississippi River, 35.24 per cent.; the West (Pacific and Gulf ports) 19.03. Of the seven great ports in the Union, three are in the West, New Orleans ranking third, Galveston sixth and San Francisco seventh. New Orleans has a foreign commerce of $173,000,000 a year; Galveston $102,000,000, and San Francisco $70,000,000. Puget Sound and the Columbia River, where before many years will be large ports, have between them $40,000,000. Of the total exports of the United States in 1901, the West reported $354,682,075, or 23.1 per cent. Exports were $86,275,443, or 10.4. Breadstuffs form a considerable item of the exports of Western ports. For the ten years ended June 30, 1901, shipments were 240,000,000 bushels of barley, corn, oats, rye; 450,000,000 bushels of wheat and 26,000,000 barrels of wheat-flour, of a total value of $521,000,000. San Francisco led in this business, with New Orleans second and Portland third.

Mineral Production.

Ever since the discovery of gold in California in 1848, mining has been one of the most important industries of the West. Between 1848 and 1900, California yielded gold valued at $1,385,-

197,097, about one-eighth the total gold-production of the world from 1493 to 1900. The West in 1900 produced 99.6 per cent. of the nation's gold, 99.8 per cent. of its silver (commercial value), and 15.1 per cent. of its coal, viz.:

	Gold.	Silver.	Total Value.
California	$15,816,200	$583,668	$16,399,868
Colorado	28,829,400	12,700,018	41,529,418
Idaho	1,724,700	3,986,042	5,710,742
Montana	4,698,000	8,801,148	13,499,148
Nevada	2,006,200	842,394	2,848,594
Oregon	1,694,700	71,548	1,766,248
South Dakota	6,177,600	332,444	6,510,044
Utah	3,972,200	5,745,912	9,718,112
Alaska	8,171,000	45,446	8,216,446
Arizona	4,193,400	1,857,210	6,050,610
Texas, etc	1,587,100	704,568	2,291,668
Total	$78,870,500	$35,670,398	$114,540,898

Other mineral productions in 1900 are 30,000,000 tons of coal; 200,000 short tons of lead; 413,000,000 pounds of copper; 3,600,000 barrels of petroleum, and 30,000 flasks of quicksilver. The copper-mines of Montana and Arizona have lessened the importance of the Lake Superior region as a source of supply, cutting its percentage of the total American output from 62.9 in 1882, to 25.9 in 1899.

One of the greatest gold-mining regions of the world is located in Eastern Oregon, and covers a gross area of between 3,000 and 4,000 square miles. Professor J. Waldemar Lindgren, of the United States Geological Survey, believes that the strong, well-defined veins upon which most of the important mines of this region are located will continue to the greatest depths yet attained in mining.

Lumber Industry.

According to the census reports for 1900, lumber is excelled in value among American productions only by iron and steel, textiles and slaughtering and meat-packing. The West will surely be paramount in this important industry. Indeed, we, thus early, find the Director of the Census making this important admission in one (203) of his bulletins:

"The white pine area in the Northwest has passed its maximum of production and the attention of lumbermen is being diverted from this region to the Southern pine forests and to the enormously heavy forests

of the Northwest Coast, which will, in the course of a decade or two, become the chief source of lumber for the country."

Texas, with 64,000 square miles, leads the Union in wooded area. Oregon is second, with 54,300 square miles, and Minnesota third, with 52,200 square miles. Arkansas, California, Missouri, Montana and Washington each have over 40,000 square miles of wooded area. Oregon, Washington and California have at least one-third of the standing timber of the country. The redwood forest of California is, perhaps, the densest forest, measured by the amount of lumber per acre, in the world. In quantity of standing timber, Oregon leads the Union, with 300 billion feet; California is second, with 200 billion feet and Washington third with nearly 196 billion feet. Minnesota, with a product of $43,600,000, leads the West, and Washington is second, with $30,300,000. The total value of the lumber product of the West in 1900 was $184,135,988, against $109,201,667 in 1890 and $6,075,896 in 1850. The lumber cut was 10,925,736 M. feet, board measure, or a little less than one-third of the output of the Union. Among Western States, Minnesota led, with 2,342,388 M. feet. Arkansas was second, with 1,623,987 M. feet and Washington third, with 1,429,032 M. feet. Oregon cut 734,528 M. feet.

Railroad Transportation.

The transcontinental railroads have brought the West up to its present state of development, for they have opened it to settlement, and provided reasonable rates for the transport of its products to the Eastern markets, even if at the same time they have exposed its infant manufacturing industries to the competition of the large capitalization of the Atlantic seaboard and the Ohio Valley. In 1850, the West had 79½ miles of railroad, all in Louisiana. All the rest of the westward stretch of the nation to the Pacific was without so much as a single rail. What Louisiana could so proudly boast of in 1850, was less than the mileage then operated by the Boston and Maine and its branches in Massachusetts. By 1900, the total had swelled to 87,406.13 miles out of the 193,345.78 miles in the United States, and the percentage from .25 to 45.2. On the basis of miles of railroad per 100 square miles of territory, Iowa leads with 16.56 and Nevada is lowest with .83. In miles of line per 10,000 inhabitants, Nevada is first with 214.98, and Louisiana last with 20.44.

In view of the enormous railroad construction in the West in the past thirty years, it is worth while to recall President Buchanan's telegram to John Butterfield, the pioneer of Western overland transportation, when the first direct overland mail arrived by stage at St. Louis from San Francisco in 1858:

"I cordially congratulate you upon the result. It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union. Settlements will soon follow the course of the road, and the East and the West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans which can never be broken."

Finance.

In 1850, there were 31 banks west of the Mississippi—25 in Louisiana and 6 in Missouri, with deposits aggregating $9,500,000. On July 16th, 1902, the individual deposits in national banks amounted to $639,180,306, and the loans and discounts to $615,116,949.

Future of the West.

The future of the Great West must be considered from two view-points. (1) In its relation to the Asiatic countries and their trade; and (2) in its ability to support a large population.

Asia and Oceanica comprise an area of 21,262,718 square miles, and have a population of 847,000,000, or more than half that of the globe. Of this number, 435,000,000 are in China and its dependencies, Japan, Asiatic Russia and Corea. Asia and the islands of the Pacific annually buy from the world goods valued at $1,446,000,000 and sell to it, goods of a value of $1,436,000,000 representing a total trade of $2,882,000,000. The United States will in time have a tremendous trade across the Pacific, although at present our proportion of the business is inconsiderable. In the year ended June 30, 1901, only 9.25 per cent. of our foreign commerce was with Asia and Oceanica, of which 2.17 per cent. was with the British East Indies, 2.09 per cent. with Japan, 1.67 per cent. with Chinese ports, and .37 with the Philippines. The new theatre of the world's activities is a virgin field, as little understood on our Pacific seaboard as on our Atlantic seaboard; for the exporters of both sections make the same mistakes in packing, and in long-range dealing with the Oriental customer, to whom the first essential in trade is what our consular officers persistently pour into unwilling ears as the "look, see," or the

privilege of inspecting the commodity offered for sale, before buying it. These, however, are details of commercial organizations which our exporters can be depended upon to settle on a satisfactory basis. The fear expressed in some quarters at the opening of Siberia by the completion of the great Russian railroad, and the consequent development of a region that will become a competitor of the United States in the trans-Pacific country, would appear to be groundless so far as any detrimental effect upon our country is concerned. Our general development is based upon the attraction of our institutions, the freedom of industry, the cheapness and fertility of our lands, our hospitable climate, and above all, on the long enjoyment of the guarantees of peace.

Viewing the future of the West from the point of view of its ability to support a large population, the measure must be the record of the half-century just past. It has done more than its most sanguine friend dared foretell for it a century ago, and it is not half developed. Excluding Alaska, it has an area of 2,138,488 square miles and a population of 20,971,062, with a density of 9.8. The population density of the Union is 25.6 to the square mile. The West is capable of reaching this mark; and, on this basis, its population would be, approximately, 55,000,000, a little more than the States east of the Mississippi had in 1900. Every foot of the West is useful for some purpose, the purpose depending in some degree upon the success of irrigation. The high lands of Nevada are no more to be ignored, in the general scheme of economy, than the irregular and broken surface of Vermont, where intensive cultivation of the soil now obtains as a result of Western competition in agriculture. When one contemplates the rugged mountains of Idaho, Eastern Montana, Northern California, Oregon, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico, he should reflect that somewhere in this broad land cattle must have range, if the price of meat is to be kept within bounds. Conditions for horticulture and agriculture in Louisiana are as favorable as in any other State in the Union. The Columbia River basin in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, is an empire in itself, with a population less than Chicago, and Eastern Oregon under irrigation could produce 100,000,000 bushels of grain. There are those who expect Alaska to take station as an agricultural community. Manufactures in the West will ultimately bear a close ratio to population.

The West comes on the stage of the world's activity in an era of peace, prosperity and advancement of American principles and institutions. Its loyalty to the Union never has been doubted, and no cloud of discord appears to bring it into contest with the East, for its interests are identical with those of that section, and community of interest promotes community of purpose. The West, instead of proving the destroyer of the nation, has proved its savior. What the future is to be, in all its aspects, no man can say. The Briton would have been thought insane ten years ago who would have dared to predict the day that Canada, Australia and New Zealand would be called upon to uphold the prestige of the Empire at the Cape of Good Hope. No American, however pessimistic, contemplates with pleasure the possibility of war; still, every American is pleased to see his country protected against the day of war. The generation that was contemporaneous with the statesman who said Oregon was not worth a pinch of snuff, left sons and daughters to see an Oregon regiment sailing away from San Francisco to plant the Stars and Stripes at Manila, and raise the United States to the dignity of a World Power. And, in that city whose legislative halls echoed with dire warnings as to what should happen if Louisiana should be accepted from Napoleon, the citizen of some future day may be gladdened by the sight of a regiment from the Yukon River marching down the broad avenues in the defence of the national capital.

HENRY E. REED.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY HERBERT PUTNAM, LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.

WITH reference to sources, the student of foreign history has heretofore been better situated than the student of American history. To a considerable extent, the material which concerns him has been centralized and systematized for his use, and placed under the conduct of experts; that which consists of archives,—that is, documents accumulated in actual administration, which record the transactions of government and are indispensable for the study of that part of history which is "past politics"—does, indeed, to a large extent, remain still with the department of the government whose operations created them or brought them together. But in certain countries the archives have been dissociated from such departments and centralized in a Record Office. The Record Office in London is, of course, the most prominent and the noblest example of intelligent effort in this direction; but most foreign countries can show some effort of a similar nature. Even Spain, supposed to be more fond of tradition than systematic in preserving and making available the evidence of it, has gathered at Simancas most of the archive material within reach of the government not already in safe custody at Madrid and Seville; and there, in a huge castle, remote from the perils of ordinary traffic and solid against assault by fire or time, preserves it for the use of the investigator. Of nearer fields of research we have examples on our borders: Mexico has its Record Office, seriously, courteously and hospitably administered, where are similarly preserved and made accessible the manuscript governmental records of its past, so far as these have survived revolution and earlier neglect; while Canada maintains both a Record Office and a trained archivist, who has not merely systematized and

made accessible the material at home, but has caused to be made and brought to Ottawa transcripts of documents in London which are important to the student of Canadian history.

The material in private hands has tended to drift into public libraries. In Great Britain, great masses of it still remain in private hands, but this has been brought to the surface by the British Government through its Historical Manuscripts Commission, which has compiled and published extensive indexes and calendars of the manuscript sources in private collections.

Again, the student of the history of a foreign country finds, if not all, certainly the main sources for his work within the confines of that country. There are notable exceptions. The attempt of the first Napoleon to centralize at Paris the archives of the regions subject to the imperial control, was only in part undone later; and an inestimable number of manuscripts still remain in the office of the French Government which the student would once have looked for at Madrid, at Rome, at Vienna, or in a dozen other centres of historic event. The student of the Elizabethan period may find most illuminating suggestion as to the England of that day in the reports made by the Venetian envoys to their home government. There is at Rome so much material important to the investigator in British history, that the British Government maintains there a permanent agent, whose duty is to search it out and report it. Original court records indispensable to the student of diplomacy were once "ambulatory": they followed various sovereigns in their migrations of policy or of conquest, and now rest far beyond the present limits of the regions which they concern. But, even making due allowance for such dispersion and eccentricity, the total area of the regions to be searched is comparatively small.

The student of American history has to meet a situation very different. For the Colonial period, and for certain relations of a generation succeeding it, his most important material is still abroad. He is separated from it, not by the English Channel and a slight expense, but by the Atlantic and a considerable expense. His national Government has as yet done nothing to bring it to him: the small amount thus far done,—the collection of a few fragments,—having been the praiseworthy but inadequate achievement of a few local authorities, societies or institutions. For the manuscript sources of American history in the possession of Gov-

ernment the investigator is dependent not upon one government, but on his national Government *plus* forty-five others,—very variant in the intelligence to comprehend his need, and in the desire and capacity to meet it.

The material for colonial history, so far as it exists in this country, is for the most part in a few libraries (such as the Lenox), in the custody of societies, or with the local governments that are the literary as well as the political successors of the colonies. That which is "archive" has to some extent been published by State or municipal authority. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland have been especially zealous in such publication; but, of the thirteen original States, all but Delaware, Georgia and South Carolina have done something. North Carolina, whose early records are, for the most part, in London, has even caused transcripts of these to be made, deposited with its Secretary of State, and published. Where the public authorities have been inert, a local historical society has here and there undertaken the task—as in Delaware, where it has published the "Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792." Even where the State has put into print all within its control, there has still been need of industry on the part of such societies, for a great mass of material properly "archive" is not with the State, but with them. It is indeed a whimsical, as well as inconvenient, circumstance that the sources for our history prior to 1790 should be so scattered, and to such a large extent in private collections. The court records of Barnstable County, Massachusetts, from 1663 to 1673, are in possession of the Historical Society of New Hampshire; the town papers of Dover, New Hampshire, 1693-1783, are in the State Library of New York, which contains also items as exotic as the early Court Register of Stafford County in Virginia, and the original Minutes for 1776-80 of the South Carolina Navy Board. Important early records of Virginia, including the Records of the Virginia Company itself, 1619-24, and the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Virginia Council from 1622 to 1627, came to the Library of Congress with the collection of President Jefferson. The official letter-books and official diary of Robert Morris, as Superintendent of Finance from 1781 to 1784, distinctly public records, were for thirty years in the possession of General Meredith Read (who

had bought them in a junk-shop), and were only three years ago acquired for the National Library from his widow. One would expect to find in the Navy Department the log-books of our naval officers; but in the earlier years it was the custom to consider these the private property of such officers, and many are now appearing in the market, as if ordinary private diaries. Those, for instance, of Commodore Preble were acquired by Government only within the past year, in the purchase of the Preble Papers by the Library of Congress.

These are but examples of a condition which, in 1900, led a committee of Congress to report that "hardly any State possesses at present complete files, either in manuscript or in print, of its own records. Some of the records appear never to have been systematically preserved. Some have been lost. Some are in the possession of other States or of the national Government. Large portions exist in manuscript only; while others, the originals of which have disappeared, are in printed volumes now scarce and virtually impossible of replacement."

For the post-Revolutionary periods the conditions have been little more satisfactory. The material is not, indeed, so much scattered; it is for the most part in this country; and it is chiefly in public offices. But it has been exploited to a very small extent. It has received far less attention from the historical societies, which, as Professor Jameson has remarked, "pay twice as much attention to the period of exploration and first settlement as to all the rest of the Seventeenth Century, twice as much to the period anterior to 1700 as to that from 1700 to 1775, and none whatever to that since the Revolution." Certain of the western States subsidize the researches and publications of historical societies, which, of course, deal with post-Revolutionary history. A few States—such as Iowa, Alabama and Mississippi—now maintain archivists, whose duty it is to seek everywhere the literary sources of their early history, and to bring to the State capitals the record of them in indexes, calendars or actual transcripts. But these undertakings are as yet sporadic.

As to the national archives, the committee of Congress, already quoted, reported that "at present no lawyer or historical student, desiring to consult the archives of the national Government, can feel in advance any assurance that the papers to which he wishes access are to be found in the place in Washington where they

would naturally be supposed to be, or even that they are actually in the possession of the United States at all. . . . Documents of the utmost legal importance, affecting personal and governmental interests of great magnitude, are scattered about among the executive Departments and Bureaus, and are often stored under conditions which not only make access to them difficult, but also open the way to the mutilation or loss of the documents themselves."

The report of this committee (the House Committee on the Library) accompanied and explained a bill, which called upon the American Historical Association to investigate the character and condition of the archives and public records of the several States and Territories, and of the United States, and to report to Congress results and recommendations. The bill did not pass. But the Association has proceeded without governmental aid, except in publication. It has maintained two commissions,—one (created in 1895) to investigate and exploit the manuscript sources in private hands, thus paralleling for the United States the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain; the other, The Public Archives Commission (created in 1899), to report upon those in public offices, without, however, any design of publication. The work of these commissions has been purely voluntary, the subsidies granted by the Association being applied merely to clerical and incidental expenses. It has resulted in the publication in the annual reports of the Association of useful statements as to existing manuscript sources. These cover already the character, scope and condition of the public archives of twelve States, and of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and the legislative journals of the several Colonial Assemblies; they include a convenient list of the items relating to American history in the private collections of Great Britain, drawn off from the reports of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission; and they have reproduced in full certain manuscript material—such as the Correspondence of Clark and Genet, and the Calhoun letters—not heretofore generally available.

Moreover, a recommendation of a committee of this Association has induced the Carnegie Institution to undertake a portion of the very investigation which had been the purpose of the proposed legislation by Congress. This is the examination of the public records of the national Government at Washington. A grant for

such an examination was the first grant made by the Institution in the interest of historical research. The investigation under it, begun in February of last year, has been completed; and the resultant report, shortly to be published, will contain the fullest statement, the most detailed and competent analysis, yet made as to the manuscript sources for history in the possession of the Government at Washington.

A further recommendation of this advisory committee has induced the authorities of the Carnegie Institution to establish at Washington an agency for the utilization of the manuscript sources there. It includes a Director of Historical Research, who, among other functions, is to aid investigators, including student workers, to a prompt and intelligent use of the historical material which the report reveals.

That a large part of this material is not at present either logically placed or most conveniently accessible, has been obvious enough. It is of three classes: official records necessary to present administration, archives proper, and historical manuscripts literary in character. It should be divided among the executive Departments, a Record Office and the National Library. But the United States Government has no Record Office; and until recently has had no National Library with accommodations appropriate to the custodianship of important manuscript material. As a result, not merely archives but historical manuscripts entirely unrelated to administration have been accumulated in the executive Departments. They have, indeed, accumulated in such an overwhelming mass as to impede and afflict administration, and induce incessant appeals to Congress for relief, through increased accommodations or the establishment of separate facilities for storage. These appeals have at last been successful, and an appropriation has been granted for the construction of a building to which the Departments may send such of their files as cannot longer be accommodated in their offices, and are yet of a value which should preclude their destruction. Whether this institution will expand into a Record Office is yet to be seen. A mere storage warehouse is *not* a Record Office. It may preserve; but, without expert service and a positive duty of research, it cannot make useful the material.

The material for which it will provide will, however, be archives proper; that is, the documents which have accumulated through

the direct operations of the Government.* From time to time, the Government has, however, come into the possession of historical manuscripts distinctly literary in character. Certain of these—such as the papers of the Marquis de Rochambeau, and those accumulated by Peter Force in the compilation of his archives—were deposited in the Library of Congress. Others went to executive Departments—especially the Department of State. But the conditions which directed them thither have ceased to exist. The Library of Congress is now the National Library, with a building both safe and ample, and with elaborate equipment for the care of manuscript material. It maintains a department specially and exclusively devoted to this, and under conduct of an expert of high repute as an authority in the sources of American history; and its duty is not merely to acquire and preserve these sources, but to make them useful. Accordingly, Congress has now enacted† that:

"The head of any executive Department or Bureau, or any commission of the Government, is hereby authorized from time to time to turn over to the Librarian of Congress, for the use of the Library of Congress, any books, maps or other material in the Library of the Department, Bureau or commission no longer needed for its use, and in the judgment of the Librarian of Congress appropriate to the uses of the Library of Congress."

* For instance: the records of the Auditor for the Post-Office Department. They contain material for the history of our postal system from its beginnings. They should not be destroyed. But when the Department moved to its new building, five years ago, there was no space available for them, and the huge mass—12,000 volumes, weighing over a hundred tons—was actually without a home. They were offered to the Library of Congress, as a deposit. But an examination of them showed that, while material for an archive office, they were not material for a library. A third of them were later sent to a pulp-mill, and the remainder placed on temporary storage in a rented building. The original returns of the first Census were, a couple of years ago, ordered to be scattered among the several States, or, failing hospitality there, to be destroyed. The order was given by Congress under a misapprehension as to their value to the economist and the genealogist; and its operation was happily postponed, until now it may be averted; but the issue of it illustrates the peril to which original sources are subject in the absence of a Record Office and a responsible archivist. The files of Senate and House have been in constant peril—from heat, moisture, inability or indifference. Those of the House have indeed suffered from actual depredation. A large mass of them—some 6,000 volumes—were lately brought to the Library of Congress for temporary safety. Among them, in the general unappreciated mass, were the originals of Hamilton's great report upon Manufacture and that upon a National Bank, signed by him.

† In the appropriation act for the present year.

The first important transfer to be made under this act was embodied in the following executive order issued on March 9th, 1903:

"The historical archives in the Department of State, known as the Revolutionary archives, and comprising (1) the records and papers of the Continental Congress [307 vols.]; (2) the papers of George Washington [299 vols.]; (3) the papers of James Madison [75 vols.]; (4) the papers of Thomas Jefferson [137 vols.]; (5) the papers of Alexander Hamilton [65 vols.]; (6) the papers of James Monroe [22 vols.]; (7) the papers of Benjamin Franklin [32 vols.], are by authority provided by the act of Congress entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes,' approved February 25, 1903, hereby ordered to be transferred from the Department of State—with such exceptions and reservations, in each collection herein enumerated, as in the discretion of the Secretary of State may be required for the continuity and completeness of the records and archives of the Department of State—to the possession and custody of the Library of Congress, to be there preserved and rendered accessible for historical and other legitimate uses, under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the Librarian of Congress. . . . The transfer here directed shall be made on the 1st day of July, 1903, or as promptly thereafter as shall be found conveniently practicable to the Department of State and the Library of Congress.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"White House, March 9, 1903."

This transfer has required, of course, the cooperation of the authorities of the State Department, which has been entirely prompt and cordial. It assumes that papers of importance to the investigator in history, and not necessary for administrative purposes, will render a larger service to scholarship if in the Library, which has a specific duty not merely to preserve them, but to make them accessible, than in an Executive Department where this service is purely voluntary and is not sustained by specific appropriation. The principle is one that will doubtless apply generally. The transfer leaves the ownership, control and possession still with the Government. It merely utilizes, as custodian, a different Government agency now deemed more appropriate.

The historical manuscripts in which the Federal Government has title, and for whose preservation and utility it is responsible, are not limited to those in the Departments at Washington. Others have come to it with the acquisition of new territory,

others still through the operation of its customs system at various ports of entry. Among the former were the archives at Porto Rico, at Guam and in the Philippines. Those at San Juan were, by order of the War Department, brought to Washington and sorted over, and those deemed appropriate for preservation there were retained in the Library, the remainder being returned. The archives at Guam would naturally be of value as illustrating and epitomizing, in one secluded province, the course and method of Spanish colonial administration during several centuries. They had been reported to include three items of peculiar interest: the letter-books of the Spanish Governors, containing their correspondence with the Governor-General of the Philippines, to whose jurisdiction they became subject after the independence of Mexico; the Reports of the Residencias, or courts of inquiry, which were held at the end of the administration of every Governor; and the inventory of the effects of the Jesuits taken in great detail when they were expelled from the island. By order of the Navy Department, the extant records supposed to be of value have been shipped to Washington. They are comprised in a single case of much mutilated material. Accompanying it is a statement from the Governor of the Island, that "these records comprise everything here that could be saved, white ants having utterly destroyed the bulk of all old records." No such action has yet been taken with reference to the manuscript records in the Philippines, although considerations very similar would seem to apply to these—namely, that they are in peril from damp and from insects, and that, even with intelligent custodianship, if that can be afforded at Manila, they are remote from the centre where historical research is to be carried on, and from the other material indispensable to the study of colonial administration in a comparative way.

Of earlier acquisition are the Spanish and Mexican archives, which came to the Government with the cession of New Mexico and of California. The former were left at Santa Fé in the custody of the Territorial authorities; the latter have been and are now in the custody of the Government land office at San Francisco. Those at Santa Fé have been, during the past half century, victims of shocking neglect and maltreatment; some of them have been deliberately burned, others used as waste or wrapping paper, others freely purloined to serve the interest of individuals in the

prosecution of private claims. All have suffered from damp, from heat and from the ravages of insects. The remnant has been for some years in the technical custody of the Territorial librarian, in the actual keeping of the Secretary of State for the Territory. Of what it consists, how far of documents important to history, can be ascertained only by an examination by experts, which the Territorial authorities were in no position to undertake. The entire collection has now been brought to the Library of Congress, where this examination can be made and the results, if deemed of sufficient value, edited and published in indexes, calendars and abstracts, and where the repairs necessary to the preservation and use of the manuscripts can be arranged for.

A proposal to bring to Washington, for a like purpose, the archives at San Francisco met with a protest from resident societies and individuals in California, who, conceding the title to the documents and the authority over them to rest with the Federal Government, regard their present location as sufficiently safe, and their utility to investigators on the Pacific slope of greater concern than their possible utility to investigators at large.

In the course of the past fiscal year it was learned that Congress had authorized certain custom-houses* to destroy such of their records as were no longer necessary to the administration of the respective offices. Through the courtesy of the Secretary of the Treasury, a representative of the Library of Congress was permitted to make an examination of some of this material, in order to determine whether a part could not judiciously be preserved in the Library as a record of forms used in the past in conducting custom-house operations, and as matter indirectly throwing light upon the commercial methods employed in the earlier history of the nation. Much material of this description was found, and under the order of the Treasury Department it has been transferred to the Library.

In 1827, Edward Everett proposed that Congress should secure and deposit in the Library of Congress copies of all papers in the archives of Great Britain relating to American affairs. He was concerned that the student of our history and institutions should

* They were seventeen in number, and included ports so important as Boston, Salem, New York and Charleston. At New York alone, the records selected for destruction aggregated 200 tons, and dated back to 1790. They were sold as junk at so much per pound.

have to go abroad for the most important of his sources. Four generations have passed, and the student of to-day has still to go abroad for them. He has, indeed, the considerable number of documents reprinted or abstracted from the Record Office by Brodhead in New York, by the Pennsylvania History Society, or by other State authorities, societies or institutions — such as the Loyalist Papers in the New York Public Library, complementing certain originals in the Library of Congress. For the Revolutionary period, he has the excellent facsimiles published by Mr. Stevens. But the larger portion still requires a trip to London. Of the huge and indeterminate mass on the Continent he has as yet not even a precise description. For those in London, such a description and guide is now in prospect: it is at once to be undertaken under a grant from the Carnegie Institution, which is the third beneficent service of this Institution to historical research. One may hope that it will be followed by endeavors to secure accurate information as to what of importance exists at Paris, Versailles, Madrid, Seville, Simancas, Rome and other Continental centres. Such information will be in itself an invaluable aid to research, will promote many a useful investigation and preclude many a fruitless one; and it will doubtless result in the project which is of first concern to historical study in this country to-day, as it was in Mr. Everett's day: the acquisition of copies of numerous documents of which the originals must remain abroad, and the deposit of these at Washington, where they may be made accessible to investigators. Such copies, transcripts or facsimiles will certainly be made; perhaps they will be made by the National Library and the Carnegie Institution in cooperation, as has been proposed by the authorities of the Library. They can be made effectively, however, only after a precise statement by experts as to what exists, and only under a definite plan of procedure which also shall be based upon the judgment of experts.

Meantime, the Library of Congress has not ignored opportunities nearer at hand. It brought to its new building manuscript material that was of first importance, even though the material touched but fragments of our history. During the past six years, it has acquired certain considerable collections: the Preble papers, and the diary and letter-books of Robert Morris already mentioned; the papers of Salmon P. Chase—22 bound volumes and 6,300 letters, covering the period from 1824 to 1873; correspond-

ence of Daniel Webster, which comprises some 2,500 letters to and from him; letter-books and log-books of Commodores Barry and Porter; the Ellis papers—278 bound volumes and over 56,000 individual pieces, the complete office files of a great mercantile house at Richmond, Virginia, importers and exporters during the entire first half of the nineteenth century, invaluable to a student of economic history; and a multitude of non-related items.

It received, last spring, the noble gift of the Andrew Jackson papers, long in the possession of the family of Montgomery Blair. Within the past four months, it acquired by purchase the papers of President Polk, a collection which, among nearly 10,000 items, includes a multitude of political letters as yet unpublished; and still more recently it has had the gift from Mrs. Smith I. Van Buren, of the papers of President Van Buren. With the Washington, Madison, Jefferson and Monroe papers from the State Department, it will thus have advanced far towards a Presidential series. This transfer from the Department of State brings to it, indeed, nearly a thousand volumes which have constituted the most eminent manuscript material in the possession of our Government, — and a considerable section of which — the 307 volumes of the papers of the Continental Congress—has scarcely been explored.

We have, then, to-day various agencies cooperating with each other to bring about conditions more favorable to historical research in this country: A national association of historians, which influences local authorities to investigate the original sources in their possession, to safeguard them and to exploit them—which correlates the work of these local authorities, societies and institutions and supplements it by indexing, calendaring and editing; the Carnegie Institution, creating and maintaining an expert service for the investigation of sources and for guidance in their use; and the federal Government, which, as an efficient and generous publisher, has for years, without charge, put into print the reports of the Historical Association, its proceedings, its discussions and the material accumulated by its two Commissions, and which, through the National Library, desires to make fully and freely available, under expert conduct, the material for history in its possession, and to affiliate itself with every effort to bring within reach of the student of our history the other manuscript sources indispensable to his work. HERBERT PUTNAM.

THE COMING OF THE RUSSIAN SHIPS IN 1863.

BY GENERAL RUSH C. HAWKINS.

THE true and complete history of the appearance of the Russian squadron upon our coast in the summer of 1863 has not, to my knowledge, been printed or in any other way made public; and I doubt if in Russia, outside the Imperial family, the real facts in relation to its coming were ever known to more than three or four of the highest Cabinet officials.

In the spring of 1862, the forces of England and Spain which had joined with those of France in a move against Mexico for a certain purpose, had completed their part of the object for which the expedition was organized, and evacuated Vera Cruz. The French forces, acting under orders from the Emperor Napoleon, remained; and, in April of that year, France declared war against Juarez and the forces under his command.

This appeared to have been a new move not originally contemplated—possibly, in a measure, it might have been; but the real, the inside, the unwritten history of the French attempt to conquer Mexico, for the purpose of adding it to the list of Imperialisms, has never been clearly understood. The first suggestion for this attempt came from an American woman who was born in one of the slave-holding States, an ardent Roman Catholic, the wife of a French official of some little note. The husband became an advocate of the wife's suggestion; and both were sustained, but not for reasons of state, by a high official who was very near to the Emperor. The latter was urged and yielded; and hence the attempt to establish upon our border an Imperialism to be dominated by a combination of Rome and the Quai d'Orsay.

There is another history of that event; but this, the basic item, has remained one of the best-kept political secrets of the last century. All of the most important papers that related to it were

taken by the Emperor Napoleon from a certain desk in a private residence where they were deposited with others of great political and family importance, read one by one with anxious care, and then destroyed. This occurred only a short time before the death of his favorite adviser, who had urged him on to the beginning of his downfall.

The scheme to subjugate a nation did not work itself out as easily as had been anticipated; and the summer of 1863 found the Mexicans as determined in their opposition to French intervention as ever. Juarez, Diaz and others had proved themselves able commanders, and the native troops had shown that they were equal to the French in courage and endurance. The discouraging reports from Mexico to the Quai d'Orsay were frequent, and had their influence in giving birth to a new move, designed, if successful, to cripple the Power upon which Mexico, if need arose, could rely to expel the invader from her soil.

It was at this period in the "unfortunate Mexican business," the summer of 1863, that the secret circular, now more or less historic, was concocted, and sent privately by confidential messengers from the Emperor of the French to the heads of two, and possibly more, of the greater European nations. It proposed a meeting of representatives, probably to consider ways and means; but the scheme meant for the South an acknowledgment of belligerent rights, and, perhaps, joint direct interference on the part of the Powers to end our Civil War. Unfortunately for the success of this scheme, the European nations addressed had neither direct interest in our internecine war, nor were they in a receptive condition. Prussia was indifferent, and only regarded our contest from a strictly military point of view; Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and other Italian statesmen were busy inventing plans for the coming national unification; Austria was completely indifferent; and, although the nobility and the majority of the wealthy classes of England were against the North, the "plain people" who composed the bulk of the nation were on the Union side. The Queen, also, was against any interference whatever. These conditions, however, were not known to Czar Alexander II., who, as soon as he had read the communication, discovered what he believed to be its real intent and the momentous consequences designed. But he kept his own counsel and sent for Prince Gortchakoff, his Prime Minister, who was then absent from St. Petersburg.

Gortchakoff returned within two or three days after the summons had been sent, and the whole matter of the reply to the confidential circular was decided upon in one brief consultation and in accordance with the previous intent of the Czar, who then dictated or wrote the answer, which was about to this effect: Russia cannot become a party to any combination with other Powers for the purpose of interfering in the affairs of a friendly nation engaged in a war to maintain its territorial integrity; and, in the event of interference by other Powers, Russia reserves the right to take independent action.

Within six weeks after the Czar had replied to the French Emperor's proposal, Russian ships commenced to appear off our coasts. This incident produced a marked effect upon European opinion. It was construed into a possible warning that any attempt, by outside interference, to embarrass the action of the North would be confronted with active opposition on the part of Russia. Our people appreciated the exceptional value of this gracious act of disinterested friendship, and the relation between the two nations became more cordial than ever.

At a convenient season not long after the close of our war, a fleet composed of some of our finest vessels, officered and manned by naval veterans who had distinguished themselves in active service, and commanded by Gustavus V. Fox, who had made an exceptionally efficient record as the assistant Secretary of the Navy during the whole period of President Lincoln's administration, was fitted out for the purpose of being sent to Russia as an expression of our gratitude for what that nation had done for us at a time when we were in need of friendly recognition, and also to convey to the Czar our congratulations on his escape from assassination.

Upon its arrival at St. Petersburg, it received a most cordial welcome from all classes of the Russian people. Royal receptions were given, and everywhere the most distinguished consideration was bestowed upon the officers and men of the fleet; and some of the newspaper correspondents described scenes which proved that vivacious enthusiasm often usurped the place of sober decorum.

In 1871, the Czar decided upon a return visit of courtesy, and his son, the Grand-Duke Alexis, was sent with an appropriate fleet as the bearer of a friendly message of good-will towards the American people. The ships were ordered to proceed to New

York; and, immediately upon their arrival, the Grand Duke was instructed to proceed to Washington for the purpose of paying his respects to the President. The orders of the Czar were carried out, and the attentions bestowed upon the Grand Duke and his entourage by the authorities and the people of New York were of exceptional brilliancy, quantity and quality.

While the Russian fleet was still in American waters, there was an Imperial reception at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. At that function, as usual, were the representatives of foreign nations, the officials of state, and the greater officers of the army and navy, as well as members of the higher Russian nobility. When the American Minister made his appearance, both the Czar and Czarina stepped out of their places, a very unusual deviation from custom, to greet him. The former said to the Minister: "We have frequently heard from our son of the splendor of the reception he has met with at the hands of your noble people; and I want you to express to them how fully we appreciate the warmth of their welcome." The Minister replied: "I shall take great pleasure in communicating your message to the President of the United States." "No!" exclaimed the Czar, with emphatic warmth; "*not* to the President of the United States, but to the *people* of the United States." The Minister then made a movement as if to pass on, when the Czarina detained him long enough to say: "We can never be sufficiently grateful for the great kindness your people have shown towards our favorite son."

And so ended one of the most painful interviews in the history of our official intercourse with a friendly sovereign of another nation. Our minister at St. Petersburg at that particular time happened to be a gentleman distinguished for his genial nature, wit, intelligence, and exceptional charm of personality; and it was well known that he was a favorite with the Czar. The Minister was not ignorant of that fact, and he felt certain that there was not even a color of anything personal to him in the intention of the Czar. But this was not enough. He was anxious to know something of the real cause for such an unusual exhibition of emphatic expression on the part of the Czar, and the condition of his mind was far from satisfactory. The next day he sought for and obtained a personal interview with Prince Gortchakoff, who, without the least hesitation, but confidentially, gave him the entire facts involved.

He first explained the affair of the note from Napoleon and the Czar's response; and was emphatic in making it completely clear that the idea of sending the Russian fleet originated with the Czar, and that the question of sending it was never presented for the usual official consideration.

Immediately after this part of the interview, Prince Gortchakoff took from a private cabinet a package of papers, and selected from it a cable message from the Grand-Duke Alexis to the Czar, giving an account of his visit to the White House, and his reception there, which he described as having been so cold and devoid of cordiality as to make him feel uncomfortable. So sure was he that his visit, which lasted less than fifteen minutes, was a matter of indifference to the President, that, as soon as he could without appearing rude, he made his formal parting salutation and returned to his hotel. The Prince explained that the coolness displayed had dampened the ardor of the youthful Grand Duke, and had not increased his respect for our democratic manners.

The reception of such a report caused great surprise to the Czar, as he had expected a far different greeting for his favorite son who had been sent to America for the sole and express purpose of bearing a friendly message to the head of a nation which he and his ancestors had held in the highest esteem. But when he came to a full realization of the offence against good breeding, his surprise gave way to indignation; and he said in substance: "I cannot understand why, after obeying my instructions to pay his respects to the President of the United States as soon as possible after his arrival, and after our service to the United States in the hour of its greatest need, my son should have met with such a singular reception. Such discourtesy was a poor return for our friendly offices." The Minister said he never before had seen the Czar in a more pronounced state of indignation.

It is difficult to account for the conduct of our President upon this occasion, and still more difficult to invent an excuse for it. In Washington, at the time of this incident, it was well known, in both official and social circles, that the relations between the then head of the State Department and the Russian Minister were so strained, that the intercourse between them was confined to brief official interviews; and, in relation to this condition of affairs, there was an openly circulated rumor to the effect that our government had asked for the recall of the Russian Minister, and that

the Russian Government had requested that he should be permitted to remain at his post until the close of the Grand Duke's visit. This, to an extent, may possibly explain the incident; but in no sense can it be regarded as an excuse for such exceptional conduct on the part of our Chief Executive to the special envoy of the head of a friendly nation. After this unpleasant affair there were other annoyances of lesser magnitude of no particular importance, but sufficient to mar the smoothness of international relations; and our Minister to Russia, who had been made an involuntary party to conditions he could not approve, reluctantly retired from a position where his personal relations had yielded most pleasurable results.

There may have been sealed orders sent to Admiral Lisovsky who sailed with his flag-ship from Cadiz to meet the other vessels which were assembling in our waters. But that they were of any special importance is extremely doubtful; and the belief which appears to have, to an extent, obtained that in the event of necessity there was to be an intervention of force against the acts of other nations can have no foundation in fact. Such an open belligerent alliance with us could not have taken place without an existing *casus belli* against the offending nation with which Russia might have been at peace.

Apropos of the friendly relations that have always existed between two nations which are so completely opposed in form of government, it may not be out of place to recall a conversation which may explain, to an extent, this political paradox.

Back in the fifties of the last century Stephen A. Douglas, then a Senator of the United States, while in St. Petersburg was presented to the Czar and invited by him to attend a review of troops, and while riding together to the field, the conversation was about forms of government. The Senator, no doubt, drew a roseate picture of our perfect political conditions. But, whether he did or not, just before they reached the field to become absorbed in other affairs, the Czar ended the conversation by saying:

"There can be but two forms of government, one an autocracy where one man rules, and the other a democracy where all men rule."

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

RELIGION AND RELIGIONS.

BY THE REV. R. HEBER NEWTON, D.D.

THE tree, starting from a seed, has unity in its source. Growing through trunk and stem and branches and twigs and leaves and fruit, it develops varied forms and functions, as expressions of its life; the life which yet ever remains one in the common sap flowing through every part of the common organism. The whole complex life of the tree strains through this rich variety towards the flower and the fruit, into which every member of the organism distils its essential life; and lo! there is again a oneness.

Religion viewed from the human standpoint, as an expression of man's spiritual life, is his effort for the adjustment of his life with the Cosmic Power; his thought of that Power, his feeling towards It, and his conduct under It. Religion, viewed as the life of the Cosmic Power manifesting itself in the life of man, is God's self-communication to the soul of man; His guidance of man's thought into a knowledge of Himself (theology), His messages to the mind of man (revelation), His stirring of man's feelings into aspiration for the divine life (inspiration), His direction of man's conduct into character (ethics). In either aspect, religion is one in its source, its inner nature, its end and aim; one in the oneness of our human nature, the oneness of the divine nature, the oneness together of these natures of God and man. But, as an expression of the life of man who is himself in a process of growth, and as an expression of the life of God who is amid the processes of self-unfolding, religion must, between the seed and the flower, differentiate itself into the rich variety of forms and functionings which we behold in the manifold religions of earth; differing in its phases with the different stages of man's growth, the different environments of the many lands of earth, the different civilizations of history. Each of these religions, however,

proves itself to a scientific study an expression of some necessary phase of religion; each subserves a use in the evolution of the fruitioning religion of humanity; each will find its permanent value preserved and its transient uses discarded in the attained unity of the flowering soul of man.

There can be no dispute concerning the oneness of the source of religion, viewed either in its human or its divine aspect. My aim is to suggest hints of the essential unity of religion even now underlying all religions, and the ultimate oneness toward which all religions are forth-reaching.

I.

The religions of Christendom resolve themselves into varieties of the one Christian Religion. Between the most uncommon of the sects of the Western world there is found that which Dean Stanley was wont to call our "common Christianity"—the essential Christian elements. This is to be seen alike in the Institutions, the Worships, the Beliefs and the Life of Christendom. But this phase of our subject must be passed, under the necessities of the space limit.

II.

What is true between the different churches of Christianity is true also between Christianity and other religions. Is man one in nature the world over; the human race, despite of all its vast variations, one *genus homo;* the blood coursing in the veins of Asiatics, Europeans, Africans and Americans the same sacred ichor—as by all our scientific research is proving to be the fact? Then is real religion one, wherever, in the differing religions of earth, the soul of man, seeking to adjust itself to its cosmic relationships—to know its cosmic source, to obey its cosmic law, to reach its cosmic goal—looks up to God in hope and trust, looks out to man in love. The religions of men are many: the religion of man is one. Vary as religions may and must under varying environments and heredities, through the varying temperaments of different races and the varying stages of the growth of man; emphasizing, as each must needs do, the peculiar phase of the divine life imaged in these differing human mirrors; marked, as each necessarily is, by the errors which are the shadows of these partial truths, yet are all but variations of the one true religion, the life of God in the soul of man.

So we find that the Institutions and Worships, the Beliefs and the Life which are common to the different Christian churches, are common, also, to the different religions of humanity.

III.

Religion develops the same great *Institutions* in different lands and ages, which the varying religions of man vary indefinitely.

The Church, spelled with a capital C, was an institution of Chaldea, India and Egypt, millenniums ago, as it is of Italy and England and America, to-day. The Buddhist felt towards his "order" much as the Romanist feels towards his church. A sacred ministry, a class of men set apart for the divine offices of religion, would have been found of old in Babylon and Thebes, as it is found now in Rome and London. The Pagan Temple was the Christian Basilica and Cathedral, baptized with another name. The altar stood in the sacred spot of the heathen temple, as it stands in the holy place of the Christian minster. Monasticism developed in the East long before it arose in the West. Monks and nuns and hermits would have been found along the Nile valley ages before Christendom poured its host of sad-souled ascetics up the sacred river, peopling the hills for thousands of miles. Good Father Huc was utterly astonished to find in the Far East tonsured priests bowing before splendid altars, while acolytes swung the fragrant censers by their side. His *naïf* explanation was, that the devil had counterfeited in advance the mysteries of true religion, in order that the elect might be deceived into perdition. A less heroic solution of the problem finds in these resemblances hints of the oneness of religion, generating the same sacred institutions among different religions.

The natural symbolism of washing had suggested itself to pious souls of many lands, and other religions than Christianity had their own sacred lustrations. The distinctive form of sacred washing which Christianity inherits from the Jewish John had grown into use in widely differing religions, as a rite of initiation into the divine life, the symbol of renunciation of the past, the sign of self-purification, the sacrament of the divine forgiveness of sins. India had its well, recognizing baptism. The penitent, seeking the remission of sin, the cleansing of his soul from evil and the consecration of his life to holier aims, was led down by the Guru into the waters of the sacred river, immersed in its flowing tides,

and was then led up the banks, clothed in white linen, and signed with the sign of the cross. Dean Alford's noble baptismal hymn might have been sung over the confessors of the faith by the Ganges, as by the Thames. Mithraicism had a similar ceremony, as had also the mysteries of Greece and other lands. The Christian Church holds its prized baptism as a trustee for humanity, whose sacred possession it is, the sacrament for the opening of the one spiritual life of the children of the one God in all lands and under all religions.

The Lord's Supper, by general tradition instituted by Jesus himself, was an outgrowth of the Jewish Passover Supper. As it is observed in the two greatest churches of Christendom, it is far from the original institution, the simple memorial meal of Jesus; far, also, from the early Christian rite, the Love-Feast of primitive Christianity. And the difference between the Mass of the Church of Rome and the Eucharist of the Greek Church, on the one hand, and the Love-Feast of primitive Christianity and the memorial meal of Jesus, on the other hand, admeasures the inflowings from the surrounding Pagan environment of early Christianity.

The prototypes of the Christian communion are to be traced in the sacred meals of the secret societies of Paganism, the *collegia* of the Roman Empire and the labor-unions of Greece. The working-man's Brotherhoods of antiquity celebrated a common meal as the central rite of the fraternity, the symbolic expression of the communal life which they sought to educate—a cooperative commonwealth growing round a holy communion.

The ancestry of the Mass is to be found in the Mysteries of Mithraicism and Greece, as well as in the Passover of Judaism; it is the child of Isis, as of Jehovah. The sacred mysteries of different lands, those esoteric ethical and spiritual cults so widely scattered among the religions of antiquity, observed a sacred meal as a symbol of man's communion with God. The outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace whereby man doth partake of the very life of God, and doth nourish his being into holiness by eating of the bread which "cometh down from heaven," by drinking the wine which "maketh glad the heart of man," whose natural symbols are in the wheat and the grape, the choicest fruitings of the indwelling life of nature. Bread and wine were distributed to the

worshippers and eaten and drunk in reverence, with prayer and praise. Curiously, again, the Mass even preserves the ancient Pagan form of the sacred bread—the unleavened wafer still to be seen on the patten upon the altar.

All this was natural and inevitable in the sacramental system of nature, through which a law of correspondence runs, causing every form of life to be a type, a shadow of a higher form of life, making the fundamental function of feeding, whereby life is conserved and increased, a symbol of the functioning of the soul for the maintenance and development of spiritual life, the growth in grace of the spirit of man by assimilating the thoughts of the divine mind, and converting them into character. The Christian Mass is the highest dramatization of the mysteries of the soul—a dramatization rehearsed centuries ago upon the banks of the Euphrates, the Cephissus and the Orontes. (This is the glory, not the shame, of Christianity, proving it the flowering forth of the various religions of antiquity, whose best life strained into it, reappears in it.)

IV.

In *worship* all religions prove themselves akin. The sacred symbolisms through which art ministers to worship meet us in the temples of Paganism as in the churches of Christendom. The circle, the triangle and the trefoil were graven by Pagan chisels on the walls of the sacred buildings reared by religions which thought of themselves only as aliens and foes one to the other. For the unity of God, signed by the circle, and the tri-unity, the oneness in variety, of God, signed by the triangle and the trefoil, were truths known to no one religion alone, shared by all great religions in the same stage of evolution. The cross, which forms the most sacred symbol of our Christian churches, painted above the altar, shining in brass from the altar itself, flashing from the top of the lofty steeple—this same cross would have been found in the temples of well-nigh every religion of the past, as its most sacred symbol. Even the sacred buildings themselves were often constructed on the cruciform plan. The sleeping-places of the dead were hallowed by the same sign which consecrates our "acres of God"; and stone and brass crosses cast their shadows over the graves of Pagans, as of Christians. The cross was to those heathen, as to us Christians, the sacred sign of life; of the life of man in the human body; of the life of man escaping

from the body and rising through death into immortality; of human life accepting the law of sacrifice under which the superior souls of earth devote themselves to the saving of their fellows; of the life of God Himself, in which all these mysteries of our human life find their source and spring, their ground and aim. It was the symbol of the cosmic mystery which the seer beheld, when he saw "in the midst of the throne as it were a lamb slain from the foundation of the world"; the cosmic mystery which the Pagan seers beheld when they fashioned that strangest symbol of antiquity, found in many a land, within many a religion—a crucified Saviour hanging in the skies; the truth now forever sacred to man, since the supreme Son of Man died upon the cross of Cavalry, embodying once for all the cosmic mystery in the human life divine.

If we turn to the inmost heart of worship, it is to find that, as in religious symbolism, so in the essential life of the soul, under the many religions of men there is one religion of man. Every religion, as it has grown, has grown out of rite into reverence, out of ceremony into character, out of the prescribed performances of priestly piety into the prayer and praise which are the very soul of true worship. Each may have begun in the rituals of superstitious fear, which are recorded alike in the Levitical legislation, the institutions of Manu, and the ceremonial codes of Chaldea; but all have evolved into the pure passion of the soul, forever sacred to man, in the litanies of Accadia, the psalms of the Old Testament, the metrical prayers of the Vedas, the lofty aspirations of the Upanishads, the devout worship of the hymn of Cleanthes and the calm meditations of Marcus Aurelius. Prayer and praise form the efflorescence of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and the many religions of Egypt, as of Christianity. When the Mohammedan worships, he kneels upon his mat and prays, as does the Christian. Different as the outer forms of human prayers may be, their inner substance is one, the desire for the knowledge of God, the hunger for the life of God, the longing for the forgiveness of sins and peace with God, the realization of the oneness of man with his source and spring. To-day, when we would enkindle our souls in public worship, we Christians open the ancient Jewish psalter, and are fain to pray and praise in the words written centuries ago under the shadows of the temple of Zion, or by the waters of Babylon. And when we

Christians would retire into the sacred place of our being, and, shutting the door of the senses, would be alone with God, how often do we find the priest for this silent worship in some ancient heathen, whose soul-communings are immortalized in the poem or the prayer which make our anthologies of religion so precious to us—the companion of our closet proving not merely the Christian Augustine and à Kempis, but the Pagan Epictetus and Plato.

V.

On the surface of the subject, the *beliefs* of men seem bewilderingly manifold, hopelessly discordant. How many the faiths for which religions have fought! How contradictory religious beliefs one of another! What possible ground of unity can be found for religions as dissimilar as Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and the various cults of Egypt, of Greece and of Rome? Is not the *raison d'être* of each great religion, in a science of comparative religion, to be found in the affirmation of some truth or truths not held by other systems? Must not each great religion, therefore, be dissonant with all other great religions; the more positive its affirmation, the more strident its discord in the Babel voices of the soul? Does, then, the flute or the violin or the clarionet merely make a discord in the cacophany of the orchestra? Does not the master of music blend these variant cries of the instruments into a symphony? "The symphony of religions," Cudworth's great word long prior to our own Higginson, is a phrase as scientifically true as it is poetically fine. As the golden tides of the music of the soul beat around the throne of God, all the discords of religions harmonize in the concord of religion, each truth for which men have struggled finding its complement in some other truth against which they have struggled, God thus fulfilling Himself in many ways.

But there is a unity deeper than the oneness of harmony in the variant voices of the soul. All great religions pass through one general course of evolution. In the same stages of development, all alike will bring forth, as the same institutions and worships, so also the same beliefs. Arrange these different religions synchronously, in respect to their evolution, and the same ideas will be found in all, more or less modified. As they grow, they grow together; over all differences of environment and heredity, the forces of the common life of man asserting the oneness which

exists under black skins and yellow, red skins and white. In their higher reaches they strain towards each other. The flowering of all beliefs is in one faith—all religions seeding down one religion. So, beneath the variant and discordant beliefs of the present the germs of the future universal religion can even now be traced. The Cambridge School of Platonists divined this long ago; but how could their fine voices make themselves heard against the raucous cries of the age of Cromwell and Laud? A generation or more before our day, a few widely read, but not scholarly trained, thinkers caught sight of this same vision, and laboriously spread the unwelcome tokens of it before an unsympathetic age; earning for themselves the ill odor which still clings to the names of Godfrey and Higgins and their ilk. In our own day, a talented and conservative Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a devoted High-Churchman and an open-minded student, through his researches in sacred symbolism gained glimpses of this truth, which so fascinated him that he pursued the clue found unwittingly in his hands, until he laid before his Church the results of his studies in the noble volume entitled "Monumental Religion." In this epoch-marking work, Dr. Lundy, accepting the Apostles' Creed as the norm and type of all creeds, traced, clause by clause, the parallelisms which he had discovered in other religions; showing that every article in the creed found its counterpart in the various systems of Paganism. As a consequence, this creed appeared, in a sense utterly dwarfing the timid conceptions of the traditional churchman, a Catholic Creed, a form of faith confessed by men of all lands and ages—the symbol of Universal Religion. Dr. Lundy might have meant only to exalt the creed of Christendom; he succeeded in revealing the creed of Humanity.

VI.

The supreme religious functioning resumes the experience of every lower activity, and in the *life* which is the end and aim of institutions and worships and beliefs, we see again that, though there are many religions, there is one religion.

As each great religion evolves, it evolves towards character and conduct, confessing that its heart's blood is ethical, that it *is* in order to grow a soul. In its lower and rudimentary forms it may anywhere be unmoral, or even immoral; expressing thus the immature development of human nature in the land and age,

manifesting the degeneracy back into which life ever tends to slip, as the propulsive forces of evolution for a period fail; but, in its highest reaches, it is everywhere a movement towards the awed recognition of God as the Power Making for Righteousness, and towards the attainment of righteousness as the true communion of man with God. Every religion, in growing, becomes ethical and spiritual. All religions are at one in the ideals before them, in the goal towards which they strive. The ethical and spiritual life, which is the common fruitioning of all religions, is not one thing in one religion and another thing in another religion. There is no real discord between the ethics of Buddhism and Confucianism and the religions of Greece and Rome, no essential difference between the spirituality of the Hindu and Persian and the Egyptian, save as each naturally shows the different coloring of race and environment upon the face of the same soul. The ethical and spiritual life of all these varieties of Paganism is one and the same ethical and spiritual life which tides the soul of the Christian.

The ideals of character vary in varying lands, but only as the refractions of the same light falling in different angles of the same prism will vary. It is one and the same light of life through all the variations of the spectrum. The human ideals are one everywhere. Purity and Justice and Truth and Temperance and Charity—these need no translation from the speech of the Pagan to the tongue of the Christian. There is no Hindu purity, no Buddhist renunciation, no Chinese temperance, no Grecian justice, no Persian truthfulness. The flora and fauna of the human soul are one wherever humanity is found. Every ethical force correlates into every other ethical force. Goodness knows no native soil. Virtue is at home in every land. The Ten Commandments form the law of Egypt and of Persia as of Christendom. The Golden Rule proves the rule of Hindu and Chinaman, as of the Christian. It waited not for Jesus to reveal it. The spirit of the Christ had already revealed it through Jewish Hillel and Chinese Confucius, and great spirits of well-nigh every land. The Beatitudes exigently call upon the Buddhist as upon the Christian, "*Sursum corda.*" Saints are of blood kin the world over.

There is nothing alien to the truly devout Christian in the devoutness of the Hindu Guru, or of the yellow-robed saint of

Japan or of the mystic worshipper among the Iranian mountains. When the soul of man fronts the Infinite and Eternal Spirit, beneath the bo tree of India or amid the rugged fastnesses of Thibet or in the cloisters of the Christian abbey, it is one and the same God who is seen. Wherever we overhear the communings of a soul with God, we hear in our own tongue. In the presence of the man of the spirit, be his name what it may, we know that he is of our family and household of God. Is it anything to us that Plotinus just missed being a Christian, as we hearken to this his meditation?

"So let the soul that is not unworthy of that Vision contemplate the Great Soul; freed from deceit and witchery and collected into calm. Calmed be the body for her in that hour, and the tumult of the flesh; ay, all that is about her calm; calm be the earth, the sea, the air, and let Heaven itself be still. Then let her feel how into that silent Heaven the Great Soul floweth in. . . . And so may man's soul be sure of Vision, when suddenly she is filled with light; for this light is from Him, and is He; and then surely shall we know His presence, when, like a god of old time, He enters into the house of one that calleth Him and maketh it full of light. And how may this thing be for us? Let all else go."

VII.

One religion—many religions. One source and spring of real religion everywhere, in all ages, though many courses through which it flows; taking on different flavors and colors from different soils, and becoming many different religions; now poisoning itself in the miasmatic marshes of superstitious ignorance, now becoming foul and fetid from the discharge into it of the *cloaca* through which man's brutal lusts and evil passions and cruel hatreds empty themselves; again purifying itself under the free winds of heaven and beneath the rays of that Sun of Righteousness ever rising over earth "with healing in its wings."

One inner essence, therefore, within all the bewilderingly variant forms which religion assumes, in different lands and in different times; as man faces one and the same universe, finds one and the same problems to solve, hears within him one and the same mystic voice of the soul, sees behind him one and the same origin, visions before him one and the same destiny, discerns over him one and the same law of life, recognizes in himself one and the same order of evolution for the spiritual life of man everywhere, through which it mounts by one and the same series

of stages, under all variations of race, so that the same institutions, worships, beliefs and life appear in different religions at the same period of development.

One glorious burgeoning and blossoming of religion in all climes, one ideal of human life divine, rising above the souls of all the loftily striving sons of men of every blood, one secret of cosmic consciousness opening within the spirits of the wise and the good in all countries, one life of fellowship with man and communion with God as the end and aim of religion throughout the ages; in whose blessedness all earnest and devout souls, when illumined, do recognize each other as the children together of the All Father.

This is the epiphany, or manifestation of God in man, which is now rising over our earth; that earth on which, through the centuries, men have differed from each other, not so much in their politics or economics as in their religions; have fought each other, not so bitterly for the possession of lands and the control of trade, as for the maintenance of a monopoly of religion; being held apart in mutual animosities, persecutions and wars by the very thing which should have been their bond of peace. Thank God for the vision of our day, in which, while we still stand apart in our different religions, as befits our different heredities and environments, our varying traditions and temperaments, we know that, under these religions many, there lives one religion—the life of God in the soul of man.

In the recognition of this revelation of our age—the revelation coming to us at the hands of the suspected angels whom we call Science, Comparative Religion, the Higher Criticism and a host of other spirits of bad repute in the heaven of the churches—in the recognition of this revelation, we become conscious of the shame and sin of the divisions which break up Christendom into sects and denominations, not as the natural groupings of spiritual affinities, freely interchanging and cooperating to mutual advantage, but as the unnaturally attempted monopolizations of the truth and the life which are the common heritage of the children of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the light of this truth, we see the folly and the wickedness of the standing apart from one another which emphasizes the minor matters on which we differ, rather than the essential matters on which we are at one; which makes the note of a standing or a falling church pos-

session of the accidents rather than of the substance of real religion, the body, not the soul, of the child of God; which places on the green of our New England villages a row of competing churches, each one half-starved, with a poorly paid parson and a poorly equipped plant, and which turns the energies of the struggling churches of our great cities into all sorts of wretched devices for making both ends meet, and for filling the empty places in the needlessly duplicated buildings, mechanicalizing, materializing and mammonizing the religion ostensibly served; which leaves the business world to learn the secret of success in concentration and cooperation, reserving for the supreme institution of humanity—the Church—to blunder along in the obsolete methods of an outworn civilization, a survival of competition in the age of the trust. The first moral of the truth that religions are many while religion is one should set our Christian churches to pray that prayer of their dying master—"that they all may be one"; to pray it as men who can themselves bring down the answer from God, whenever they will to know their oneness in Him and to live it forth.

In the recognition of the truth that there are many religions but one religion, we open our eyes to the folly and the crime of the present attitude of Christendom to the other great religions of earth; the folly and the crime which effectually neutralize the heroic efforts of our foreign missionary work. The East India treaty of 1813 contained the following paragraph, known as "The Missionaries' Charter." It reads thus:

> "Whereas it is the duty of this country (England) to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religion and moral improvement."

The "*introduction of religion*"! There had been, then, no religion in the land which had produced little else but religion! There were, then, no plants of the Heavenly Father's planting in the soil of India, no life of God in the soul of the Hindu, no feeling after God by his children in Bengal and the Punjab, no graces of the spirit grown in the lives of the children of Madras and Bombay, no virtues blossoming forth in the saints meditating by the shores of the Indus and the Jumna!

We still go to India to introduce religion, and then wonder that we get no warmer welcome and achieve no greater results. Could we but go thither to recognize the reality of the religion growing there in such rank fertility; to say after Paul—"Ye men of Benares, we perceive that in all things ye are very religious"; to confess the truths held and the life lived there as of God; humbly to learn from the seers of India what they have to teach us, and then, finding them thus ready to receive from us what we have to teach them, to bring to them the story of the Divine Man whose truth and life we hold in trust for the world, bidding them find in Him what they need of truth, what they lack of life—how different our foreign missionary work would be! The first step to a successful foreign missionary work is honestly to face the truth of the topic now before us, religion and religions—one religion under many religions.

In Stanford University last winter, the president showed me a letter lately received from a young minister who had been engaged for two or three years in foreign missionary work in the East. It was a frank and manly letter, breathing throughout the surprise and consternation of an honest soul who had gone upon his work believing that Christianity held a monopoly of true religion, and that he was to displace the false religions of the East by introducing religion; an honest soul who, in the face of the real religiousness of India, of the truths held there and the life lived there, had awakened with a start to realize that "in every land he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him"; that "that was the true light which lighteth every man coming into the world"; and that we who have seen the "great sheet let down from heaven are thenceforth to call nothing common or unclean."

He was coming back, so he wrote, to take up the study of Sanskrit, that he might master the sources of Hinduism at first hand, and thus prepare himself, humbly and wisely, to go back with a living message to the living children of the living God.

R. Heber Newton.

IS THE NEW IMMIGRATION DANGEROUS TO THE COUNTRY?

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

Is our country in serious danger from the flood of immigration which is pouring into it at the present time?

This is a question which should be seriously considered.

Immigrants are now coming into the country at a more rapid rate than at any other time in its history. During the first quarter of the last century, the immigration averaged about 12,000 a year. During the second quarter of the century, it averaged annually about 100,000. In the years of the third quarter of the century, it averaged about 260,000, and in those of the last quarter of the century it averaged about 400,000.

During the three years of the new century, which have made a record, the yearly average was 665,000. Here are the figures, stated in round terms:

Period.	Number of Immigrants.	Annual Average.
1800 to 1825	300,000	8,000
1825 to 1850	2,500,000	100,000
1850 to 1875	6,500,000	260,000
1875 to 1900	10,000,000	400,000
1900 to 1903	2,000,000	665,000

The above figures are, of course, approximate, for it would not be expected that they would fall in exact millions or half-millions in each quarter of the century; but they are sufficiently accurate to serve for this general study. For the benefit, however, of those who desire a more accurate statement, the following table gives the exact figures, by decades, from 1820, the earliest year in which any record of the immigration was kept, also an estimate for the period from 1789 to 1820.

Immigration into the United States by Decennial Periods, 1821 to 1900, and from 1901 to 1903.

Period.		Number.	Annual Average.
1789 to 1820	(estimated)	250,000	12,000
1821 to 1830	(decade)	143,439	14,343
1831 to 1840	"	599,125	59,912
1841 to 1850	"	1,713,251	171,325
1851 to 1860	"	2,598,214	259,821
1861 to 1870	"	2,314,824	231,482
1871 to 1880	"	2,812,191	281,219
1881 to 1890	"	5,246,613	524,661
1891 to 1900	"	3,844,420	384,442
1901 to 1903	(three years)	1,993,707	664,569

This gives a grand total of 21,515,784. To this there must be added the number who have come from Canada since 1885, for there has been no attempt to make a record of the immigration from Canada since that date, owing to the difficulty of making a satisfactory record of the real immigrants among the large number of people crossing and recrossing between the United States and Canada. The fact, however, that the last Census showed 1,183,000 persons of Canadian birth in the United States in 1900, justifies the conclusion that the number coming into this country from Canada is large, and has probably amounted to half a million since 1885. This would, therefore, justify the general statement that the total number of immigrants who have come into the United States since the beginning of the last century is, in round terms, 22,000,000.

The Census reports show that the number of persons of foreign birth residing in the United States in 1900 was 10,341,276. Thus, it appears that practically one-half of the 22,000,000 immigrants who have come into the United States since the beginning of the last century are still residents, and in most cases citizens of the country. They formed, in 1900, 13.6 per cent. of the population. They formed in many States more than 33 per cent. of the total population. The Census shows a total increase of population from all sources, from 1890 to 1900, of 13,681,137; while the total number of persons coming into the country as immigrants during that period was 3,844,420, exclusive of those from Canada, or probably 4,000,000 in round numbers.

In a study of this question, it is perhaps not improper to consider also the native-born persons of foreign parentage. If any share of the persons of foreign birth coming into the United States bring with them sentiments and customs of a dangerous

or otherwise objectionable character, they are likely to be transmitted, in a greater or less degree, to their children, who naturally and necessarily absorb, in early life, at least, the sentiments and customs of their parents, and are likely to be influenced by them in their habits of life after reaching maturity. When we consider, from this standpoint, the question of the effect of the large foreign-born population upon our institutions and customs, the problem becomes even more serious. The last Census shows that, in 1900, there were in the United States 15,687,322 persons born in this country of foreign-born parents. Adding to this the 10,341,276 persons of foreign birth, it gives a total of over 26,000,000 persons of foreign parentage in the United States, not including any of its island possessions or Alaska. This means that more than one-third of the entire population of the United States—or, to be more exact, 34 per cent.—is of foreign parentage. To put it in a single sentence, 13 1-3 per cent. of the entire population is of foreign birth and 34 per cent. of foreign parentage. In no less than fifteen States, persons of foreign parentage (including those born abroad and those born in the United States of foreign parents) formed more than one-half of the population, and in seven States more than 60 per cent. of the total. In practically all the great cities of the country, except those of the South, the persons of foreign parentage form more than one-half of the total, and in each of the great cities of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Detroit, Cleveland, and Milwaukee they form more than 75 per cent. of the total population, and thus may easily and absolutely control in law-making and administration if they choose to act in concert.

In attempting to consider the effect of this great mass of foreign people and sentiment upon our population and institutions, it is proper to consider the nationalities of those coming to the United States and of those now forming this large part of its population. During the time in which the people of northern Europe formed the bulk of the immigration, there was a general feeling that immigration was advantageous. They were readily assimilated into our population, they quickly adopted our customs and sentiments, they came intending to make this country their permanent home, and their energies were devoted to the establishment of homes and the retention in the United States of whatever they were able to accumulate in the shape of finances.

With the later years, the source of the stream has somewhat changed, and with this change has come a change in the character of the stream itself. The question which we naturally desire seriously to consider is, whether the change is such as to impair the value of the immigration to the country.

Of the 22,000,000 people who have come into the United States for the purpose of making this country their home, speaking in round terms, 5,000,000 have come from Germany, 4,000,000 from Ireland, 2,750,000 from England, 2,000,000 from Canada, and about 1,500,000 each from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Norway and Sweden. These eight nationalities contribute 20,000,000 of the 22,000,000 who have come into the country since 1800. Of this total of 22,000,000 people, 16,000,000 have come from Germany, Ireland, Scotland, England, Norway and Sweden, France, and Canada; and 4,500,000 have come from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. This does not on its face look as though the proportion of the immigrants from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia was alarmingly large. But it is when we examine the record of recent years that we find the evidence of great increase in arrivals from the last-named countries. The total number of arrivals from these countries from 1820 to the close of 1895 was 2,270,000, and the total number from the close of 1895 to the close of the fiscal year, 1903, was 2,312,000. On the other hand, the total number of arrivals from Germany, Ireland, England, Norway and Sweden, and Canada prior to the end of 1895 was a little over 14,000,000, and since that date a little over 1,000,000. Thus the number of arrivals from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary since 1895 is equal to all the arrivals from those countries prior to that date; while in the case of Germany, England, Ireland, Norway and Sweden, and Canada, the number since 1895 is but about one-fourteenth of the number from those countries prior to that date. Prior to the close of 1895, the total number of arrivals from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary formed but 12½ per cent. of the grand total of arrivals; since that date the arrivals from those three countries have formed over 60 per cent. of the total. The following tables show the number of arrivals from each of the eight principal countries from which our immigration is drawn, prior to the close of the fiscal year 1895, and from that date to the close of the fiscal year 1903, and the average per year for each

decade from 1820 to 1903, and gives an opportunity to note the relative changes in recent years.

Immigrants from Principal Countries, 1820–1895 and 1895–1903.

Countries.	Total from 1820 to June 30, 1895.	Total from June 30, 1895, to June 30, 1903.	Total from 1820 to 1903.
Germany	4,940,538	197,553	5,138,091
Ireland	3,718,356	256,213	3,974,569
England	2,647,230	118,946	2,766,176
Canada	1,800,000	200,000	2,000,000
Norway and Sweden...	1,136,875	268,545	1,405,420
Italy	680,598	908,651	1,589,249
Austria-Hungary	716,265	806,659	1,522,924
Russia and Poland....	873,887	597,137	1,471,024

Annual Immigration by Decades, 1820–1900 and 1901–1903.

Years.	Germany.	Ireland.	England.	Norway and Sweden.	Russia and Poland.	Austria-Hungary.	Italy.
1821-30	676	5,072	2,216	9	9	—	40
1831-40	15,245	20,738	7,314	120	64	—	225
1841-50	43,462	78,071	26,333	1,390	65	—	187
1851-60	95,166	91,412	38,564	2,093	162	—	923
1861-70	78,746	43,577	56,812	10,929	453	780	1,172
1871-80	71,818	43,687	46,047	21,124	5,225	7,296	5,576
1881-90	145,297	65,482	65,748	56,836	26,508	35,372	30,730
1891-1900 ..	54,392	40,349	28,231	32,593	58,686	59,704	65,566
1901-03	30,013	31,666	14,003	51,482	109,566	163,767	181,664

But is all this as serious as we are accustomed to consider it? Is the foreign population growing more rapidly than our power to assimilate it? Is the element of the immigration which is so rapidly increasing really so dangerous a factor in our civilization as we are accustomed to think? Is it filling our jails and almshouses as rapidly as we hear that glibly talked of? Does its objectionable character offset its advantages as a ready and willing labor-supply in this rapidly developing country, where labor is so necessary a factor of our development and prosperity? These are questions which we should carefully consider, before condemning this latest feature of our immigration and demanding that the gates be closed. Perhaps they ought to be more carefully guarded, to prevent the admission of the more objectionable elements of these masses of recent arrivals; but the whole question of the relation of these people to our industries, and to the development of crime and dependency, ought to be studied carefully before a wholesale condemnation of any class or nationality is made.

It is difficult to measure the relation of the recent arrivals to

crime and dependency, because the figures of the Census of 1900 on this subject are not yet published. But those of 1890 are available; and, while the number of persons of these classes in the United States at that time was not so great as at present, they were apparently sufficient to determine pretty well what their habits are with reference to crime and dependency. In 1890, there were in the United States 182,614 Russians, 182,342 Italians, 147,416 Poles, 123,185 Austrians, and 62,409 Hungarians, besides large numbers of other classes from northern Europe, whom we now look upon as welcome immigrants, and as much less liable to become a burden or an unsatisfactory element of our population. With more than half a million of this so-called "objectionable class" in the country in 1890, and a thorough analysis of their relation to crime and dependency supplied by the Census of that year, we may form some idea as to whether we are justified in the alarm which is being felt in regard to the large increase in its numbers during recent years.

As has been already stated, the eight groups of people who form the bulk of our immigration are from Germany, Ireland, England, Canada, Norway and Sweden, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The immigrants from the first five named are generally looked upon as valuable accessions to our population. Let us, then, compare the relation to crime and dependency of what has been termed the "objectionable class"—the Italians, Russians, and Austro-Hungarians—with that of these other more welcome classes from northern Europe. The Census of 1890 presents a table showing the number of persons in each million who were in that year prisoners, juvenile offenders, paupers and inmates of benevolent institutions. A study of this table develops the fact that each million of the various nationalities contributed to these four classes as follows: Poles, 4,580; Austrians, 4,805; Russians, 5,202; Germans, 5,662; Hungarians, 6,792; English, 7,160; Scotch, 7,288; Italians, 9,877; French, 10,864; Irish, 16,624.

It is not claimed that this answers the assertion that the foreign-born population supplies a larger percentage of the dependent and criminal class than does the native population. On the contrary, the record of the Census of 1890 shows that 7,718 out of each million of foreign-born whites were inmates of these four classes of institutions, and only 3,708 in each million of na-

tive whites. The same Census also shows that 3,843 out of each million of foreign birth were insane, and only 1,329 out of each million of native-born persons. But it does seem to throw some doubt upon the oft-repeated assertion that the immigrants from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary are more likely to become dependent or criminal than other immigrants.

It is not assumed that there is serious objection, on the part of any considerable part of the population of the United States, to the class of immigrants who formed the bulk of the arrivals in earlier years. The sturdy, peace-loving people from the north of Europe have formed, and are continuing to form, a valuable addition to our population, in the agricultural sections, in the mining regions, in manufacturing, in the construction of great public works where willing labor is required in great numbers, and in the cities where workmen are needed. It is not necessary to come to the defence of this class of immigration, which has proved so valuable in developing our great country, which could not have been developed with any such rapidity and success without the aid of the immigrants who have come to our assistance. It is to determine whether the class from southern Europe and Russia, which is now coming in such large numbers as to change the character of the entire stream, is of a sufficiently different character to make it advisable to establish barriers which may at least check its flow in our direction. Certainly, the figures just quoted, as to the number per million of the various groups which become part of the criminal or dependent class, do not indicate that the people of southern Europe or Russia have so far proved more objectionable in this particular than others from abroad. On the contrary, a smaller number per million of these particular classes falls into the dependent and criminal group than of those who are so cordially welcomed.

Now let us consider the question of education. It is true that those coming to the United States, especially those from southern Europe and Russia, are in too many cases deficient in education. But this has been, to a great extent, the case with our immigration for many years, and we have not felt any serious effect from it, because of the fact that most of the immigrants quickly obtained a sufficient education to enable them to conform to the customs of the country, and because of the further fact that their own deficiencies in this particular seem to have stimulated them to

greater efforts on behalf of their children than would have been the case under other circumstances. Certainly it is a fact, for some reason, that the children of foreign-born citizens of the United States take greater advantage of the public schools, apparently, than do those of native-born persons. This seems a surprising statement, a surprising fact, but it seems to be a fact, nevertheless. The Census of 1900 presents a statement of the number and nativity of children between the ages of 5 and 14 at school in 1900, also the total number of children between the ages of five and fourteen. A study of this statement shows that 65 per cent. of the children between these ages, born of native parents, were reported as attending school, while 71 per cent. of those of like age limits, born of foreign-born parents, were reported as attending school. These figures relate solely to white persons. It is proper to add that, of those between the ages of fifteen and twenty, a larger percentage of those born of native parents were in school than was the case with children of foreign-born parents; but as to the education obtained prior to the age of fifteen, it would seem that the citizens of foreign birth are, as a whole, more faithful in urging the attendance of their children at the public schools than the native parents.

Another and even more striking fact developed by a study of the Census of 1900 is, that the illiteracy among persons born in the United States of foreign parents is much less than among those born of native parents. This may seem difficult of belief, but if the skeptical will turn to page CVI. of the second volume of the Census for 1900, they will there find a table which shows that of the 30,404,762 white persons, ten years of age and over, born of native parents, no less than 1,737,050, or 5.7 per cent., were classed as illiterates; while of the 10,958,803 native whites, ten years of age and over, born of foreign parents, only 179,384, or 1.6 per cent., were classed as illiterates.

It would appear from this analysis that the percentage of immigrants from Russia and southern Europe who ultimately become inmates of prisons, reformatory institutions, almshouses and charitable institutions, is much smaller than of those from northern Europe; that a larger percentage of the children of the immigrants, as a whole, attend school during the years between five and fourteen than is the case among the children of native whites, and that there is a smaller percentage of illiterates among those

born in this country of foreign parents than among those born of native white parents.

The next question to consider is whether the immigrants are now coming too rapidly to be assimilated. It is generally conceded that this has not been the case in the past. Certainly the standard of our population, as to industry, morality, and intelligence, even with the large foreign element which it has had for many years, has compared favorably with that of other countries. And while the immigration is larger now than ever before, it is no larger in proportion to the population than on many former occasions. It must be remembered that the native-born population of the United States has rapidly increased in recent years; and that even though twice as many immigrants are now coming to the country as in some former periods, they find twice as many native-born Americans to assist them in adopting American customs and becoming good American citizens. The following table gives the population of the United States and the share of native and foreign born at each decennial year since 1850:

Year	Native Born.	Foreign Born.	Total.	Per cent. Foreign Born.
1850	20,947,274	2,244,602	23,191,876	9.7
1860	27,304,624	4,138,697	31,443,321	13.2
1870	32,991,142	5,567,229	38,558,371	16.8
1880	43,475,840	6,679,943	50,155,783	13.3
1890	53,761,652	9,308,104	63,069,756	14.7
1900	65,843,302	10,460,085	76,303,387	13.6

With this evidence that the immigration now coming does not, apparently, add more to the dependent or criminal class than that which has always been welcomed, and the evidence that the foreign-born population contributes as well educated a succeeding generation to the population of the country as do the native whites, we may consider the effect of immigration upon industry and production, upon wealth and general prosperity and the political government of the nation. To do this, it is necessary to determine the location in which the persons who have come as immigrants have settled. If we can find a group of States containing most of the persons of foreign birth, we may, perhaps, by comparing conditions in those States with conditions in the others which have but few of that class, draw some inferences as to the effect of the presence or absence of this class of population. A careful study of the Census figures of 1900 develops the fact that

over three-fourths of the foreign-born population of the United States are located in twelve of the fifty States and Territories of the United States. These twelve States are New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California. They contain just one-half of the total population of the United States, 78 per cent. of the total foreign-born population, and 81 per cent. of what has been called the "objectionable class," which comprises the Italians, Hungarians, Austrians, Bohemians, and Poles, except those from German Poland.

Here, then, is an opportunity to study conditions in two groups of States, in which the relative share of the foreign-born population to the total population is contrasted with sufficient sharpness to justify the assumption that the presence or absence of a foreign-born population has something to do with the relative wealth-producing power and consequent prosperity. It goes without saying that in such a country as this, with lands to put under cultivation, with mines to develop, with railroads to build, with great river-and-harbor works to be constructed, with manufacturing and transportation rapidly developing and demanding plentiful supplies of labor, men and muscle are needed, and that such a country can assimilate and make profitable use of a larger immigration and a greater proportionate element of the class in question than other countries. And since we find in this group of twelve States just one-half of the total population of the United States, the one group having 78 per cent., and the other group only 22 per cent. of the total foreign-born population, it would seem that a study of their relative prosperity and wealth-creating power would give some suggestion as to the value or otherwise of this large element which can furnish the labor-supply necessary for such development. When to this we add the further fact that 81 per cent. of the "objectionable class" is found in the one group of States and only 19 per cent. in the other, it gives opportunity at least to consider the relation of this particular class to the industries of the sections where it abounds or does not abound.

Entering upon a consideration of conditions in the twelve States named, which, it should be remembered, have just one-half of the total population of the country, it may be said that persons of foreign birth compose 21 per cent. of the total population,

while in the other thirty-eight States and Territories having the other one-half of the total population, persons of foreign birth form but 6 per cent. of the total population. In the twelve States, the "objectionable class" forms 3.7 per cent. of the total; in the other thirty-eight States and Territories it forms less than one per cent. of the total. The twelve States had in 1900 a population of 38,105,863, with a total foreign-born population of 8,073,676, of which 1,445,099 was of the "objectionable class." The other thirty-eight States and Territories had in 1900 a population of 38,043,523, a foreign-born population of 2,295,629, of which 336,655 was of the "objectionable class."

The first measurement of prosperity which suggests itself is that of wealth-producing power. If we find in those States whose population is composed of 21 per cent. of foreign born, a much greater *per capita* of wealth produced than in those having but 6 per cent. of foreign-born population, we may assume that the labor of this element contributes, in some degree at least, to that greater wealth-producing power, and this will be especially true if we find that many of the States of the larger group have an equally fruitful soil and even more hospitable climate, equally promising mineral resources, and as favorable conditions for manufacturing. The chief elements of wealth production may be classed as the products of agriculture, the products of the mines, and the value added to raw materials by manufacturing. In attempting to determine the value of wealth created in these two groups of States in the Census year 1900, the total value of agricultural products is taken, the total value of the products of the mines, and the total value of manufactures turned out, less the value of the material used in manufacturing. While this is, of course, only a rough approximation of the total wealth created, since it does not include buildings, railroads constructed, or improvements to property of any kind, it does seem to give approximately the value of the wealth created from the principal sources, and seems to be at least a fair method of comparing conditions of wealth production in the various States and groups of States.

Taking this method of measurement and applying it to the two great groups of States, it is found that the wealth created by these three principal methods in the twelve States having one-half of the total population and 78 per cent. of the foreign-born population was, in 1900, $6,832,000,000, and that in the other

group, having the other half of the total population and but 22 per cent. of the foreign-born population, it was $4,537,000,000. In the case of the twelve States having 78 per cent. of the foreign-born population and one-half of the total, the wealth production from these three sources was $179.31 *per capita;* in the other group, it was $119.98 *per capita.* Official figures of 1890 gave 60 per cent. of the total wealth of the country to the group of twelve States, and 40 per cent. to the group of thirty-eight States. The relative proportion of foreign-born population in 1890 did not differ materially from that of 1900. So it may be said that the one group of States having one-half of the total population and 78 per cent. of those of foreign birth, had in 1890 60 per cent. of the total wealth and produced in 1900 60 per cent. of the total wealth produced in that year; while the other group with an equal population, but only 22 per cent. of the foreign-born population, had but 40 per cent. of the wealth in 1890 and produced but 40 per cent. of the wealth produced in 1900.

It is true that much of this great production of wealth in the twelve States named is due to the presence of greater capital invested in manufacturing and mining, but it is also true that these industrial enterprises are rendered successful only by the co-operation of labor, much of which is obtained from the large foreign-born element of the population.

One other question worthy of consideration is that of the relation of the foreign-born voters to the political government of the communities of which they are members. It is often charged that they are a dangerous factor in politics, local and national, that they are easily influenced by corrupt men, and that their votes are in many cases a purchasable quantity. This may be true, and probably is in a greater or less degree; yet a close analysis of the voting power of the foreign-born citizens does not show that they are, as a class, as attentive to politics as might be supposed from the assertions which are frequently made on that subject. The Massachusetts Labor Bureau has recently made a careful analysis of the foreign-born citizenship of that State in this particular, and finds that 34.7 per cent. of the persons of foreign birth who are eligible for citizenship and for the exercise of the voting power, have deliberately failed to take advantage of that privilege and have not become naturalized citizens. This does not look as though the foreign-born citizen was especially "ad-

dicted to politics." A further study of this analysis shows that this is especially true of what is termed the "objectionable class," viz., the Italians, Russians, and Poles. The analysis shows that 56 per cent. of the Russians, 58 per cent. of the Poles and 62 per cent. of the Italians in Massachusetts who are eligible for citizenship have failed to become citizens, while of the Irish, only 21 per cent. and of the Germans only 25 per cent. failed to take advantage of their privilege to become voters. Another interesting fact in this analysis is worthy of mention. It is now generally conceded, even by many of those who supported Mr. Bryan in 1896, that the silver proposition which formed the basis of the contest of that year, was a mistake, was not justified by conditions. It is well remembered that the hope of those opposed to the silver proposition in that contest lay in the foreign-born voters, and that their confidence in this respect was not misplaced. The twelve States which have been here named as having 78 per cent. of the foreign-born population had given 102 electoral votes to the Democratic candidate in 1892, and 101 to the Republican candidate; yet, in 1896, those same States gave 202 electoral votes to the party opposed to the free-silver proposition, and one to the party favoring it.

These figures and conclusions are not absolute, but they may be considered as at least suggestive. It is hard to measure an element of this peculiar character by hard and fast lines, or to apply the statistical measuring rod with an assurance of obtaining exact results in the way of conclusions. But they do seem to suggest (1) that the present immigration, large as it is, is not beyond our power of assimilation and probably of healthful assimilation; (2) that the so-called "objectionable class" is not the class which is filling the jails and almshouses; (3) that while they are somewhat deficient in the matter of education, that of their children is likely to compare favorably with that of our own population, and that they will thus contribute a safe and valuable element to the future population of the country; (4) that they are not, as a class, as dangerous an element in politics as has been frequently asserted; and (5) that they are an important factor in the development and wealth-producing power of the country, and that their coming, subject to proper restrictions, seems still likely to prove a net benefit to the country.

O. P. Austin.

INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY, NOT INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY.

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RECENT signs indicate that at least some leaders of labor-unions realize that the employment of lawless power for the enforcement of union demands will eventually not be tolerated by the community, and that it may even destroy unions. Attempts have been made in creeds, to deny theories and beliefs that are asserted in practice. Probably, these attempts are not always the result of a return of the sane and law-abiding mind, but are frequently expressions of a fear of growing public opinion against the present conduct of strikes, and against extravagant doctrines which, though denied in words, are often declared in deeds. It is clearly true, notwithstanding the formal denial of some labor leaders and of some social philosophers, that the essential error still controls the majority of aggressive unionists. This error is, that industrial liberty and industrial anarchy are the same. Indeed, it is not uncommon to confound liberty with anarchy; but, in this instance, by reason of this confusion of thought, the "third party" in a strike is threatened with loss of rights and with suffering.

The danger will continue to exist as long as any considerable number of people believe that any voluntary association may endeavor to compel any one, or any group or class of people, to yield to its wishes and to grant its demands. Whether the voluntary association be of capitalists or of working-men, the assertion of the right to employ force, or to resort to intimidation which amounts to force, is hostile to the state. It is, moreover, in many instances, the assertion by a voluntary association, always a minority of the community, of the possession of a power which

every constitutional state has denied to its own government. It is, in fact, a demand of the right to interfere with individual liberty, the liberty which each member of the community reserves to himself in surrendering those rights which must be yielded for the sake of the common weal—a liberty which is as sacred as the power of the state itself, and the protection of which is quite as much the duty of the state as is the enforcement of the powers bestowed upon the state's government.

One of the great difficulties in the way of the discussion of labor problems is an age-old mistake of the humane and sympathetic mind. Many of our most eminent social philosophers, men of heart and of impulsive speech, forget the law which orders and defends liberty, the law by means of which civilization, with its diffusion of comfort, has advanced, the law which promotes the general welfare, in their sentimentalism awakened and stimulated by what they regard as the wrongs of a class, meaning often the weakness of a class, or the demerits of individual members of the class. In their fever of sympathy, they would resort to the ancient folly of compelling goodness when what is needed is the enforcement of justice. The time will surely come when the relations between the employer and the employed will be better, more humane, more Christian, than they are to-day; but the coming of that time will not be hastened by legislation, nor by whimsical, therefore despotic, administrative spasms; it will come when the mutual relations of all men are improved by the enlightenment of mind and of soul, by the enlargement of wisdom, and by the softening of manners.

In the meantime, it is well to dwell upon a few fundamental truths which are here applied to the problem of the labor organization, but which are as applicable to the employer as to the employed. And especially are they applicable to those who are charged with the tasks and duties of government; for, in these later days, the politician has been the greatest of sinners in labor disputes through which the innocent "third party" has suffered.

The only authority which may limit industrial or civil liberty is the state; and the limitations which our law has placed upon the conduct of the individual, as a member of the community and as a neighbor, guard the liberty which is the right of every citizen of our free state. The law limits liberty for the welfare of society and for the happiness of the individual. It gives to soci-

ety peace and order, the security of respected precedents, the wisdom of long-accepted tradition; it gives to the individual the freedom of his opportunities, by means of which he may develop the powers with which he is endowed, and, as he thus attains the fullest and highest achievements of which his nature is capable, he will inevitably promote the interests of society.

The law gives to all citizens who are engaged in industry, to capitalist and to laborer, the right to work. It protects the fruits of a man's labor, his property and his control of his property, from plunder, from intrusion, and from denial. It forbids every man to prevent his fellows from doing with their own what seems best to them, so long as they keep within the law. It gives to the individual working-man the right of free contract, the right to choose his employment and his employer, the right to work for any wage which he may agree to receive; the law denies to the individual working-man the right to compel an employer to use or to manage his property in accordance with another's will, or against the will, or against the interests, or against the fancy, of the owner; and it forbids him to deprive a fellow working-man of the right to labor, or forcibly to interfere with the free exercise of that right.

The law gives us an ordered industrial liberty, as it gives us an ordered civil liberty. Whoever invades the liberty which is guarded by the state is an enemy of the state and of society. There would be no industrial liberty but for the limitations of the law; and, without restraint, industry itself would hardly exist. Certainly, if there had been no industrial liberty, the modern achievements of industry would not have been gained. The law which restrains a man from injuring his neighbors, and which protects him from the passions and from the dishonesty of those neighbors, has been vindicated by the history of men and of industry.

The exercise of the lawful rights of men who are engaged in industry has resulted in the wonderful industrial achievements of our time. It is by freedom that men have advanced in the arts of civilization. Under freedom, the community has prospered by the development of the individual; wherever legislatures or trade-unions have undertaken to add to, or to change, or to abolish, the wholesome regulations of the fundamental law, we have had the degradation of the individual. Working alone or in combination

with others, the individual has changed the face of the world and has elevated humanity. The gains of our civilization during the last hundred years have been largely the gains of industry, and these have been made possible by *combinations* of men, by harmonious combinations—not by those which have sought to bring the workers to a level with one another either in effort or in wages, or which have sought to take the control and direction of the property and its business from the responsible owner, or from the manager expert in adopting economies of production, in anticipating the course of the market, or the changes in public taste. Efficiency has not resulted from the effort to give the hand which works control over the mind which plans and which conducts. Nowhere are the material accomplishments of individuals so great and so obvious as are those of the American inventor, producer, distributor, capitalist. His untiring energy; his acute intelligence; his wisdom in recognizing that for his own good he must work for the good of all; the boldness and ability with which he uses, in the service of industry, his own capital and the capital of those who have faith in him; have brought forth fruits of the abundance and wealth of which the country is hardly conscious. The work of this controlling individual has resulted in a saving in the cost of production of from forty to more than eighty per cent. In many establishments five men can now do the work which, a few years ago, required the labor of from eight to ten men, with more satisfactory results, while each man receives a larger wage than was paid in the earlier times.

Temporary and natural causes may increase, or decrease, the cost of living, or may advance, or lower, the rate of wages; but, in a hundred years, that industrial freedom which is granted and guarded by the law, has enormously elevated the human race. The nobleman of the days of Charles II., in the joyous period of the Restoration, possessed many of the luxuries of domestic life, dwelt in houses as beautiful and as commodious as our best, read a literature which we continue to count among our most precious possessions, and saw the beginnings of those applications of the laws of science which have given to dwellers in cottages more wholesome houses, sounder health, and longer lives than kings enjoyed in the splendid days when the capabilities of all men were not yet free. The civilized world has been turned into one great neighborhood by individual enterprise.

The voluntary combination of human forces has added to the wealth of the whole, and in this accomplishment the men who have worked for wages have gained, relatively, the most. While establishments and men have decreased, as in the iron and steel business from 1880 to 1900, in the one case, and in the British marine in the other case, production and wages have both increased. In these twenty years the number of iron and steel establishments in the United States decreased from 1,005 to 668; in the same period the number of wage-earners increased about fifty-eight per cent., while the total wages increased 120 per cent. At the same time, the capital which worked with labor for this result increased nearly 150 per cent. The census of 1900 shows that, in the twenty years, in fifteen selected industries, employing from 2,732,000 to more than 5,000,000 wage-earners, while the increase in number of wage-earners was about 94 per cent., the increase in amount of wages paid was 145 per cent.

Efforts have been made at various times in the world's history to change the industrial system. The Socialists assure us that the whole community acting together can accomplish more for mankind than the individual; but this movement will succeed only when the task of administering productive and distributive instruments is no longer important, or when the single trained mind can do no better administrative work than can be done by the voting majority of a community or of a voluntary association. We are told that society ought to furnish the capital for industrial enterprises, to the end that the workmen actually employed in the tasks of production and distribution may possess and enjoy all the fruits of their labor. The experiment was tried in France in 1848. Despite the fact, however, that French working-men have displayed greater capacity than the workmen of other countries for co-operation in production, the experiment was a dismal failure, the capital was wasted, and the wage-earners who participated were the greatest sufferers.

Not only do the limitations of the law protect the freedom of men, their right to work, their right to the property which they earn, that freedom of contract without the possession of which the wage-earner has not his civil liberty, but industrial liberty thus ordered and fortified has resulted in the magical gains which have given to us a new material world. Modern methods have also elevated the wage-earner from the condition of the "malicious

servant" of the fourteenth century "Statute of Laborers," to the working-man of to-day. Increase of production has increased his reward; diversity of employment has enlarged his skill; the system of corporations has not only given to him the advantage of the capital, of the active, persisting energy of the achievements of the past, but has given him the opportunity of ownership as he did not before possess it.

So much for the achievements of the individual workers, capitalists and working-men in association, under the rule of the law which protects individual liberty. The employer of labor is contending for the maintenance of a system which has brought to us with accumulation of wealth, abundance of comfort, of ease, of welfare, of rich opportunities for repose that, in its turn, if rightly used, gives an opportunity for the improvement of the intellectual and spiritual side of man. The community is as deeply concerned as the employer in maintaining this ordered liberty, for it is civilization itself which is thereby advanced. The wage-earner also ought to struggle for his industrial liberty as he would struggle for his political liberty if it were attacked; but the "social unrest," as it is called, which has always existed, and which will exist for years, perhaps for ages hence, because men with equal rights to liberty do not possess equal minds, equal characters, equal capabilities,—this "social unrest" searches in industrial tyranny for an impossible cure for an imaginary evil.

Probably, no one will be found to question the right of the wage-earners to combine, or their right to take advantage of their legal opportunities to obtain larger and larger shares of the products which they help to make or to bring forth from the earth. No one will deny that it is wise for the employers of labor to consult with their own working-men. It is true that sometimes restraint of trade follows such discussions, but the halt which is called upon an industry in prosperous times by a demand of the wage-earners for higher pay, and by a refusal of the demand, is in obedience to a law of nature. No human law can prevent it. Nothing will prevent it but the wisdom of the employer in anticipating the wage-earner, and in giving him a share in the increased prosperity of the business. But aggressive limitations upon industrial liberty, beyond those imposed by the law to protect and advance that liberty, constitute industrial lawlessness and industrial tyranny. In the fourteenth century in England the government

undertook to fix the wage of the laborer, and to keep him confined to the parish in which he happened to dwell. In this century, the labor-union has followed the example of mediæval English kings and parliaments.

I am speaking only of the excessive demands and extravagant actions of many, if not of most, labor-unions. These are the subject of immediate criticism for they are the conspicuous and the harmful, as well as the most advanced, assertions of organized labor. Moreover, if the demands should be granted, or should be forced upon the community by the action of the unions, we should have a revolution in social, perhaps in political, conditions.

Labor-unions endeavor to exercise powers of government which are properly possessed and exercised by the state alone; and, more than once, one of these voluntary organizations of private citizens has actually succeeded in placing itself above the state and its government. The demand is disloyalty to the state, and seeks to replace the law with the discretion of irresponsible individuals. The law of the union to which the employees of the Government Printing-office belong, for instance, makes the union paramount over the nation, and members of it have seemed to hesitate to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, for the reason that such an oath might conflict with their superior duty to the union. A union in New York has expelled a member because, as a soldier of the State Militia, he did his duty, not only as a citizen but as a sworn member of the State's constabulary, in aiding to defend life and property against lawless strikers. In Connecticut, a member of a union, who was also an officer of the militia, resigned his commission for fear that if he remained a soldier of the State he might be called upon to aid in enforcing its laws against riotous members of his own union. The union professes to believe that a state of war exists between employer and employed, and insists that strikers have, therefore, the right to break the ordinary laws which prevail in time of peace, to resort to the boycott, to injure the business of their enemies, and to prevent non-unionists from working. There is no better illustration of the nature of this lawlessness than that which is furnished by the findings of the Anthracite-Coal Strike Commission of 1903. The Commission adjudged as follows:

"Its history is stained with a record of riot and bloodshed, culminating in three murders, unprovoked save by the fact that two of the victims

were asserting their right to work, and another, as an officer of the law, was performing his duty, in attempting to preserve the peace. Men who chose to be employed, or who remained at work, were assailed and threatened, and they and their families terrorized and intimidated. In several instances, the houses of such workmen were dynamited, or otherwise assaulted, and the lives of unoffending women and children put in jeopardy. The armed guard, employed to protect the collieries and the men who worked them, appears not to have been an unnecessary precaution, and the Governor of the State was, as the evidence before the Commission shows, justified in calling out the citizen soldiery of the commonwealth to preserve its peace and vindicate its laws."

Speaking of what it called the "primary boycott," the Commission thus condemned it:

"The right and liberty to pursue a lawful calling and to lead a peaceable life, free from molestation or attack, concerns the comfort and happiness of all men, and the denial of them means destruction of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the benefits which the social organization confers. What is popularly known as the boycott (a word of evil omen and unhappy origin) is a form of coercion by which a combination of many persons seek to work their will upon a single person, or upon a few persons, by compelling others to abstain from social or beneficial business intercourse with such person or persons. Carried to the extent sometimes practised in aid of a strike, and as was in some instances practised in connection with the late anthracite strike, it is a cruel weapon of aggression, and its use immoral and anti-social."

The Commissioners furthermore gave these instances of what they called the "secondary boycott":

"A young schoolmistress of intelligence, character, and attainments, was so boycotted, and her dismissal from employment compelled, for no other reason than that a brother, not living in her immediate family, chose to work contrary to the wishes and will of the striking miners. A lad, about fifteen years old, employed in a drug store, was discharged, owing to threats made to his employer by a delegation of the strikers, on behalf of their organization, for the reason that his father had chosen to return to work before the strike was ended."

The offences thus described by the Commissioners show that, in the anthracite strike, war was waged against the liberty of the individual; the operators were unlawfully forbidden to employ any one distasteful to the union; and the non-union men were unlawfully forbidden to work. Here, also, was war against society and the state, for the union broke the peace and order of the commonwealth. To one who recognizes the sanctity of that

fundamental law by the observance of which savage liberty has been restrained, while ordered liberty has been established in its place, it is clear that it is the duty, not only of employers alone, but of all good citizens, to resist such lawless pretensions, and to refuse to yield to demands for higher wages or shorter hours when they are made by rioters and law-breakers.

It is also true that the labor-union in this anthracite strike, as in other strikes, and in more than one written constitution, has insisted upon the right to exercise control over the property of the employer. The employer is responsible, under the law, for the management of his property, responsible to society and to the individual, responsible for the use of this property in obedience to the law; but union leaders or delegates, representing unincorporated organizations, demand control, although they have no responsibility for the management of the business, although they insist on operating outside of and against the law, and although they may not be interested in the property beyond the earning of wages in its service, while some have not even that interest. They attempt to restrain the employer of his liberty by designating the men whom he shall hire; by deciding for him questions of discipline which affect the value or the product of his property; by determining the rate of wages which he shall pay, regardless of the fact, as in a recent strike, that the earnings of the business may not warrant the payment, and, therefore, notwithstanding the further fact that his surrender to the demand would bring loss of dividend, or of profit, to the owner, and loss of employment to the working-man. The boycott, the picket, and other forms of violence are resorted to for the purpose of compelling accession to these demands.

These efforts to limit industrial liberty are, as I have said, the excesses of labor-unions, but they grow out of a claim of right which is universal among the unions and their undiscriminating defenders. This claim is, that the wage-earner may demand as a right what is purely a subject for free contract between the employer and his own employees. Demands for shorter hours, for higher pay, or for the adoption of a sliding scale, are proper subjects for voluntary discussion and agreement, but the law of man and the law of morality forbid any citizen, whether he be laborer or capitalist, to enforce his demands by violence, by the oppression of others, by a denial to any man of his right to work for whom

he will and for what he will, of his right to hire any man for what that man is willing to accept. Against such action by the labor-unions, it is the duty of the employer to contend, not only as a citizen, but as an individual whose rightful liberty is sought to be invaded and, perhaps, destroyed. It is the duty of the community also to withstand these exaggerated demands, not only because the state is charged with the maintenance of order, and with the preservation of life and property, but because it is bound to enforce obedience to all its laws, and especially to breed a wholesome respect for that law which defends individual liberty.

It is also the duty of the citizen and of the state to defend the old and tried industrial system, which, through the operation of the free mind and the free hand of the free man, alone or incorporated with others, has given us the splendid gains of the inventors, of the adventurous and far-sighted directors of industrial enterprises, and of the wise and courageous capitalist who, having faith in the future, has embarked his property in services which are for mankind as well as for himself. The contention of the employer that he will recognize in a controversy between himself and them only the men who are engaged in his own business, conceding their right to be represented, ought to be upheld by the free community. In essence, the issue here is between the free citizen and communism. The corporation gives to industry the advantage of combined capital, which is a concentration of force. It does not interfere with the liberty of him who owns and manages the property, or with the liberty of him who works for wages. It gives to the one the added strength of larger capital, the opportunities for greater economies, for cheaper production, and for larger and more numerous markets. The wide distribution of shares gives to the wage-earner an opportunity for ownership which he did not enjoy in the day of the partnership. The corporation, in a word, helps the individual to rise, for the prosperity of the corporation, like the advancement of civilization itself, depends upon the gains of the free exceptional individual. Opposed to this system is that of common ownership, or of communism, in which the property of the community would be controlled and directed by a majority of the whole. Instead of the judgment and decision of the experienced and trained man on administrative questions, we should have the opinion of the majority, probably the greater part of whom would have no personal interest in the

subject, while many of them might be wholly ignorant of it. The trade-union endeavors to apply the communistic principle to industrial controversies by insisting that the employer shall not treat with his own employees alone, the men who are his fellow workmen in the same enterprise, the only men who, with himself, will feel directly the good or the evil, the loss or the gain, the ruin or the prosperity which must come from the decision of the conference; but it asserts that he must treat with labor at large, with the whole community of labor. Against the change of system thus demanded he ought to protest, because, as the political communist would place the indifferent and the weaker intelligence in control of the public business, this demand of labor would put property and business at the mercy of an incompetent majority. Already we see the consequences of majority government in industrial affairs in the rules of unions, which prevent, or which attempt to prevent, the rise of the superior man by reducing him to the level of the inefficient. In contending against this levelling communism, the employer is rendering a service to the community and to the wage-earner himself. As free citizens, the wage-earners have the right to work or to refuse to work, to demand better pay and to strike if they do not obtain it; but they *must* obey the law of the state, and they *ought* to obey that law of nature which vindicates the law of the state. Working-men themselves are the first victims of a tyranny which places obstacles in the way of the rise of their own best men, and which often may deny the right to work to the great majority of wage-earners in this country.

The time may come when unions will work wisely for the good of their members; and then they will work for the good of the community, as the English guilds in the Middle Ages, in organizing against pressure from the barons, worked for the liberty of the individual, and therefore for the political development of the commons. But, at present, those who speak the voice of the unions, and who control their conduct, are busying themselves with the task of replacing the tyranny of the Parliament of Edward III., which enacted a statute to enslave labor, with the tyranny of a majority, who would, without law and in defiance of it, enslave both capital and labor.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

ANTI-CANTEEN LEGISLATION AND THE ARMY.—II.

BY C. E. LITTLEFIELD, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE Hon. Elihu Root, late Secretary of War, opposed the anti-canteen legislation, and expressed before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs the apprehension that it would discourage enlistments, saying on that point:

"If you pass the provision which the House has put in, prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines in the Canteen, you break that up, and the result is going to be, as soon as it gets round, it will stop our enlistments. That is a matter of serious, practical consequence. The men are not going to enlist when they understand that they are going to be confined in a reform school."

It must gratify Mr. Root to know that this doleful apprehension was unfounded, as this official table shows:

Enlistments.

Year.	Per Month.	Year.	Per Month.
1889	800	1897	690
1890	654	1898	5,793
1891	703	1899	5,181
1892	821	1900	1,629
1893	756	1901	2,552
1894	654	1902	3,122
1895	648	1903	1,587
1896	707		

1898 and 1899 were war years, when enlistments are always greater, and the figures for these years include a large number of volunteer soldiers as distinguished from regulars.

The two whole years 1901--2 show an average of 2,837 as against an average of 715 per year for the nine years prior to the war, and under normal Canteen conditions, or four times as many per

year when the "reform school" was staring the recruit in the face. The "reform school" does not appear to have been a very vigorous deterrent. During the latter period, moreover, the Government has been exercising greater care in the selection of its men. Where 30,622 were enlisted in the year ending June 30th, 1901, 86,407 applications were rejected. During the year 1902, while 37,461 enlisted, 87,081 applications were rejected; and during the year 1903, 18,961 were enlisted and 74,256 rejected, showing that now where they enlist one they reject about three or four. The instructions for recruiting issued September 23rd, 1901, no doubt account for these rejections and also show the unfavorable conditions under which enlistments have largely increased. The first requirement was, that "applicants for first enlistment must be between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, *of good character and temperate habits,* able-bodied, free from disease, and must be able to speak, read and write the English language." Inasmuch as, under the War Department's theory of the Canteen, the recruit is to be at once introduced to the official sale of beer in the Canteen, and the maximum of sale is essential to the maximum of prosperity of the Canteen, this regulation should read "of good character and temperate habits, *vigorous and efficient consumers of beer, of approved capacity preferred, etc.*" While the considerations heretofore suggested certainly at least tend to destroy the value of statistics, comparing the Canteen period with the years preceding and succeeding it, so far as the Anti-Canteen law is concerned, there are other reasons which are also potent to show that these statistics do not justify the conclusions sought to be drawn therefrom. I cannot state them more effectively than they have been stated by a practical soldier, who has won his rank by brave, gallant and heroic conduct in battle, on the firing line, in every war in which the army has been engaged since 1861, including the Expedition to China in 1900, Brigadier-General Daggett, U. S. A. He says:

"Captain Munson, Assistant-Surgeon, U. S. Army, has published statistics which seem to favor the Canteen. The Army has been constantly improving since its reorganization in 1866. Then, a very large proportion of the officers had just been appointed from the volunteers and from civil life. They were unfamiliar with the ways and regulations of garrison life. Not many, if any, officers were familiar with the conditions at that time. All had to learn, from the highest to the lowest. The

class of recruits was the worst that has ever been introduced into the Army. The barracks were poor, dirty, forbidding buildings, poorly lighted and heated. Candles were used, and a small allowance of them at that. Bunks were of rough boards and three stories high. A bed sack, filled with straw, and a blanket or two furnished the soldier's bed. A tin plate, an iron knife, fork and spoon, were his table utensils. The principal ration was bacon, or pork, occasionally beef, and bread, coffee, sugar and beans.

"Improvement in these things began in the '70's. Now the barracks are warm, cheerful and well lighted. The beds and mess are much better than most recruits enjoyed at their homes. Then the recruiting officer could enlist whomsoever he pleased. Since then, he has been held responsible for the utmost care in selecting men, morally and physically, on penalty of having to pay the expenses of clothing, feeding and transporting the recruit to his station, should he be rejected after arriving, and should it be shown that the recruiting officer had been negligent.

"Benevolent societies also began to furnish the soldiers with reading matter, etc. Many other things were done for the betterment of the soldiers. The army of new officers of 1866, after fifteen or twenty years of experience, had learned how to command and care for men. Too much importance cannot be attached to this consideration. The fruits of all these things must necessarily have been a great reduction in desertions, admissions to hospital for alcoholism, and convictions by court-martial.

"Now, Mr. Munson comes in and gives the Canteen credit, largely, for these improvements. He makes 1889, the date of formal establishment of the Canteen by the War Department, the central period of reckoning. The Canteen had existed to some extent for four years before that time, but leave that out of consideration. The number of desertions from 1867 to 1874 was equal to 20.5 per cent. From 1876 to 1880, they were equal to 8.4 per cent. President Hayes prohibited the sale of intoxicants to post-traders during this period. From 1881 to 1889, the number of desertions was equal to 12 per cent. From 1890 to 1897, 5 per cent. From 1898 to 1900, 4.4 per cent. From 1900 to 1901, only 1.9 per cent. This latter period is not for the whole year, but up to a recent date, but there has been no Canteen since February 2nd.

"The number of admissions to hospital for alcoholism during the Canteen period, from 1891 to 1897, decreased 12.2 per thousand, while during the preceding period, from 1882 to 1890, the number decreased 27.3 per thousand.

"These statistics show that a decrease in desertions and admissions to hospital for alcoholism began long before the Canteen was thought of, and has been going on up to the present time, and that it was more rapid before than since the Canteen was established."

General Daggett makes the following suggestions:

"(1) Establish ample and attractive reading-rooms, which may be the general places of resort, and where games and facilities for all sorts of proper social enjoyments can be found.

"(2) Establish ample and attractive gymnasiums.

"(3) Encourage and give facilities for all proper kinds of manly sports.

"(4) Require the Commissary Department to supply many of the luxuries now furnished by means of the company fund."

These are covered by the appropriations made and proposed.

Moreover, the following tables taken from official records and reports, comparing the Canteen period with subsequent years, although in the absence of the proposed recreation buildings and company fund, essential to the success of the legislation, give results that on the whole are unfavorable to the Canteen.

Cases of Alcoholism, United States Army.

Year.	Mean Strength.	Rate, per 1,000.	Year.	Mean Strength.	Rate, per 1,000.
1889	25,908	41.43	1896	25,119	29.06
1890	24,234	40.73	1897	25,417	27.86
1891	23,928	40.01	1898	46,635	15.16
1892	24,203	37.23	1899	64,446	18.70
1893	25,287	33.97	1900	68,955	18.38
1894	25,376	30.94	1901	81,885	23.80
1895	25,204	30.11	1902	80,778	22.65

This shows an average rate per 1,000, from 1889 to 1900 inclusive (excluding the war years), of 32.97 per year for the Canteen period, an average of 16.93 for the war years, and of 23.23 for the years 1901--2 without the Canteen, or 9.74 better than the Canteen period. The percentage of convictions for drunkenness, based upon fiscal years, taken from the Judge-Advocate-General's report for 1903, shows:

Year.	Rate, per 1,000.	Year.	Rate, per 1,000.
1889	1.4	1896	1.0
1890	1.6	1897	1.1
1891	1.6	1898	1.1
1892	1.7	1899	1.2
1893	1.4	1900	2.3
1894	1.2	1902	1.2
1895	.9	1903	1.2

The average percentage for the Canteen period was 1.3+; the rate since the Canteen period was 1.2, leaving out the year 1901, as that was divided between the two periods, a difference against the Canteen of .1+.

Sickness in the Army.

Year.	Admission to Hospital.	Rate, per 1,000	Year.	Admission to Hospital.	Rate, per 1,000.
1889.....	32,886	1,315.02	1896.....	27,892	1,110.39
1890.....	33,546	1,384.25	1897.....	30,160	1,186.61
1891.....	31,757	1,364.78	1898.....317,195		2,146.18
1892.....	30,748	1,270.42	1899.....229,885		2,178.06
1893.....	32,596	1,289.04	1900.....232,080		2,311.81
1894.....	27,653	1,089.73	1901.....165,706		1,791.59
1895.....	27,982	1,110.22	1902.....138,656		1,716.51

This gives an average rate per thousand of 1,343.23 for the Canteen period of 1889--1900, inclusive (excluding the war years), 2,162.09 for the war years, and 1,754.05 since the Canteen.

While this shows a considerable increase over the Canteen period, it must be remembered that the larger part of the Army has during the latter period been subjected to unusually unhealthy conditions by service in the tropics not previously experienced.

Desertions in the Army.

Year.	Mean Strength.	Percentage of Desertions.	Year.	Mean Strength.	Percentage of Desertions.
1889.....	25,564	11.	1897.....	25,304	2.9
1890.....	24,930	7.7	1898.....	44,397	4.
1891.....	24,525	5.7	1899.....	62,019	4.9
1892.....	24,867	5.7	1900.....	66,460	4.4
1893.....	25,670	6.3	1901.....	78,863	5.2
1894.....	25,661	3.6	1902.....	71,294	7.5
1895.....	25,200	5.3	1903 (six mos.)	61,498	2.8
1896.....	25,143	3.4			

This table from the Adjutant-General's report is based on calendar years, and shows an average for the Canteen period of 5.79 per cent., and since of 5.66 per cent., a difference against the Canteen of .13 per cent.

The figures furnished by the Lieutenant-General, in his report for 1901, show that the desertions have been gradually decreasing since 1867, when the percentage was 26.7. For the next twelve years, the average was 16.5, for the decade ending 1888 the average was 11.4, and for the twenty-two years preceding 1889 the average was 14.2, showing that the decrease in desertions has been due not to the Canteen, but to other causes. These are to some extent pointed out by Acting-Judge-Advocate Captain C. D. Roberts, of the Department of Texas, in his annual report dated June 16th, 1903, in which he says:

"The large number of trials for desertion in this department in the last two years is due largely to the great number of recruits in the

ranks and the number of new and inexperienced officers. The three-year enlistment is undoubtedly bad for discipline. The general mess system is in operation at Forts Bliss and Sam Houston, and to this system is undoubtedly due some of the trials at those posts, since under it there is always more or less discontent among the troops with the food furnished and the cooking."

The fact that the existing conditions furnish no proper criterion upon which to base a comparison also appears from the official report of the Inspector-General for the year 1903. He says:

"It is more the exception than the rule that prescribed regulations for the government of the post exchanges are strictly complied with. . . . The reports for 64 posts in the United States, Alaska, Cuba, Porto Rico and Honolulu, show that 14 had no post exchanges, and at the 50 having them the rooms used for that purpose were generally unattractive, not satisfactory, and lacking in accommodations. At 20 of these 50, they were especially mentioned as unsuitable. At a few posts suitable buildings were being constructed for exchange and gymnastic purposes. The reports for 94 posts in the Philippine Islands show only 8 enjoying the privilege of an exchange. There were many desertions and few re-enlistments at a number of posts. Drunkenness and absence without leave are noted in reports, and trials by courts-martial are very numerous. *It is believed that a well-regulated post exchange and a thoroughly equipped gymnasium would accomplish more toward contentment and discipline* in the Army than almost anything the Government can, under the law, accomplish."

Major Elijah W. Halford's statement of conditions in the Philippines emphasizes this idea. He says:

"A temperance Canteen has been tried in at least four posts here in the Islands, with good measure of success. At one post sales amounted to $500 per month; profits averaged $135 monthly during the eighty days it had been operated when report was made. It had very limited facilities; no capital, poor room, no sympathy from the officers, no soda fountain, hard to get ice, and other obstacles. With good facilities, with the sympathy of officers, and eliminating the poorly-disguised devil of profit as in the old Canteen, this is the practical solution of the 'Canteen' question for all soldiers except the chronic drinkers, who will have whiskey anyway, beer Canteen or no beer Canteen. These begin their drunks in the beer Canteen, but end them outside in the whiskey shops."

The attitude of the War Department as to this legislation is an essential feature affecting its success. On the 5th of February, 1901, three days after the anti-canteen law was enacted, the Adjutant-General issued an order for the collection of statistics

showing the operation of the law, "report thereon to be made to this office not later than September 1st next," covering a period of the non-existence of conditions essential to its success, during which the law might be expected to result adversely. On February 19th, 1901, Senator Gallinger, an earnest friend of the legislation, introduced, as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, the following:

"Difference between the cost of the ration at 25 cents and the amount of 26½ cents, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War for the purpose of laying out, preparing, and cultivating gardens, and supplying seeds, roots, and plants for the same: the purchase of books, periodicals, stationery, etc., for the post exchange library: the purchase of gymnastic appliances: prizes for athletic sports: towards the support of regimental bands: for the purchase of articles of food other than those supplied by the regular ration: and for the further improvement of the post exchange, to be equally distributed among the enlisted men, $547,500."

Practically the company-fund idea, though it is believed that the fund should be apportioned to companies and expended by the captain to produce the best results. This went to the military committee, where it slept the sleep of the just, as it was never reported therefrom.

In a letter to the Hon. W. J. Sewall, under date of August 29th, 1900, Adjutant-General Corbin made this statement:

"The official reports of the Department show that the receipts from sales of beer and light wines are and have been less than one-third of gross receipts, being in 1898 five-seventeenths and in 1899 six-seventeenths. Taking the amount of gross receipts on account of sale of beer and dividing it by the total number of officers and men shows that each officer and enlisted man for the year 1898 expended on account of beer only 20 cents a month—equivalent to four glasses of beer per month, or less than one glass a week apiece, for each officer and man in the military service. In 1899 the expenditure on the part of each officer and man reached an average of 58 cents per month, or but 1.9 cents a day. These facts make it clear that in comparison with all other citizens the army of to-day is the most abstemious body in our country. There is no community of which we have any report or knowledge that will show so small a consumption of drink *per capita*."

It will be observed that these conclusions are based upon statistics for the years 1898--9.

Under date of December 17th, 1903, Acting-Adjutant-General W. P. Hall wrote me a courteous letter from which I quote:

"When the troops were withdrawn from the military posts in April, 1898, and assembled in camps on the Gulf coast for the purpose of taking part in the impending war with Spain, they were compelled to abandon their post exchanges at the permanent stations, leaving behind them such stock of beer and wine as was then on hand. The most of this stock became a waste—a dead loss, in fact—for, before the troops returned to the permanent forts, the Act of March 2, 1899, had prevented its sale, and as the persons from whom it was purchased refused to take it back, it was destroyed or given away. It was nearly a year afterwards before those posts were regarrisoned, and in but very few instances by the troops which constituted the garrisons at the time of the breaking out of the war with Spain. As a consequence we were unable to get any satisfactory reports of Post Exchange transactions for the period commencing about the middle of April, 1898, to the 1st of July, 1899. . . . It would be difficult to give with any accuracy 'the number of men in the service located at the places of Posts, in 1898 and 1899, where such Canteens or Post Exchanges were being operated with the sale of beer and wine therein,' or to give 'the total sales of beer and wine at each of these Canteens' for those years."

If Acting-Adjutant-General Hall is correct, and I have no doubt he is, where there are no "satisfactory reports" for nearly nine months in 1898, and six months in 1899, and the number of men and the amount of beer and wine sold cannot be given "with any accuracy" during those years, it is difficult to imagine where General Corbin got the statistics upon which to base his very specific statement.

It has been my misfortune to endeavor to assist, in my humble way, that distinguished gentleman in making this legislation a success, and promoting the welfare of our soldiers. Mr. Francis A. Buzzacott, a member of the Third Illinois, during the Spanish War, operated a Post Exchange in connection with that regiment. The records show that, during several months of its existence, its profits cleared its original cost, and amounted in all to $5,000, all of which was turned over to the regiment and distributed and used by its various companies during its campaign in the tropics. It was operated in a tent, mammoth in size, capable of holding fifteen hundred, and benches for three hundred troops. It had a restaurant and lunch counter, magazines and moral literature, and sold everything a soldier needed, except liquor, which was not allowed to be either sold or used on

the premises. It had an organ, and musical entertainments were given. The regiment marched in a body to divine service therein on Sunday.

It closed up two beer Canteens in its vicinity, and the soldiers boycotted their own Canteens for the temperance Canteen. On December 8th, 1900, two days after the introduction of the anti-canteen amendment, Mr. Buzzacott renewed his offer to the Secretary of War, proposing to establish a similar Canteen, to be "conducted *under military regulations,* for the recreation, benefit and modern advantages of such United States volunteer troops as are now serving in the Philippines." The proposition is too long to quote in full, but it provided for furnishing everything that was desirable or requisite for the comfort, convenience and entertainment of the men. He proposed to furnish the "money to do this." The profits, except ten per cent. to be used in establishing like Canteens in other Posts or places, were to go to the men. Three months after its establishment, he agreed to turn it "over to the Government troops completely equipped as described, free of cost or indebtedness whatsoever"; during this time it was to be under his "personal supervision and control," "*subject to the approval* of the generals commanding."

He asked for transportation to be furnished, authority to purchase supplies of any department of the establishment at cost, that a commissioned officer be detailed as executive officer in charge, and a private soldier from each company as police, "not to interfere with other military duties." This proposition not receiving favorable action and impressing me as both feasible and commendable, I made the effort indicated by the subjoined correspondence to have it adopted by the War Department.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.
"WASHINGTON, D. C.,
"ROCKLAND, ME., *March 8, 1901.*

"*Hon. Elihu Root,*
"*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am very anxious that the Canteen as now constituted, or that the Canteen in which the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited in accordance with the recent amendment to the army bill, shall prove to be successful in its operation. I have just taken occasion to examine the offer made by Mr. Francis H. Buzzacott, of Chicago, Illinois, under date of December 8, 1900, for the carrying on and operating of a temperance Canteen, and it seems to me that the offer is a very desirable

one. It involves no cost or expense to the government, and Mr. Buzzacott proposes to subject himself in all respects to the supervision and control of the Department, and the generals commanding the United States troops under whose authority he is placed at work.

"I should be very much gratified, and I certainly hope you may see your way clear to allow him to establish as many of these Canteens as he desires to, especially in the Philippines.

"If they prove to be a success I do not see any reason why they should not be located wherever our troops are located.

"If it is not asking too much I should be very glad to have you advise me of the views you take of his proposition, and the probability of its acceptance.

"Very respectfully,

"C. E. LITTLEFIELD."

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON.

"*March 11, 1901.*

"*Hon. C. E. Littlefield,*

"*House of Representatives,*

"SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant to the Secretary of War, in which you commend to the favorable consideration of the department an offer of Mr. Francis H. Buzzacott, of Chicago, Illinois, for the carrying on and operating of a temperance Canteen, and replying thereto permit me to say that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the department.

"Very respectfully,

"H. C. CORBIN,

"Adjutant-General."

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON.

"ROCKLAND, ME., *March 14, 1901.*

"*General H. C. Corbin,*

"*Adjutant-General U. S. A., Washington, D. C.,*

"MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 11th at hand, and I note that you say that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the department.

"I have been advised that there was nothing unmilitary in Mr. Buzzacott's proposition, or that would be inconsistent with the regulations of the department. Will you be kind enough to advise me in what particulars the proposition did not meet the approval of the department, or the reason the department has for declining to accept it, as I may be able to procure such a modification of the proposition as will make it acceptable to the department.

"It seems to me that something of this kind is extremely desirable if the present legislation is to be successful, and I have no doubt but what the War Department is anxious to make the Canteen conducted under the existing legislation as attractive and efficient as possible, in

taking the place of the Canteen as heretofore carried on, involving the sale of beer and possibly other intoxicating drinks therein.

"Very respectfully,

"C. E. LITTLEFIELD."

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON.
"*March 22, 1901.*

"*Hon. Chas. E. Littlefield, M. C.,*
"*House of Representatives,*

"SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, in the matter of the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott, to establish temperance Canteens at military posts, in which, referring to department letter of the 11th instant to the effect that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the department, you ask to be advised in what particular the proposition does not meet the approval of the department, or the reason the department has for declining to accept.

"Replying thereto, I have the honor to remark that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott does not commend itself to the approval of the department *for the reason that the army is perfectly capable of conducting its own affairs in respect to Post Exchanges, as well as to other matters connected with its administration,* and that the conditions vary at military posts and stations in the army, the greater portion of which is now in the field, in tropical countries, and it is believed that Mr. Buzzacott, having served in the army for a number of years in various capacities, knows as well as any other man of military experience, that the proposition to place a civilian in charge of affairs in a military command cannot be successfully carried out. Mr. Buzzacott must also be aware that the law forbids the Quartermaster's Department to furnish transportation to an establishment of this character, or for any supplies intended for it; that it forbids the sale to him and his employees of subsistence stores at cost; in fact that the residence on a military reservation of persons not in the employ of the United States government is forbidden by law. Briefly, there are other objections and difficulties to this proposition, which are too numerous to mention.

"Very respectfully,

"H. C. CORBIN,
"Adjutant-General."

In other words, if you will attend to your business I will attend to mine. I thought then, and I think now, that I had an undoubted right, in view of the fact that I was responsible in part at least for the legislation, even if it was not my duty, to deferentially offer suggestions, and invite suggestions, intended to promote its success. I thought then, and I think now, that I had a right to assume that the War Department had a due and proper regard

for the welfare of our soldiers, and was desirous of administering the law in good faith so as to make it as effective and successful as possible, so that it might prove helpful to that welfare. I supposed the War Department would cheerfully welcome anything that would contribute to that end. When, however, my well-meant and courteous advances were received by the vigorous official suggestion, that "*the army was perfectly capable of conducting its own affairs in respect to Post Exchanges, as well as to other matters connected with its administration,*" no outside interference being tolerated, the incident was closed, as it did not seem to me that any self-respecting man was required to submit himself further to "the insolence of office"; and efforts on my part to cooperate with the War Department were abandoned, even at the risk of my being afterwards charged with having wrapped about myself "the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself."

The first appropriation of $500,000 for Post Exchanges was made at the next session after the passage of the amendment, and became available on July 1st, 1902. If not used prior to July 1st, 1903, it would have lapsed back into the Treasury. I am in receipt of a letter from the Department, under date of December 26th, 1903, advising me that, under the appropriation for the fiscal year of 1903, the Secretary of War had authorized expenditures in January, 1903, of $2,712.09; in April, 1903, of $96,417.95; in May, 1903, of $336,995.91; and in June, 1903, of $39,868. Not a dollar, that is to say, was authorized to be expended until the whole sum had been available six months and then only $2,712.09; and the bulk of the appropriation, $336,995.91, was not authorized to be expended, until it had been available more than ten months. The average percentage of completion of work under sixteen different authorizations on September 30, 1903, was forty-three per cent., only one building, at Fort Brady, Michigan, costing $19,819, being then nearly completed.

Certainly, the War Department cannot fairly be charged with being precipitate, or with exercising undue haste. We may be fairly safe, I think, in assuming that, if this appropriation had been a revolution with a canal-site attachment, its period of gestation would not have been prolonged for ten months and sixteen days. If the War Department had been as anxious to create favorable conditions in that regard, as it was to get statistics when the

conditions essential to the success of the anti-canteen legislation were absent, and had exercised the same degree of diligence, these authorizations would have been made July 3, 1902. On the other hand, so profound has been its solicitude for the welfare of the men under its charge that, although $500,000 has been available therefor since June 30, 1902, and $1,000,000 since June 30, 1903, only a trifling sum up to October 30th, 1903, had been actually used in promoting that welfare, as not a building had then been fully completed, and only small sums had been used for other purposes of that character.

It is unfortunate and regrettable that the discontent and the discomfort of the men, with all of the direful consequences resulting therefrom, and especially "that craving for drink which results in no small part from the monotony of barrack life that slowly breeds discontent, no matter how comfortably housed or well-fed the men may be," should be unnecessarily prolonged, when the means for its alleviation have been so liberally provided and have been lying idle so long. When the last item upon the *menu* for a Thanksgiving dinner for the soldiers at the Columbus Barracks, Ohio, November 26th, 1902, was "one quart of beer for each soldier," it would not appear that, from a social point of view, any very vigorous effort was being made by the officers to restrain the indulgence in beer and encourage total abstinence. This is not the only instance of the kind.

I do not say whether the administration of this legislation is in the hands of its friends or otherwise, nor do I characterize the attitude of the Department. Upon its record of calling for statistics within three days of the passage of the law, when statistics must have been expected to be unfavorable in the absence of proper conditions, its contemptuous refusal of the Buzzacott proposition, its collection and gratuitous presentation of only such newspaper reports as were adverse to the legislation, and its failure promptly to utilize the appropriation that was to take the place of the beer profits, a fair-minded, disinterested, intelligent and patriotic people can judge for themselves as to its attitude.

In the light of all these facts, how much foundation is there for Colonel Church's assertion, that "the advocates of total abstinence say, in effect, that, if there is any man in the Army who refuses to accept theories that are rejected by the vast majority of men in this and every other civilized country, and who

will drink, he should be permitted to go to the devil, and the shorter the road and the faster the pace, the better." If we may be permitted to use the Colonel's choice and delicate language, we may ask, Who is it, in the light of the foregoing facts, that is keeping the obstructions out of the soldiers way "to the devil," shortening the road and accelerating the pace? The Colonel seems gratified to feel that he is with the "vast majority," laboring under the impression, evidently, that facts are settled that way. This is calculated to disconcert the "Big Four" and other railroads, to make them realize that when, in order to secure keen, alert, clear-minded and efficient men, they promulgate an order that their employees must not drink intoxicating liquors at all, whether on or off duty, they are in the minority in a "civilized country." If such a course will secure better men for railroading, it may be worthy of consideration whether it would not work as well in other cases. Do we need, especially in time of war, as good men for officers and men, from the standpoint of efficiency, as the railroads find they need in their business? If so, should we not make reasonable efforts to get them? King Edward evidently did not realize how lonesome he would be, when, in a recent letter to an officer of the Navy, this sentence was inserted: "His Majesty would be glad if it is circulated privately, that he considers his health is as much honored by those who drink it in water as by those who drink it in wine," an insidious and really reprehensible incentive to that vulgar and degrading, and rather uncommon, habit of total abstinence. Let us hope that the adverse sentiment of our noble Army, voiced so mildly by Colonel Church, may be broken to His Majesty gently and by degrees. Notwithstanding the Colonel's fervor, temperance is now being officially taught in the French and British, and encouraged in the German and Russian armies. A temperance society is one of the established institutions of the British Army. H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge was its patron General; H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught is its President, and Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley is its First Vice-President. The flower of the officers of that Army take pride in identifying themselves with it, and the government contributes handsomely for its financial support. We are either not far enough or too far advanced for such an institution in our Army. We think this legislation is in line with the most advanced thought, even if it may be in the minority.

That a Post Exchange, with proper provisions for recreation, amusement and entertainment and supplies for the men, and a company fund are essential to the success of this legislation, is, we think, clear. Its friends, and especially the Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie and Mrs. Margaret Dye Ellis, the able, faithful, efficient and untiring legislative representatives, respectively, of the American Anti-Saloon League and the W. C. T. U. at Washington, have been doing their best to procure and have utilized the necessary appropriations therefor. Instead of compelling the soldier to rely upon the profits of a beer saloon, whose sole customer he is, for furnishing him with the things essential to his welfare, we think he has a right to look to the people, by whom he has been placed in a condition where these things have become essential.

We think we are entitled, upon the facts, to ask the country to believe that we are inspired by a sincere desire to promote the highest welfare of the Army, rather than by a narrow purpose to enforce upon the officers and men any personal views we may entertain. And as the officers are as a rule high-minded, honorable gentlemen, we believe that, when they fully appreciate the situation, they will credit us with that desire.

For the beer saloon we substitute the Treasury of the United States. In the effort to make this substitution, we believe we have the sympathy and support of all right-thinking citizens, and that we ought to have the hearty cooperation of the War Department and the officers of the Army. We sincerely believe and earnestly hope that the substitution will prove a perfect success; but when it shall have been made, and shall have had a fair trial under such favorable conditions as are herein mentioned, if it shall prove to affect injuriously the condition of our soldiers, we will cheerfully join in a movement to reestablish the beer saloon. There is practically an agreement that the sale of beer is at least the lesser of two evils. Every report that has been made, every opinion that has been expressed, every resolution that has been adopted, has been made, expressed and adopted in the absence of conditions that all believe desirable, and that we believe essential. Should not judgment be suspended until these conditions have been created, and until they have had time to demonstrate their utility and wisdom? Would not a reversal of this legislation before that time be ill-considered, ill-advised and unwarranted?

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

AUSTRALIA'S SECOND PARLIAMENT.

BY HUGH H. LUSK.

THE elections that have been recently concluded for the second Parliament of Australia have developed features of far more than local interest. There were many reasons why this was likely to be the case, some of them local, and others connected with the questions at present occupying so largely the attention of both the Mother Country and her greater colonies. Among the more local questions the chief was, beyond all doubt, what is known in Australia as "the Labor Question." Among the more general questions, Protection and Free Trade, mainly in their bearing on the policy advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, and the attitude the colony should take up on that policy, overshadowed every other issue. Other questions, of less moment, were found in the effect produced by the grant of equal electoral privileges to women, and by the attempts made, in a good many localities, on the part of the women to take full advantage of the concession, by offering themselves as candidates for election both to the Senate and to the Representative Chamber of the Federal Legislature.

The general result of the elections was wholly unexpected by any one. The first Federal Parliament contained three parties, it is true; but the Government, which stood for protection, and the Opposition, which stood for a tariff for revenue only, formed an overwhelming majority of its members. In the Representative Chamber, the party of protection was considerably the stronger, indeed it gave the Government a fair working majority of fourteen votes over the Opposition: in the Senate, however, the Government and Opposition parties were almost exactly balanced, and the three Labor members gave the preponderance now to one side and now to the other. The skill in Parliamentary management, and certainly the debating power, in both Chambers lay

with the Opposition; and while the vacillation of the Barton Cabinet on many subjects did not actually lead to defeat in the House, it certainly left a strong impression on the mind of the country that the days of the Cabinet would be numbered as soon as the appeal to the constituencies came. The general opinion of all parties was, that the Free Trade party would come back with a majority sufficient to enable it to overturn the Cabinet, and to modify the protectionist tariff which had been enacted. The result of the elections has been to disappoint all expectations.

What has happened has been a victory for the Labor party, throughout the Commonwealth, such as leaves the position of both Government and Opposition difficult, and almost ridiculous. Of the thirty-six members constituting the Senate, there are now only eight who are pronounced protectionists and supporters of the Government. There are fourteen members representing the Opposition party, and the same number who belong to the party of Labor, so that either of those parties can command nearly double as many votes as the Ministry of the day. In the House, the position is almost equally embarrassing. The Government, or Protectionist party, has secured twenty-six seats out of seventy-six; while the Opposition has twenty-seven, and the party of Labor twenty-three. The present Ministry, therefore, stands in a minority in each of the Chambers. Should it ever happen—as in certain exceptional circumstances it might, under the terms of the Constitution—that the members of both Chambers sat and voted together, the Opposition could command forty-one votes, the Labor party thirty-seven, and the Government only thirty-four.

The situation, as will be readily understood, is an embarrassing one to both Government and Opposition. By all the rules which in England have governed Parliamentary responsible government, the Cabinet should at once resign and lay down the task which it has no longer the power to carry out. Should the Cabinet resign to-morrow, however, the Opposition would find itself almost equally powerless to carry on the government, without relying on the support of members whose allegiance is due to one or other of the parties disagreeing with their general policy. It is, of course, equally clear that the Labor party could not undertake the task with even the smallest hope of success; so that the result would seem to be something very like a deadlock.

Only two courses would seem to be open to the present Cabinet. One, and certainly the one most accordant with precedent, would be that of resigning office, as it is clear from the result of the elections that it has not the confidence of a majority of the constituents. The other course, for which in the peculiar circumstances of the case many excuses may be found, would be to endeavor to make an alliance, more or less formal, with the Labor party by which some at least of the measures of that party may be passed, and the Cabinet guaranteed against defeat in a want-of-confidence motion, should one be moved by the Opposition. The objections to this way of meeting the crisis are many, it is true; and yet there would seem to be little doubt that it is the course most likely to commend itself to Mr. Deakin's Cabinet. The leading objection is, that any such alliance could only be secured at a price, and that price one which would lend more or less sanction to views which are almost openly socialistic in their tendency. More than once in the last session of the last Parliament, the Government was saved from defeat by the help of the Labor party, then much less powerful than now; and in every case the assistance was followed by some concession of an important kind to the wishes of the Labor leaders. It cannot be doubted that now, holding, as they do, the key of the political situation in their hands, the terms of any such assistance would be very much more stringent and far-reaching.

It may be urged, and indeed it is already urged by that portion of the press which supports the Government and its protectionist policy, that the Deakin Cabinet, being in office, and seeing clearly that no single party in the Federal Parliament, as now constituted, can command a majority except by some compromise of this kind, is only doing its duty to the Commonwealth by retaining office on these terms. The answer of the Opposition is, that in case of a resignation, it would be for the Opposition, if anybody, to make such a compromise, which that party could do the more easily because the alternative could be made a dissolution of the newly elected Parliament, so far as the Representative Chamber is concerned—an alternative clearly not at the disposal of the Cabinet in office. There can be little doubt, indeed, that if it must come to a bargain between the Government in office and the party of Labor, a Cabinet formed by the present Opposition would have a very great advantage over any other. The difference

in strength—except, of course, in the Senate—between the parties is almost nominal; but, in the possession of the power to send back the newly elected representatives to their constituencies for re-election, the Opposition would hold a very strong card indeed; one which would count for much with the Labor members.

The causes that have led to the present position of affairs throughout the States of the Commonwealth are somewhat peculiar. Three months ago, those who were supposed to be best informed on the subject were prepared to prophesy a great defeat at the polls for the Government and its policy of high protection, and all the indications seemed to favor the idea that the Free Trade party in Opposition would be the party to profit by the change of public opinion. The result of the election has shown a defeat for the Government, and by implication for its policy, but the Opposition has not been the chief beneficiary. The principal reason of this unexpected result has been—though this is not generally appreciated, even in Australia, as yet—the fiscal agitation set on foot by Mr. Chamberlain. That gave Mr. Deakin his opportunity for turning the flank of the Opposition—an opportunity which he seized and made the most of. Before the last session of the late Parliament expired, he was able to announce a policy for the protectionist party which fell in with what were understood to be Mr. Chamberlain's views, without interfering with the fiscal settlement arrived at as the result of nearly a year of struggle in the first session. The plan which he outlined was, in effect, the same as that carried through the New Zealand Parliament, except that it went a good deal farther, and applied to a very much larger number of classes of goods than were affected in New Zealand. In promising to bring in a measure to carry out this policy in case his party was returned with a majority at the election, he arrayed behind him not only the protectionists of Victoria on whom he mainly relied, but the large body of voters throughout all the States who are influenced by a strong sentiment of Imperialism. He also placed the Free Trade Opposition in the difficult position of appearing to oppose any suggestion of falling in with a policy of preference for commercial purposes within the Empire. The leader of the Opposition, indeed, declared his readiness to support a system of favored-nation treatment for the Mother Country, as long as it took the shape of reducing duties now imposed on British, in common with foreign, goods, and not

of adding duties in the case of foreign-made ones. The answer was not a success, because it was easily made to appear to be a trick which professed to do something for English interests which it neither would nor could do. The experience of many months of struggle, during which trade was disorganized owing to doubts respecting the shape which the Federal tariff was likely to take, has made the majority of Australians shrink from a reopening of the question, and the Government proposals seemed to avoid this.

In this sense, and to this extent, the contest now going on in England was a serious factor in the Commonwealth elections just concluded. The name of Mr. Chamberlain, more than that of any other English statesman of the day, is a name to conjure with in Australasia; and any proposals advocated by him are at present certain of large support from Australian voters. When to this was added the sentiment aroused in favor of Imperialism by the events of the last three years, it is not wonderful that very many voters shrank from taking an active part in the elections that might tend to defeat the plans of so popular a man as the former Secretary for the Colonies, and to strike a serious blow at the inter-State preferential trade of which he is the advocate. There is no other possible way of accounting for the disappointment which has attended the Free Trade party in New South Wales, which is, as it always has been, the headquarters of the faith in Australia; and what is true of the Mother Colony of the group is true in its degree of all the other States. The evidence that such was the case may be found in the fact that, had the party of Free Trade polled anything like its full strength in New South Wales, it would have swept the State, and returned to the Representative Chamber certainly not less than twenty-three out of the twenty-seven members it sends to the Federal Parliament. Instead of doing this, it only succeeded in returning sixteen, the balance of seven going to the party of Labor. The same result, or very nearly the same, was reached in each of the States, with the single exception of Victoria, where the protectionist policy is naturally in the ascendant. In every instance, the Free Trade candidates received much less support than was expected.

The party which has profited by this peculiar effect of Mr. Chamberlain's great fiscal agitation has not been, however, the party in office, but the party of Labor. The result of the dissatisfaction of Free-Traders with the attitude of their leaders on

the question of Imperial Preference did not take the form of making them vote for Labor candidates, but it did keep them from voting at all, with the result that many of the seats were obtained by candidates who were unable to poll more than a fourth part of the electors on the rolls. It may be said, indeed, that the party has succeeded best which best deserved success, because it was the one which worked for success most intelligently and enthusiastically. While the Government party was much discredited by its weak administration during its two years of office, and the Opposition was out of touch with the prevailing sentiment of the community by its thinly veiled opposition to preferential trade within the Empire, the party of Labor suffered from no drawback in either direction. In its manipulation of the Cabinet in power, it had been very successful, having secured many concessions in favor of its own views, especially in the direction of exemptions from duties likely to affect the workers, and in this it had both consolidated its own ranks and gained the respect of others. Its strongest point, however, was that it had made no pronouncement on the subject of preferential trade, so that any candidate from its ranks was at liberty to give an entire assent to the views of Mr. Chamberlain. Many, indeed most of them, did so; and it is far from unlikely that in this way they disarmed the opposition of not a few Free-Traders, even if they did not actually gain their support.

The elections were the first to test the effect of the new law which gave the same electoral rights to both sexes for all Federal purposes. Women had, indeed, voted at the elections for the first Parliament in South Australia, owing to the fact that they already possessed the franchise in that State according to the old colonial law; but the population is not large, and the circumstances made it difficult to form an estimate as to the general effect of the law. At the recent elections the privilege was enjoyed by women in all the States; and, owing to its novelty, the effects were closely observed. Two things may be said to stand out as results: one, that the tendency is for the female electors to take an active part in the contest; the other, that they usually voted very much on the same lines as their male relations, and so produced no marked change in the position of parties. If there is any definite change in this respect, it is that the women's vote seems rather to have strengthened the hands of the Labor party. This can be

readily understood from the fact, that every one of the planks laid down in the Labor platform aimed at a direct and practical economic advantage for the working classes, and therefore seemed to hold out a promise of betterment to all who belong to those classes. The same cannot, of course, be said—at any rate, with anything like the same certainty—of the principles of either Protection or Free Trade. If these are not too much in the nature of theoretical reasonings to appeal to the average feminine mind, it may be said truly that they appeal less directly to it, and with much less force. As a matter of fact, it was found that the wives and daughters of the workers were hardly, if at all, less enthusiastic politicians than their husbands and fathers, and could be relied on to vote, and to urge others to vote, while the female voters of other classes were largely conspicuous by their absence from the polls, or for their apparent indifference to the results arrived at.

Unlike New Zealand, the Commonwealth has given its women, not only the full right of voting, but also of holding a seat in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature, and there were not wanting ladies who were ambitious to take advantage of the new privilege. In nearly all the States, there were female candidates for seats in the Representative Chamber; and in two, at least, women courted election as Senators to represent the whole State. The attempt seems to have been a little in advance of public sentiment. For the Senate, neither of the female candidates took even a respectable place at the polls; and, even in the case of the House, they were easily beaten by nearly all their male competitors. The fact that in no case whatever was any female candidate selected by any one of the three parties among whom the public was divided, may account for this apparently rather ungallant result. The course of New Zealand, whose example has been closely followed in many respects of late years in the legislation of Australia, has been far more cautious and conservative in this respect; and it appears likely that, after all, it will result more satisfactorily, even from the standpoint of feminine political ambition. In the island colony, the franchise was granted to women ten years ago, but the right to be elected to seats in the Legislature was withheld. After ten years' experience, if the women voters of New Zealand really wished the further privilege of becoming legislators in their own persons, it is certain they

could have the law altered without difficulty. Were such a change made, it may be looked on as a certainty that there would be little or no prejudice in New Zealand against the idea of female candidates, and some, at least, would be sure of election.

The general result of the elections must, as has already been said, be considered a great victory for the party of Labor. That victory, however, is not likely to lead to any immediately sensational changes either in legislation or in administration. An alliance between the present Cabinet and the leaders of the Labor party is more than probable; but it will not take the form to any extent of a coalition. The Government will still propound its own policy; and, so far as it deals with such questions as preference for British goods, it will obtain enough support from Labor members to carry it through, at least in its general features. The alliance will be sufficiently strong to keep the Free Trade party out of office and the Protectionist minority in office, and the price will be the acceptance by the Cabinet of two or three of the planks of the Labor platform as measures of its own. Most of the planks in the Labor platform, it is true, are subjects for State rather than Federal legislation; but some—such as an Act to prevent monopolies, a national system of irrigation, embracing the vesting of the frontages in the Federal Government instead of the States, and the establishment of a National Bank—seem to be within its reach, and may be the first steps in an effort destined to carry the Commonwealth far on the road to State socialism. One thing would appear almost certain from the indications of the elections for Australia's second Parliament: this is, that the party of Labor is for the present the coming party. If its leaders are wise and moderate in this Parliament, the chances are that they will enter the next with so large a following as would justify them in making a bid for office. What they will want most, in that case, is a man to lead them. With a leader as able and adroit as the Premier of New Zealand has proved himself during ten years of office, the way is open in the Commonwealth for experiments in social legislation more radical than any attempted in New Zealand by Mr. Seddon and his party.

HUGH H. LUSK.

HOW THE UNITED STATES CURTAILS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.

BY ERNEST CROSBY.

As I write these lines, a British subject is occupying a narrow cell, a veritable cage of steel bars, on Ellis Island in New York Harbor. Two guards watch him constantly and accompany him during his hours of exercise. He is forbidden to receive visitors or speak to strangers, and he can only consult his counsel in the presence of his jailers. He is, in short, treated like a convicted felon; but, as a matter of fact, he is not a felon. He came to this country on his own legitimate business, a few months ago; and, during the weeks which he was allowed to spend at large, he carefully observed our laws and customs. He is a man of some standing at home, for he is an "organizer" of the "National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks," a society which counts, I believe, many thousands of members. But, notwithstanding his altogether respectable behavior and position in society, he was suddenly arrested in New York by agents of the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor, and hurried away to his cell. No regular court intervened and there was no judicial process involved, but the whole matter was managed by the Secretary of Commerce and his subordinates. The Habeas Corpus proceeding, which was dismissed by Judge Lacombe, from whose decision the prisoner has appealed, can only touch the question of the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce and the constitutionality of the act under which it is acting. It cannot in any way review the order of the Secretary nor correct his errors of fact or law, for this important official alone has to be "satisfied" of the facts, and it is his duty to enforce the law "under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe." He is thus constituted policeman, prosecuting officer, judge, jury and

executioner, and from his decision no appeal lies. This kind of procedure recalls the English "Star Chamber." In Russia, it is known as "administrative process," and it has become notorious under that name; and it was called "*lettre de cachet*" in France before the fall of the Bastile. Some of us have fondly supposed that in America, at least, it was altogether foreign and obsolete.

The charge made against Mr. John Turner is, that he is an alien unlawfully in the United States, in that he is an "anarchist" within the meaning of the act of Congress of March 3rd, 1903, entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States." Section 2 of this act provides that, among others, the following aliens shall be excluded from admission to our shores, namely, "anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." It might be supposed that the latter part of this clause was intended as a definition of what an "anarchist" really is; but Section 38 of the same act destroys this presumption, by explicitly excluding from the country any person "who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all government." It thus appears that the ban falls upon all disbelievers in government, as well as upon those who advocate the use of violence in realizing their disbeliefs.

What then is an "anarchist," within the meaning of this highly stringent law? The full definition of the word is given as follows in the "Century Dictionary":

> "Anarchist, (1) properly, one who advocates anarchy or the absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in an anarchic theory of society, especially an adherent of the social theory of Proudhon; (2) in popular use, one who seeks to overturn by violence all constituted forms and institutions of society and government, all law and order, and all rights of property, with no purpose of establishing any other system of order in the place of that destroyed; especially, such a person when actuated by mere lust of plunder; (3) any person who promotes disorder or excites revolt against an established rule, law or custom."

It appears from the above definition that it is only in "popular use" that the term "anarchist" has any connection with violence, and that, "properly," it signifies merely a man who cherishes a

certain political ideal. This position is sustained by Professor Huxley, who writes as follows in his "Essay on Government":

"Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or with crimes; but denotes a state of society, in which the rule of each individual by himself is the only government the legitimacy of which is recognized. Anarchy, as thus far defined, is the logical outcome of the form of political theory which for the last half-century and more has been known under the name of Individualism."

A comparison of these "proper" and "popular" definitions shows that the word "anarchist" may mean several distinct things, and that it is, consequently, a very vague word to be thus used for the first time in a statute without any attempt at precise definition. But let us suppose that it was intended to deport any kind of an anarchist, within the meaning of any of the definitions, and let us see where the supposition will lead us.

The best known anarchist of the day is Prince Peter Kropotkin, one of the most distinguished of living men of science, and shown by his own autobiography (though unconsciously and with all modesty) to be one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing of philanthropists. Next to him in fame comes the French anarchist, Elisée Réclus, the first of contemporary geographers, and a man so tender-hearted that he has written one of the strongest appeals against the slaughter of animals for food, from the standpoint of humanitarianism. England offers an asylum to one of these men and treats him with honor, while the other lives peaceably in Belgium; but the American Republic shuts them out. Henrik Ibsen, one of the glories of Scandinavia, and the foremost dramatist of the time, must be included with these men. In a letter to Georg Brandes, the Danish critic, he writes:

"The State is the curse of the individual. . . . Away with the State! I will take part in that revolution. Undermine the whole conception of a State, declare free choice and spiritual kinship to be the only all-important conditions of any union, and you will have the commencement of a liberty that is worth something."

Count Leo Tolstoy, of course, shares these views to the uttermost, and it is unnecessary to quote from the numerous passages in which he condemns government, root and branch. He claims for himself the title of Christian, and it is the opinion of many

that he approaches more nearly to the Master in his life than other professing Christians. However this may be, the term "Christian anarchist" is not uncommon, and no less an authority than Renan seems to justify it in his "Life of Jesus." He says:

> "In one view, Jesus was an anarchist, for he had no notion of civil government, which seemed to him an abuse, pure and simple. . . . Every magistrate seems to him a natural enemy of the people of God. . . . His aim is to annihilate wealth and power, not to grasp them."

It is not necessary to agree with Renan in his judgment for the purposes of my argument. He was certainly a man of great mental powers, and if he held to-day the position of Secretary of Commerce in our government and Jesus Christ came to our shores, he would be obliged, by the law and his estimate of the facts, to deport the Founder of Christianity in sight of a hundred spires erected in His name.

It would be easy to quote from other foreign teachers and writers,—from Herbert Spencer, for instance, whom the world is now mourning as perhaps the greatest of modern thinkers, and who said: "We cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry," and much more to the same effect; from Lamennais, from Guizot, from Wilhelm von Humboldt and others (including Proudhon himself, who is named by the "Century Dictionary" as the founder of anarchism and is described, in a laudatory article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" as "one of the most remarkable figures of modern France," devoted to the "moral ideas" of "justice, liberty and equality")—to prove that anarchism has found a place in the dreams of the highest authorities abroad; but let us turn to our own country. This Act of March 3rd, 1903, while not aimed at American citizens principally, brings them in incidentally; for Section 38 provides a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or imprisonment for not less than one nor more than five years, or both, for any person who invites a foreign "anarchist" to enter the country or assists him so to do. In principle, indeed, there is no reason why we should discriminate between foreign and domestic thinkers; and, if anything, the latter, by reason of their knowledge of the temper of the country, are the more dangerous. The Constitution may stand in the way of attacking native an-

archists for their beliefs, but it can be circumvented by interpretation; and, besides, constitutions are subject to amendment. Doubtless, the possibility of the deportation of visitors on account of their beliefs or disbeliefs never presented itself to the framers of that instrument, or they would have considered the free thought of foreigners at least as sacred as the free speech of citizens, and this latter they were careful to guard. Let us suppose that the Act of March 3rd extended to citizens, and let us examine the opinions of some of our own illustrious dead, and determine if anarchism is, as men usually suppose, a foreign article which can be stopped at the frontier.

William Lloyd Garrison is one of the heroes of the conflict with slavery,—I should be inclined to say the chief hero,—and his statue stands to-day in the streets of Boston, the mark of the esteem in which we hold his memory. He anticipated to the full, over sixty years ago, Count Tolstoy's views of the immorality of government by force. At the Peace Convention, held at Boston, in 1838, he drew up a "Declaration of Sentiments," which was adopted, and which he regarded as more important than the Declaration of Independence. The spirit of disbelief in government pervades this paper, from which I quote the following:

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore exclude ourselves voluntarily from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors and stations of authority."

This declaration combines with its anarchism the loftiest Christian sentiments. If Garrison were living to-day, and a foreigner of less than three years' standing in this country, he would have to be deported. The case against Thoreau is even clearer, for he dares to say:

"That government is best which governs not at all, and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have."

Thoreau must get into the prison-van alongside of Garrison. And here is another American whose language points in the same direction:

"I am glad to see that the terror at disunion and anarchy is disappearing. Massachusetts, in its heroic days, had no government, was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor, and there was no breach of peace from Cape Cod to Mount Hoosac."

These are the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson, taken from an address on "Affairs in Kansas," delivered at Cambridge in 1856. Let them move up and make place for Emerson in the Secretary's "Black Maria!" And now an illustrious statesman must join this distinguished group of exiles,—no less a man than the author of the Declaration of Independence, and the third President of the United States. It was Thomas Jefferson who wrote:

"Were it made a question, whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greater evil, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last."

And again:

"Societies exist under three forms sufficiently distinguishable. (1) Without government, as among our Indians; (2) under government where the will of every one has a just influence. . . . (3) under governments of force. . . . It is a problem not clear in my mind that the first condition is not the best."

He considers that condition, however, impossible for a large population.

Surely, the language of all of these great Americans "advocates the absence of government," or at least goes to prove that the speaker was an advocate of it in his thoughts. Logically, they must be excluded from the Land of Freedom.

But even those who advocate government are not always respectful to the principle. Mr. Charles Nordhoff may fairly be taken as an exponent of the popular idea of government, for his "Politics for Young Americans" is the recognized handbook on the subject in our schools. Here is his teaching:

"Governments are necessary evils. Their necessity arises out of the selfishness and stupidity of mankind."

It is quite possible, then, that the anarchist, who "advocates the absence of government as a political ideal," agrees with the orthodox school in everything except the "necessity" of an admitted evil, or, in other words, hopes for the final overthrow of

human "selfishness and stupidity." This may be foolish, but it is hardly a crime. Should we deport men for their optimism? And it is a fact, as Mr. Jefferson suggests when he refers to the Indians, that many of our fellow men have lived happily without government. Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace writes thus in his "Malay Archipelago":

"I have lived with communities of savages, in South America and in the East, who have no laws or law-courts but the public opinion of the village freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellows, and any infraction of those rights rarely or never takes place. In such a community, all are nearly equal. There are none of those wide distinctions, of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant, which are the product of our civilization. There is none of that widespread division of labor, which, while it increases wealth, produces also conflicting interests; there is not that severe competition and struggle for existence or for wealth which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitements to great crimes are thus wanting, and petty ones are suppressed, partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that sense of justice and his neighbors' rights which seems to be in some degree inherent in every race of men."

It may be an idle dream to hope to combine the advantages of barbarism and civilization, but it cannot be a sin, and the dreamer need not be a public enemy; for among such dreamers have been found the saviors and leaders of the race.

Still, it is true that awful crimes have been committed in the name of this belief. But cannot crimes be committed in any cause? The massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the tortures and *auto-da-fes* of the Inquisition, were committed in the name of Christianity, and with the honest intention of furthering the interests of the religion of love to God and neighbor. The Reign of Terror was inaugurated on behalf of fraternity, and the Crucifixion was ordered in the name of religion and morality. Are we for this reason to condemn Christianity and fraternity and morality? Should we not rather draw a sharp line between a man's beliefs and the method which he adopts to realize them? Here, again, we must make a distinction. A man may in the abstract "believe in the overthrow by force or violence" of governments, without being in the slightest degree a dangerous character. Most Americans who travel in Russia or Turkey would be delighted to have the tyranny of Tzar or Sultan upset by force; but

we are permitted, none the less, to enter those countries, and it would be considered barbarous to require from us a declaration that we "believed in," or rather that we "did not disbelieve in," their peculiar governmental systems. All men, except non-resistants of the Tolstoyan type (who are anarchists within the definition of the "Century Dictionary"), believe in the right of revolution when government becomes unbearable, and no forum has ever been established for the determination of the proper minimum point of insupportability except the individual conscience of the rebel and the jury of posterity.

It is a mistake, then, to attack a man's beliefs or disbeliefs in this, that or any kind of government, and also his abstract belief or disbelief in the right of revolution. The crime which our legislators had before their minds was the definite and distinct crime of assassination of rulers. The men whom they wished to exclude were those who preach or practise assassination. Why, then, did they not say so in so many words? It might still be a question of expediency whether it would not be wiser to admit even such men, as England does, and to restrict our action to crimes committed or advocated on our own territory, for by this policy England has escaped all anarchistic crime. But there would be nothing shocking to the moral sense in excluding men who preach assassination, as there certainly is in shutting out mere idealists. To confuse the crime of method with the mental ideal of the criminal, is a stupid error against which all the lessons of history rise in protest, and for the descendants of Puritans, Quakers, Huguenots, Baptists, Jews and democrats, who came to America for the express purpose of believing what they pleased, to turn about now and shut out others on account of their beliefs is an astounding performance.

Apart from the folly and injustice of attacking abstract beliefs, there is also the insuperable difficulty of proof. What does a man believe? Half the time he does not himself know, and if he is endowed with an active mind he is likely to change his beliefs from year to year. Then, too, he will be tempted to lie about them to escape punishment, and the exasperation caused to the authorities by his apparent wilful refusal to tell the truth about a matter known only to himself, will before long bring the rack and thumb-screw into use again, in some form, perhaps, less crude, but none the less barbarous. Our army has become proficient in

the torture of the water-cure, and at home the "sweat-box" and dark cell have been used to the same purpose. When beliefs become the legitimate field of juridical investigation, these methods will have to be practised, for there are no other adequate methods of probing a man's mind. We bought the Philippine Islands for twenty million dollars. Is it possible that the Holy Spanish Inquisition was thrown in into the bargain? But, besides inviting torture, the opening of the door to proof of beliefs gives new and unequalled opportunities to the spy and informer. How can I disprove a belief attributed to me by a professional liar? Deportation can be ordered under the Act of March 3rd, 1903, during three years after the arrival of the immigrant. What a field for blackmail is thus provided! The young farmer has set up his home in the West and sown his second crop. He and his wife and children are busy learning to become good American citizens, when suddenly the informer drops upon them, and brings up some chance word, dropped, perhaps, by the immigrant on the steamer which brought him over,—a word possibly misunderstood, misconstrued, wrested from its true meaning, or even invented and made out of whole cloth,—and he must pay hush-money to the spy or be sent back to his old home, his hopes wrecked forever.

It is a fact that an unusual number of atrocious crimes against the persons of kings and rulers have been committed in recent years, and that many of them were committed by anarchists. Not all, however, by any means. Such crimes have been most frequent in Russia, and there the assailants have usually been merely democrats or constitutionalists. In England, these crimes have been confined to Irish nationalists, whose only political creed was separation from England. In the United States, three Presidents have been assassinated—the first by a Democrat and Confederate, the second by a Republican, and the third only by an anarchist. Each of these assassins was an American born, and educated in our schools,—a fact which might induce us to judge more leniently of foreign immigrants. But, after making allowance for the many crimes of this nature attributable to non-anarchists, there remain a number of peculiarly shocking ones committed by adherents of anarchism. It becomes, then, a matter of importance to determine how best to prevent such crimes in future. To shut out "beliefs" is not only unjust, undesirable and inexpedient, but it is impossible. Beliefs spring up uncen-

sored and uncensorable in the mind of every one of our eighty millions of population, and most Americans do not arrive by way of Ellis Island. Booth and Guiteau and Czolgosz were native products, and could not be deported whence they came. Then, again, beliefs travel by mail more effectively than by steerage, and unless you examine every letter, book and newspaper that enters our ports, you cannot shut out the beliefs which they express. You may, however, by passing rigid statutes against idealists, tempt cranks who sympathize with them to perform some overt act of violence, for nothing makes a class so dangerous as to proscribe it. The large meeting held at Cooper Union in New York to protest against the deportation of Turner has been widely criticised as tending to encourage violence. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The deportation itself was calculated to suggest violence in reprisal, but the establishment of the fact that there were a considerable number of "respectable" citizens ready to consider the wrongs even of anarchists,—nothing, surely, could do more than that to restore to an equilibrium the unbalanced minds of some members of that fraternity.

We are face to face with a peculiar symptom of an obscure public distemper, and it cannot be cured by such crude methods as deportation. The subject calls for the most careful study of statesmen, penologists, economists and educators. What is it that produces crimes against rulers? We seem to understand the matter clearly in Russia, and there we ascribe the trouble directly to the governing class. Abolish autocracy and absolutism, we say, and say rightly, and the revolutionist's bomb will disappear. In Ireland, we have no great difficulty in forming a diagnosis either. England has misruled that country for centuries, we declare, and she has only reaped what she has sown. Here, again, we trace the disorder back to a national wrong. What was the cause of the three American assassinations? Booth's crime was clearly one of the results of the Civil War. It was the war-spirit, which we took no pains to exorcise, that turned him into a murderer. Guiteau was an extreme expression of political strife and hatred, the direct offspring of Stalwart and Half-Breed rivalry. Czolgosz was no less truly the product of his times. The war-spirit was abroad again. Revenge had been preached as a public virtue, and war deliberately chosen by the nation in preference to diplomacy as the proper instrument of progress. Again the awful crimes of

individuals seem to hark back to a national cause; they are sporadic expressions of a general infection. And our rulers are preaching the same doctrines in our name to-day, and, so far as we support them, we are responsible for the results. A government which assassinates one sister-republic in the Philippines and vivisects another in South America, which bombards defenceless villages in Samoa, killing women and children, in a cause afterwards pronounced by an impartial tribunal to be absolutely unjust, such a government is setting an example of anarchy in the worst sense of the word.

Political crimes, then, appear in some way to arise from national pathological conditions; they are exhibitions of individual lunacy growing out of a popular craze. The anarchist assassin is, to all intents and purposes, insane, and he is doing all he can to injure his own cause. Longing for a world good enough to dispense with policemen, prisons and electric chairs, he does his best to prove by his act the impracticability of his dream. It is really Czolgosz who is shutting Turner out of America, and if he had been in control of his senses he might have foreseen the consequences of his act, by which he made government stronger and discredited his own beliefs. His act was an insane one, but no man can be insane alone, for none of us lives to himself, and every man is, and must be, a social symptom. There is a public madness of the war-spirit, a delirium of national pride and power, a general fever of money-getting, which in some peculiarly distorted mind may take the form of unreasoning revolt against all these things. The strenuous life has many shapes, and it may be practised by devils as well as angels.

If there is any truth in this reasoning, the proper cure for criminal anarchism lies in the direction of the cultivation of national sanity. The European countries which produce the greatest number of assassins are military-mad. They are busy pauperizing themselves and exhausting the healthy blood of their people in the insane rivalry of armaments. The Italian statesman who would send three-fourths of the army back to their homes and sink nine-tenths of their men-of-war in the Mediterranean, would go a long way toward stopping the production of political criminals. Our national disease shows the greatest congestion and inflammation in the region of the dollar. The mad race to increase wealth beyond all possibility of enjoyment, the crazy antics of

the Stock Exchange,—we must study these things, before we can prescribe for the nation. Our lunatic asylums are ever growing; more and more men and women commit suicide each year; nervous prostration is becoming the rule rather than the exception. How far is the dollar-cult responsible for all this? Excessive wealth must find an outlet for investment, and hence the craving for the isles of the sea, and for armies and navies and bloodshed; and who can wonder if here and there a distracted individual goes off, like a stray revolver, the wrong way, and kills a fellow citizen instead of a foreign foe?

The anarchist will not cease to be a danger,—(one of many, many dangers),—until we set up healthy ideals in the market-place, in Wall Street and at Washington. We need not preach love for neighbor,—that is, perhaps, asking too much; but we ought to insist, at least, upon a wholesome regard for his rights. It has been suggested that we now love him too much like the traditional lover,—we love the very ground he treads upon,—which is a good enough reason for taking it from under his feet. We should respect his liberties, and, as we only need love him as ourselves, we should respect our own liberties too. It is hard to preserve liberty in a land where the money-bag is supreme and where it can count upon the mailed hand of war to carry out its behests. And yet freedom was our first love and in our younger and healthier days the love of it coursed in our veins. All liberty involves a risk, but then it is often a risk worth taking. And all repression involves risks too, and these risks are so much less noble and alluring! Freedom presupposes strength and courage, but we are becoming cowardly in our old age, and are afraid to allow men to land upon our shores who dare to "disbelieve" in our institutions or to criticise them.

It is, perhaps, unlikely that we shall soon return to our old-time devotion to freedom. So be it. But, in that case, let us stop talking about it. Let us clear ourselves of cant and cease to be hypocrites. Let us take down the beautiful statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," that brazen lie, which now casts its beams upon Ellis Island and its prison, and let us put up in its place an ogre of iron, grasping a gnarled and knotted club, and casting its baleful shadow upon the immigrant,—an image no longer of Liberty Enlightening, but of Despotism Darkening, the World.

ERNEST CROSBY.

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART IV.

XVIII.

Mrs. Langbrith came out every fine day to look over her flowers at first, and then to work over them. She made the man clean up round the tall syringas planted at intervals along the brick walk to the gate, and about the lilacs that overhung the fence. She followed him as he combed down the limp last year's grass, and raked the dead leaves and stems into heaps at the points she chose, and then set fire to them. At tea, she liked to have the dining-room windows a little open, that the homely smell of their burning heaps might come in with the fresh evening air, and possess her with the dreams of that girlhood which now no longer seemed so far past. She thought Dr. Anther might stop some evening in going by; but if she caught sight of him in the distance, she went indoors. She realized that their embrace at their last meeting was more like a final parting than a pledge of union, unless she were ready to do what she wished, but was afraid, to do. Yet this thought of it had the greater sweetness for that reason; and the love that had come into her life so late was the more precious because it seemed to have come too late.

Toward her son, grown a man, she felt its indecorum in a kind which she could not quite formulate, but which was distinct enough. If her love had come when she was younger, and he still a child, it would have been different; and yet she could not blame her friend for not knowing himself sooner. That blame would have been as indecorous toward Anther as now the thought of him was toward her son. Before her marriage, her fancy had scarcely been stirred. She had gone the round of the simple children's amusements in her country neighborhood—the parties and picnics and school festivals; but no little boy had been her beau. She had not even been teased by her mates about any one. She was younger in experience than any girl she knew in the mill when Langbrith cast his eye her way, and suddenly, somehow, through her necessity and helplessness, made her his wife. She certainly was not aware of anything like love for him, so far as she imagined love; but she was flattered and

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dazzled and overcome, and she supposed that she was marrying as other people married, and for the reasons that they had. Her awakening from her illusion was like the terror of a child which has not enough knowledge of the world to match its experiences with those of others. In a fashion not definite or articulate, she accepted her lot as a common lot in wifehood; and, as she had supposed herself to have married from the usual motives, so she now supposed that what she underwent was not unusual. From her sufferings, she formed a notion of marriage grotesquely false, which was like a child's misconception of life, and the spell of this kept her submissive. She did not talk of what she underwent; no one talked to her of such things, and apparently it was not the custom.

Her childlikeness so prolonged itself, not ignorantly, but innocently, through her wifehood and motherhood and widowhood, that, when at last she was aware of liking the man who later loved her, and of trusting him and longing for his affection, it was with a sense of shame as from unprecedented guilt. Before the thought of her son she was so ashamed that she knew she should never be able to tell him of Dr. Anther, nor ever allow Anther to speak for himself. She did not feel that her tenderness for her friend could be wrong when she was with him. She was now glad of that sole embrace which they had ever suffered their love, and proud of it; but the knowledge of it sunk her at her son's feet when she imagined his knowing it. Her face burned, and it did not avail her to remember the examples of mothers that had married again, and had lived on with their husbands, and their children by their dead husbands, in unimpaired harmony and mutual respect. She was moved late in her inextinguishable girlhood to her first passion, but only to find herself inexorably consecrated to her widowhood through her reverence for her son's ideal of his father.

At sight of Hope Hawberk tilting lightly down the sidewalk, she was seized with the same impulse to flight as at the approach of the doctor in his vagarious buggy; and she had to conquer far more shyness, when, one warm afternoon, Hope caught her so preoccupied with the hired man that it was too late for her to think of eluding her. She shrank together beyond a well-budded lilac, where Hope's gay voice, as if it had a bright entangling noose of sound, reached her in the chanted salutation, "How do you do, Mrs. Langbrith!" and held her fast. She came reluctantly from her shelter, and advanced slowly toward the gate, on the top of which the girl had laid her arms, and her red cheek for a moment in the hollow of one of them. "Isn't it awfully warm?"

"Yes, it is. Though I haven't noticed it so much, working about. Won't you come in, Hope?"

"Why, I will, Mrs. Langbrith, if you'll let me. I was just coming in, when I saw you." She pushed the gate open and joined Mrs. Langbrith, who turned with her, and walked toward the house. "How fast your things are coming on! It seems as if they were

twice as forward as ours, and there are twice as many of them. I don't suppose they help each other, do they?"

"I don't believe they do," Mrs. Langbrith answered so literally that it might have passed as a piece of the same whimsicality. "How is your grandmother?"

"She's as energetic as ever. I don't see how she can be. This weather takes all the good resolutions out of me, Mrs. Langbrith, and I don't know how I've got together enough to come and see you. I want to tell you something that I don't want to tell you."

The girl's humor was catching, and the woman caught it. "Well, what is it?" she asked, but she apparently did not expect Hope to answer till she had got her seated at an open window of the parlor, with a palm-leaf fan in her hand.

"Why, it's just this, Mrs. Langbrith. I've got into a scrape with James, and if you can't tell me how to get out of it, I don't know who can."

Mrs. Langbrith's heart fluttered with a varied anticipation, but she united her emotions in the single inexpressive phrase, "I don't believe it's anything serious."

"Yes, it is, Mrs. Langbrith. It's very serious, and it has gone so far now that something has got to be done about it, and I can't have the responsibility left to me."

Mrs. Langbrith listened with the wish for one thing and the will for another, but her will prevailed over her wish, and she kept herself from saying anything leading. She believed that there was some sort of love-quarrel which Hope had come to own, but she was not going to tempt her to the confession. She said, non-committally, "I will try not to hold you responsible."

Hope laughed rather distractedly. "I guess you will have to. It's about that tablet he wants to put up in the front of the library."

Mrs. Langbrith stiffened in her chair, and said, "Oh!"

"Well, James has been writing to me about it since he went back to Cambridge, and I guess he thinks I have been making fun of him, when I was only making fun of the notion that he should take something I said so seriously. Don't you understand?"

"James is apt to take things seriously," his mother said.

"And I'm *not*," Hope retorted with a touch of resentment, as if she felt a touch of reproach in Mrs. Langbrith's tone, though the words themselves were so neutral. "And that's just the difference, and always will be." The last clause of the sentence was a generality, which the girl seemed to address to herself rather than Mrs. Langbrith. "Now, I'll tell you what it is. He asked me what I thought about his having the dedication on Decoration Day, and I told him I didn't think it was quite fair to take that day from the old soldiers and their families; and he saw it in the same light, and he telegraphed to say that I was right and he wouldn't. And I wrote back making fun of his telegraphing, as if it couldn't wait for a letter."

"I don't see any harm in that. James is very intense in his feelings, but he would see that you didn't mean anything unfriendly—anything—"

"No, of course not. But now comes what I am really ashamed of. My making fun seems to have made him very mad, so mad that he says he is going to give up the whole idea, and won't have anything done about it. He says I have made it seem ridiculous to him."

Mrs. Langbrith cast down her eyes. "James is very sensitive in regard to—Mr. Langbrith."

"Yes, I know that, and that's what makes me sorry. Of course, I didn't mean to hurt his feelings for his father. And now, Mrs. Langbrith, and now—I've got something else to tell you. You know how girls are?"

"Thoughtless, you mean?"

"No,—*bad!* Downright wicked! I told Susie Johns about James's telegraphing. I don't see why I should do such a thing. But we were laughing about a lot of things, and that came out. It was as mean as it could be. And now I would do anything in the world to make it right, but I don't suppose I ever can. I don't care a bit about his being mad at me for it; he has a perfect right to be; but what I hate is people laughing at him. I've been to tell Susie not to tell, since I got his last letter, but I know she will. He mustn't give up the idea, because they will say that I laughed at it, and that was the reason, and I am not going to have them. Don't you see? I expect *you* to blame me, Mrs. Langbrith, and never speak to me again; but I shall not care for that if you can think of some way to stop him—to make him not give it up. Why, he *must* go on with it now. Everybody knows that he was going to do it, and he must. Was there ever such a scrape?"

Mrs. Langbrith sat silent, but this was quite what Hope seemed to expect, and the face that she turned upon the girl was by no means severe. It expressed rather, an absence of feeling, somewhat distressed and puzzled.

Hope went on. "I don't believe it will do any good for me to write to him and tell him he must?" Mrs. Langbrith made no comment on this suggestion, and Hope owned, "Well, I *have* written to him, and he's written back, and said that he knows my real feeling now, and he cannot go on. I don't see why he minds my feeling, anyway, and that's the reason why I've come to you. I don't know what made me come to you about it, but I wanted to ask you if you thought it would do for me to ask Dr. Anther to write to James?"

"Dr. Anther?"

"Yes, and tell him not to mind a person who is not worth minding, but to go on and put up the tablet. Tell him that everybody approves of it, and expects it."

Mrs. Langbrith emerged from her absence, but the stare which she bent upon the girl was as silent as her far-off look.

"Will it do for me to ask the doctor? I don't want to do it,

because— But I will, rather than let it go as it is. I will do anything. What do you think, Mrs. Langbrith?"

Mrs. Langbrith shook her head, and said, with something that she kept from being a shudder, "Oh, no, it won't do to speak to Dr. Anther."

"For me? Or for any one?"

"For you. I—I will speak to him!"

"You? Oh, thank you, Mrs. Langbrith! I thought—I hoped—I didn't dare to hope—" The pent emotions, kept in so bravely, broke in tears, and Hope caught her handkerchief from her belt and sobbed into it. "Oh, dear, I don't see why you do it! I don't see how you can bear to look at me, or speak to me, much less do anything I ask you to, after the mischief I've made. But I do, *do* thank you—"

She wavered toward the other, with what design she did not know; but, whatever it was, Mrs. Langbrith put her arms round her, and pulled her head down on her shoulder, and the girl had her cry out there. "Oh, I'm so ashamed, I'm so ashamed!" she kept saying. "I don't know why you let me, Mrs. Langbrith!"

Mrs. Langbrith did not say, and perhaps could not; but when Hope's passion of weeping was spent, and she drew away to wipe her eyes, and compose her face, the woman said, irrelevantly, "How is your father, Hope?"

"Oh, much better. I believe the doctor thinks he can cure him?"

"That's good," Mrs. Langbrith said as irrelevantly as before, and now she let the girl, with a fling of her arms round her neck, run out of the house unhindered.

Half-way to the gate she met Mrs. Enderby coming up to make a call on Mrs. Langbrith; and, from behind the veil she had caught down over her face, she was able to chaunt a gay little "Good afternoon, Mrs. Enderby!" without exciting any question in the lady, except as to how a girl whose life was so tragically conditioned could keep that blithe note in her voice.

XIX.

Almost the first thing Mrs. Enderby said was, "That poor, pretty creature, how wonderfully she keeps up!" for this was what was still first in her mind when she took the place at the window which Hope had just left, and looked to see if she could still see her.

Mrs. Langbrith said, "Won't you have a fan?" and Mrs. Enderby thanked her and took from her the fan which Hope had dropped on the table. "It *is* unseasonably warm."

"We often have a hot day like this toward the beginning of May."

"Oh, yes, that is true. But the leaves not being out makes it so melting in the sun. Is there the least hope for the child's father?"

"Dr. Anther has always believed his habit could be cured."

"Oh, yes, Dr. Anther: how we all depend upon him! Saxmills would be another place without him. We turn to him in so many things. I was just thinking about him—just speaking about him with Dr. Enderby. But, Mrs. Langbrith, what is this I hear about your son's giving up the notion of the tablet to his father? I hope it isn't true—just town gossip."

"James hasn't said anything to me about giving it up," Mrs. Langbrith answered, and she quelled the outward signs of her wonder whether Hope had come to her with a half confession, and had been twice as silly and light-tongued as she had owned. "He has given up having the dedication on Decoration Day."

"Oh, well, perhaps that's it, and it has got twisted into the other thing. May I say that you have heard nothing from him in regard to it?"

Mrs. Langbrith could truthfully assent to this, but she assented with so much coldness that Mrs. Enderby was struck by it, and a little hurt. In her kind heart, which was equal to most emergencies where excuses were needed for offences, she accounted for the coldness as the expression of rustic shyness. She had known village modesty to take the form of village pride, and, later, unmask itself in touching gratitude.

"We all," she went on, after thanking Mrs. Langbrith for her assent, "think it such an admirable idea, and Dr. Enderby particularly favors it. He feels it so important to recognize *character*, especially when it has influenced a whole community as Mr. Langbrith's has influenced Saxmills, and stamped his traits on the place, as Dr. Enderby says, that I believe he would have been glad to have a tablet to Mr. Langbrith's memory in the church."

At this point Mrs. Enderby certainly expected some sort of response; but Mrs. Langbrith preserved a silence of unbroken iciness. Perhaps she did not like the notion of a tablet in the church. Mrs. Enderby went on:

"But, of course, he feels that there is a peculiar fitness in its being in the library building. We all do, and I am sure every one will be glad to hear that there is nothing in that report, or nothing but a perversion of the Decoration Day part of it."

Mrs. Langbrith made no sign of gratification in Mrs. Enderby's conclusion, and Mrs. Enderby had to go away in an uncomfortable misgiving for the effect of the interest she had shown in the matter. She had no misgiving for the interest itself. That was simply a duty toward one of her husband's parishioners, such as she had promised herself to fulfil toward all after she had so reluctantly consented to his taking the parish of St. Cuthbert's at Saxmills. She felt that she was not only following him into the wilderness—anywhere over twenty miles from Boston was the wilderness for a Bostonian of her elect origin—but she had fears of the peculiar difficulties which a priest of Dr. Enderby's socialistic—she called

them "sociological"—tendencies would have in a cure of proletariat souls, housed in a temple built with money from their exploitation. Langbrith had given St. Cuthbert's small but sufficient church to the parish, as well as the library to the town; and Mrs. Enderby's question was, whether her husband could keep that perfect conscience between a due sense of gratitude toward the giver's memory, and his duty toward the employees of his son's milling property, in the event of those differences which might any time arise between capital and labor. She had been wakened by this question one memorable night, and had not been able to wait till morning before submitting it to Dr. Enderby, in a conscience inherited from Calvinistic forefathers through a Unitarian father who had preserved nothing from his ancestral faith but the conscience transmitted to his family of daughters. Dr. Enderby's own conscience was of the same lineage, and it cost them both a night's sleep to decide the point. In fact, it was not until late into the next afternoon that they had reasoned to the conclusion that to do right was his sole duty, and that to shrink from conditions which might sometimes render the right embarrassing or difficult would be a confession of unworthiness for the office they both wished to magnify.

Mrs. Enderby came away from Boston with all the reluctance that she had foreseen, but with none of the regret; and, though she was followed by the sympathies of her friends, she had as yet experienced nothing which turned her mind toward them in longing for their pity. Saxmills had not proved quite the social desert, beset with dangers, which she had sometimes foreboded. She had there, as everywhere, her husband, first and foremost; and, besides, there were several people she liked. Not counting those she loved because they were poor and sick and dependent, there were, among those she liked, Judge Garley and his wife, who were agreeable mid-Massachusetts town-folk, reasonably cultivated and passably acquainted with life, by reason of several winters' official residence in Boston; and she liked Mrs. Langbrith, ordinarily, very much, though she was not quite what Mrs. Enderby would have quite called cultivated, and certainly not acquainted with life. But her shy charm was a great charm for Mrs. Enderby, and it was much in her favor that she always made Mrs. Enderby think of that old-fashioned, late-summer flower, mourning-bride. The abiding girlishness of the long-widowed, middle-ageing woman responded to a girlishness of her own, from which she was fond of all the nice young girls of the village, like Hope Hawberk and Susie Johns and Jessamy Colebridge, and such others as did not dismay her by their fearlessness with the young men. Outside of the mills, the young men were, indeed, so few that there was, perhaps, not much reason to be afraid of them. But, above all, she liked and respected and honored Dr. Anther, whose life had such a daily beauty that she could better have expressed her sense of it if she were still a Unitarian, than she could now she was a churchwoman. She was

constantly finding him in the houses of affliction, which she visited in her own quality of good angel, and it was without surprise or any feeling of coincidence that she now met him coming to the gate of a common patient, which she opened next after closing Mrs. Langbrith's.

She merely said, "Oh, how delightful, Dr. Anther! I was just thinking of you." And then she added, "I hope you leave our poor sufferer better?"

"*You* will, after you have seen her," the doctor said, shifting his little bag of medicines from his right to his left hand, so as to take the hand Mrs. Enderby put out to him. He had a fine perception of her lady-world in Mrs. Enderby, and liked to say as nice things as he could to her. "She needs cheering up, and you'll be better for her than my medicine."

"If I could believe you were serious in your civilities, I should be conceited; but I know you only say such things to cheer *me* up—not that I need it just now. I've been to see Mrs. Langbrith, and she has reassured me in regard to a strange report I had heard. I wonder if you had."

"Better try me," Anther said, twitching his bag up and down with a latent impatience.

"Why, merely that her son had given up the notion of the memorial tablet for the library front. Had you?"

"No," Anther replied shortly, jerking his bag with open violence.

"Well, if you do, there's nothing in it, as far as his mother has heard. He *has* changed his mind about having the dedication on Decoration Day, and the report probably arose from that." The doctor said nothing, and once more Mrs. Enderby was bruised and disappointed by the bluntness of village manners—this time from one who had always been so responsive. But she rose above it, as she would have said, so far as to excuse him in consoling herself. "But I see your mind is on your next patient, doctor. It's cruel of me to keep you, and I won't any longer. Good-by!"

She went in to cheer up the sick woman, but even after the exhilarating effort she came away with a little lingering impression of Dr. Anther's indifference to her news. She submitted her impression to her husband, whom she found struggling with a sermon of an hour's length rebellious to his ideal of twenty-five minutes. He detached himself to examine the impression, and to match it with one he had brought away from the supper at Mrs. Langbrith's, when Dr. Anther had received young Langbrith's proposal of the tablet with so little interest. "Perhaps," he suggested, "it is not that country uncouthness altogether: there may not have been all that friendliness between the doctor and the elder Langbrith which we have inferred from his present relations to the family."

"Why, have you heard anything of that kind?" Mrs. Enderby was of an eagerness in her inquiry which her husband thought it well to repress.

"No, nothing at all. It's pure conjecture with me."

"It would be very interesting." Mrs. Enderby sighed for the evident want of foundation in fact.

"Yes, but, Alice, don't let it take possession of your fancy. It would be very unjust and it might be injurious."

"Oh, I should not dream of mentioning it to any one. To whom could I? But it happens to tally—is that slang?"

"I don't know that it is."

"I oughtn't to use it if it is, in a place like this. It happens to tally with something that has come into my mind. I have always wondered why Dr. Anther doesn't marry Mrs. Langbrith."

"He may not wish it, or she may not."

"It would be such an appropriate thing. They are old friends, and they are not too old. Her son will soon be leaving her—I know he's in love with that poor, pretty, joyous Hope Hawberk; and the doctor must have always been very uncomfortable at Mrs. Burwell's, and now she's going to break up, and where *will* he go?"

"He certainly might do worse than go to Mrs. Langbrith's," the rector allowed; "but still there is no more proof that he wishes to marry Langbrith's widow than that he bears a grudge to his memory."

"No, but don't you see that, if he *did* want to marry Mrs. Langbrith, it would make him willing to have Mr. Langbrith forgotten? Wouldn't that be natural?"

"I'm afraid it would, Alice," the rector said with a regretful recognition of a trait of fallen man.

"And wouldn't it account both for the way Dr. Anther behaved that night, and for the way he behaved just now?"

"It might; but don't you see we are proceeding upon a pure hypothesis?"

"That is true," she consented; and now, having not before removed her hat, she pulled out the long pins that pierced its sides into the mass of her handsome graying hair, and lifted it off, carried it out of the study on her hand, thoughtfully considering it as she went.

"Of course, Alice," he called after her, "we must both be careful to keep our hypothesis to ourselves."

"Oh, yes indeed! I shall be very careful not to speak of it."

XX.

After indulging his resentment of Hope's ridicule, to the violent extreme of renouncing all intention of the memorial tablet, Langbrith allowed a natural revulsion of feeling to carry him so far back as a renunciation of Hope instead. He wrote her an angry letter, in answer to hers asking him not to mind anything she had said for the reason that she was not worth minding herself. Then he felt so much stronger that he returned to his intention, and got

Falk to go with him into Boston to the studio of the young sculptor who was modelling the bas-relief. It had to be done from few and rather poor photographs, for it had not been one of his father's excesses to sit often for his picture. There were some ferrotypes and still older daguerreotypes from which the sculptor had imagined a head more or less ideal. Falk tacitly considered the ideal an improvement on the portrait in the library at Saxmills, and he had kept Langbrith from sending for the painting by sufficiently offensive censures of its woodenness. Besides, as that was from a photograph too, he held that there would be no advantage in studying the tablet from it.

The young sculptor was a find of Langbrith's in the course of his own æsthetic development. He had seen some idealistic banalities of the artist in an art-dealer's window, and had liked them so much that he had got Falk to come and look at them too, and then join him in looking up the sculptor, who, when looked up, proved to be a beautiful, poverty-stricken young Jew, with black hair bushing out over a fine forehead, and, under the forehead, mobile, attentive eyes. He had a profile more Hellenic than Hebraic, and cheeks and chin already blue from shaving a dense beard. It appeared that he had made the banalities to sell, and that he could do stronger if not truer things, as the casts in his studio witnessed. He entered into the motive of the medallion, as Langbrith presented it, with an ardor that matched Langbrith's, and he roughed it out in the clay so quickly that in twenty-four hours he had something to show his patron. He had conceived so aptly of his patron, if not of his subject, that he had flattered the effigy of the elder Langbrith into a likeness of the son, who stood before it in content little short of ecstasy.

"Falk," he said, "it has the ancestral look—the look of race. I can see myself in it. That must have been the way my father looked. Wonderful!"

"It *is* like you," Falk said, with a glance at the sculptor, who was watching Langbrith with subtle and shifty eyes. "I always supposed you rather resembled your mother."

"Not at all," Langbrith retorted. "There may be something in our features, but her expression is totally different. I see nothing of my mother in this."

"Well, if you're satisfied, that's the end of the story."

"But look, Falk, look at these old pictures!" At the first question, the sculptor had supplied them, and Langbrith now held them in his hand, studying them and then the sketch. "You can see that the outline is the same, and Mr. Lily has read the character into the face which these caricatures belie. It's the artistic resurrection from the mechanical death of these tin-types. It's miraculous!"

"Well, Mr. Lily probably believes in miracles."

The sculptor presented an impervious surface to the smile of

Falk's irony, and Langbrith continued to effervesce without heeding his friend.

"And you've taken my notion most delightfully about the inscription, Mr. Lily. It's just the effect I wanted, fronting the eyes there in those lines of compact capitals, and balanced by that low relief of the mills at the back of the head. Of course, I know that there's nothing definite in those details yet; but the face is so perfect, so struck, as if with a die, that I dread to have you touch it. Do you think you can keep just that look in working it up?"

The young sculptor pouted his handsome, thick, red lips, and said, "I think so," stealing a glance from his subject to his patron.

"Well," Langbrith sighed, "I shall have to trust you," and Falk laughed out. "What's the matter?" Langbrith demanded.

"Of course, you'll have to trust him! You're not running this work of art."

"Oh, I didn't understand you. Of course! And how soon can you have it done, Mr. Lily?"

"How long can you give me?" the sculptor asked.

"I did think of Decoration Day for the dedication, but I've changed my mind about that. I think now I will have it on my father's birthday—the 29th of June. Could you have it ready by that time?"

The sculptor seemed considering seriously, and at last he said, reluctantly, as certain people do to enhance the value of a concession, "I think I can, if there's no delay in the foundry. If there is, you know you can dedicate a gilded plaster copy and put up the bronze later—any time."

"Ah, I don't believe I should like that. It wouldn't be in character with my father. He always paid cash. I shall trust you to have it ready in time. I know you can have it done."

Langbrith remained studying the sketch until Falk's restiveness obliged him to break from it. The more he saw himself in his portrait of his father, the better he was pleased, and the truer he decided the likeness to be. The family look certainly was there, and what greater truth could he ask? With all the self-satisfaction of the academic side of his nature, he rejoiced in what he decided to be an ideal presentation of his father's face.

The sculptor followed him and Falk to the door of his studio, and bowed them out.

"Little Sheeny!" Falk observed when the door had closed upon them.

"He says he is an Italian, but he's all the finer artist for his drop of the 'indelible blood,'" Langbrith said, still rejoicing.

"Every drop of blood in his body is indelible. He ought to be a puller-in. He could sell *you* any misfit in the store. I'll do a puller-in at a Roman statuary's for *Caricature,* and I'll have this fellow working off a Mercury on you, come up from your Sabine papyrus-mill."

"If you didn't like it, Falk—"

"Why not say so? What good would that have done, with your infatuation? Besides, I didn't say I didn't like it. There's a lot of infernal *chic* about it. In its way it's damnably good, but it's you, you poor innocent, right over again, and that's what he was aiming at from the first moment he got those eyes of his afloat on you."

"If that's the way you feel—" Langbrith began, half turning.

Falk caught him by the coat lapel and pulled him round again. "What are you going to do? Countermand it? You couldn't get a better job, and the poor devil needs the job. Don't I tell you it's good? It's all the better for having so much of you in it, if I do say it that hate to. Come! you've blundered and he's swindled into the very thing. Let him go on!"

Langbrith moved reluctantly forward. "If I could trust you, Falk—"

"You've got to."

"I never can make you understand how I feel about my father. He's a religion with me, and anything that seems to belittle him or belie him is a profanation. If I didn't feel that somehow the fellow *had* got my father into the thing, I wouldn't let him go on. Of course, I can see that he has had to work back from me—get the life into it from me! But, apart from the question of the likeness, don't you think it's good?"

"Haven't I said so? The fellow has done it mighty well."

"He has taken all my suggestions," Langbrith said, reaching out for a little more kindness.

"Yes, and St.-Gaudensized them. That's all right. That was the thing to do. At this time of day, he couldn't get away from St.-Gaudens."

"I'm anxious to have him go on," Langbrith dreamily continued, "because he can get it done in time, and I don't know who else could." He hesitated, as he must, even in the intimacy of his confidence with Falk, before adding, "I've just told Hope that I'm having him do it. I've told her that I had taken it up again."

"Why, had you dropped it?"

"Yes," Langbrith owned uneasily. "We had a little misunderstanding about having the dedication on Decoration Day. Falk, I want to tell you; but you're so sharp—"

"Oh, go on, I'll spare you on condition that you're honest."

"Well, you know she didn't approve of that idea, and she put it in such a light about its not being fair to take the day from the old soldiers whom it belonged to, that I saw it just as she did, and I telegraphed her—"

"Telegraphed!" Falk opened his mouth for a laugh, but shut it again without laughing.

"Oh, laugh! I don't care now! And she came back at me with a letter that cut me to the quick. She's terribly sarcastic, or can be. She made all sorts of fun of me for thinking my agreement with her opinion so important that it could not wait for a letter.

Of course, she put it in the way of mocking at herself, saying that she never supposed before that she was of so much consequence that her opinions had to be accepted by telegraph. It ground me awfully, and I took it like a perfect ass."

"Naturally!" Falk interjected.

"Oh, don't mind *me!*" Langbrith exulted. "I wish I could always be an ass to such purpose. I wrote back to her that she needn't be anxious hereafter, for I had given up the whole scheme of the tablet, and I should never trouble her again by my method of asking or acknowledging her opinions."

"That sounds so wise that it must be true," said Falk. "Go on. I thought I knew you, my young friend, but you are unfathomable."

"I begin to believe it. And that brought a letter from her, protesting against my giving up—very dignified and impersonal, and all that; but I was still so sore that I let her letter go unanswered a couple of days, and then there came another from her, entreating me to go on with my plan, and saying if I didn't she never could forgive herself; that she had not meant anything by what she said of my telegraphing; that it was only fun, and I oughtn't to take it in earnest; but if I must, she withdrew it all. She said she knew that if it got about that I was going to give up the plan, it would make all sorts of talk and be very disagreeable."

"She had probably told about your telegraphing to some of the other girls," Falk interpreted. "Susie Johns, likely. Or even Jessamy Colebridge."

"That was what I thought at first, and it made me madder still."

"Yes, you are that kind of ass," Falk assented.

"So I decided not to answer that second letter. And then came one that was fairly imploring. It was dated a day later, and she said in it that she was so miserable she had to write again, and she should not till she heard I was going on with my plan."

"You must have felt proud."

"No, I didn't. I felt ashamed."

"I'm surprised."

"Oh, I deserve anything you can say. She kept up the effect of joking, but she must have been serious, or she wouldn't have written three times."

"And having brought the suppliant to her knees, what did the Prince of Saxmills graciously deign to answer?"

"The P. of S. had already answered the second letter, on second thoughts. He had written to tell her not to think of the matter again; for, on looking it all over, he found that he couldn't relinquish the plan now. He tried to make his decision seem unrelated to her, because he didn't think it fair to take the advantage she had given him."

"I'm glad to hear it," Falk said. "It's a little fact that enables me to continue your acquaintance, which I was just going to drop. Langbrith, don't you know that that girl is one of the most—"

"I think I don't need any one to tell me what she is," Langbrith interrupted, haughtily. Then he instantly stooped from his height. "But I appreciate your feeling, Falk, and I thank you. I was glad that I had answered her second letter, and that my answer and her third had crossed, because I got a letter from my mother with the third from Hope, saying Hope had been to see her, and had told her the trouble she was in. I shouldn't have liked her to think I had done for my mother, even, what I wouldn't do for her."

"Yes, you saved your distance. I congratulate you."

"That's mighty kind of you," said Langbrith, fondly. "And you think—you think, don't you, that the whole situation looks rather favorable for me?"

"Oh, come now! I can't go into that, Langbrith. It's more than I bargained for."

Langbrith went on dreamily: "She must have been a good deal troubled. She asked my mother how it would do to get Dr. Anther to write to me, and my mother had to put her off, by promising to ask him herself. Afterwards she decided not to ask, but to write to me instead. I rather wish she *had* asked the doctor," he concluded, meditatively.

"Why?"

"Oh, there is something that has rankled in me ever since the night of our supper-dance: the way Anther took my proposal of the tablet. Didn't you notice anything peculiar in his manner?"

"He didn't seem to take a great deal of interest," Falk owned.

"He is the oldest living friend of my father. I didn't like it. I had it out with my mother, the next morning, and perhaps that made her reluctant to ask him to take any part in it. She is very proud where there is any question of slight to me, and I suppose she felt as I did about my father. Perhaps she found she couldn't do what she promised Hope. But that's a small matter. The great thing is that I hadn't waited for her letter before writing to Hope. I can't be too glad of that. I should have hated even to seem to have done for another what I hadn't done for her. I'm hard hit, and you know it, Falk, and now you've got to listen. That girl is the rarest human creature on this earth."

"Why not say in the universe, and be done with it?"

"Because I don't want to wrong her by any sort of extravagance. She's so perfect, she has such poise, such spiritual proportion—through her sense of humor, I suppose—that any sort of excess seems an insult to her. She's wonderful, I see that more and more. Sometimes, when I think of her hard life with that opium-eating father of hers, and that belated old Puritan of a grandmother, and how her days must pass between the horrors of his narcotic and her religious frenzies, I wonder she can keep her sanity. But she is the sanest and sweetest and wholesomest and loveliest soul alive. She doesn't seem any more related to her surroundings or origin than the singing that you hear come out of a church window

in summer, and that you can't connect with the stifling and perspiring congregation inside. It's disembodied worship, and she's just joyous girlhood incarnate."

"Oh, Lord! I can't stand much more of this!" Falk groaned.

"When I think of her," Langbrith went on, careless of his sufferings, "I seem to myself the most contemptible and unworthy caricature of humanity—full of every kind of ridiculous imperfection and detestable defect; a wrong-headed, stubborn mule, with an instinct for kicking at the wrong time and in the wrong place, with a hide so thick and a fibre so coarse that any suggestion for its own good, short of a big stick, is lost on it."

"Well, now," Falk got in his revenge, "you can understand just how you seem to other people a good deal of the time when you're *not* thinking of her."

XXI.

"What's this I hear?" Hope's grandmother required of the gayety which, even beyond the girl's cheerful wont, marked her rebound from her trouble after Langbrith's second letter came. "Folks are sayin' that James is not goin' to put that inscription of his father on the library, and then again that he is. You know anything about it, Hope?"

"Yes, I know all about it, grandma. They're right both ways. He wasn't and he is, unless he's changed his mind again."

"How do you know."

"He's written to tell me."

The old woman's eyes flared on the smile in the girl's. "What's James Langbrith writin' to you so much for?"

"He seems to like to."

"You engaged to him?"

"Not at present, grandma."

"Better see't you ain't. I don't like the breed any too well. I hain't ever been satisfied at the way he got your father out of the business, and your mother wa'n't at the time. But she's in her grave now, and your father can't ever be got to say a sensible word about it; just praises him up, if you try to talk with him, when everybody knows that Royal Langbrith never drew an unselfish breath. He never went to church and he never darkened anybody's doors in the place, and why he gave that library to the town nobody will ever know. It wa'n't like him to give anything; and I guess if your father could be got to tell the truth once, folks would sing a different song. I don't like your close-mouthed kind, that force one out of partnership and never say why nor wherefore."

A yell from the chamber in the half-story over the room where the two women sat at breakfast, offered itself in apt explanation. Groans and sighs followed, and gasps of prayer and thanksgiving, and then muffled fumblings and stumblings on the floor, as of a man getting out of bed and dressing.

"My! how it does always go through me," the old woman

quavered. "I don't see how you can take it so, Hope. I can't seem to get used to it!"

"I was born used to it," the girl answered, with a patience that was cheerful, even smiling. "He hasn't had such a dream for a good while. He must have been at the laudanum bottle, instead of the other. I'll just look." She ran quickly up the crooking stairs, and her voice made itself heard in fond reproach. "Now, father, how *could* you? What's the use of my trying to trust you? And don't you see what it does? Just throws away all the good effects, and brings us back where we were before."

"Yes," she reported triumphantly to her grandmother, as she reappeared with a large empty bottle in her hand. "It's just as I supposed, and I've got to go and tell Dr. Anther as soon as I've taken father some coffee. Will you put it on the stove, Grandma, while I help him dress? I must hurry."

When she found Anther at his office, after his somewhat later breakfast, and told him of her father's case, he once more made the reflection which his experience had often suggested. He had so rarely found the sorrow or shame of one generation carrying over from one generation to another, that he had been shaken in some of the most significant implications of heredity. He had been led to revise his acceptances of the whole doctrine, so far as to hold them in a kind of suspense for further evidence. He now saw the child of one of the most miserable of men so wholly incontaminate from his wretchedness, so blithe of face, and apparently so light of heart, that he could not refuse to smile when she reported the fact in its humorous aspect, with an unbroken trust in the fortunate result.

"I guess we've got to begin again, Dr. Anther," she said, uncovering the empty bottle. "You see what father's been doing!"

"How came you to notice?" he asked.

"Oh, a dream that almost raised the roof," she laughed. "I should have thought it was the skeleton man and the green dwarf both, but I didn't ask. When I found this, it wasn't necessary." She offered him the bottle, which he received with a face losing its sympathetic cheerfulness. Her eager nerves took alarm at his gravity. "You don't think he's worse?"

"Oh, no," the doctor came back to his professional reassurance; "it's a little disappointment when we had got him so far along, that's all. But it's not a thing to discourage us. We shall have to begin over again, as you say." He set the bottle aside. "I'll bring it to him, and have a talk with him."

"Oh, do!" the girl said, back in her gayety again. "Your talks do him more good than the medicine, I believe. I wanted to have a talk with you myself the other day."

"*You* haven't taken to laudanum, I hope," the doctor said, returning to his smile.

"Well, it was something that gave me bad dreams while it lasted.

I thought I had made mischief, and made it out of pure silliness." The doctor's smile took on the incredulity that prompted her to go on. "Yes, I did, I made mischief—set the gossip going. You know you have heard it, Dr. Anther; about James Langbrith giving up putting the tablet to his father, and then deciding to do it?" The doctor reluctantly assented. "Well, *I* did that." She possessed him, laughing and blushing, of the whole case, and then waited confidently for her acquittal, or, rather, went confidently on without it as something that might be taken for granted. "Before James decided to do it, finally, I was so worked up that I went to Mrs. Langbrith, and coaxed her to ask you to write to him and tell him to go on. She promised, but concluded to write to him herself. By that time, he had made up his mind to go on anyway. You see what a narrow escape you had. I thought I ought to tell you."

The doctor said, "Yes, that's right," and then a vagueness came into his gaze that made the girl laugh.

"Well, I'm going now," she said.

"Oh, I didn't mean that."

"Well, I'm going before you *do*."

"Hope, you're a good girl," Anther said. "I mustn't praise you to your face; but if any one ever wonders to you that you can keep up as you do, you tell them I say they don't know anything about it; that there isn't one in ten thousand that could bear as you do what you have to bear; but don't ever get to supposing that it's your duty to be sad about it. It's your duty to be gay."

"Well, that's what I like being, you know, Dr. Anther. It's so easy that it doesn't seem like very much of a *duty*."

She had risen, and she stood prettily smiling at him; and he looked at her, and then suddenly turned his back on her, as if shunning a temptation. He longed to take her in his arms. "Well, I'll be up in the course of the forenoon."

Before he went to see Hawberk, he dropped his buggy anchor before the Langbrith mills, and found his way through the works, where the odor of wash-day from the pulp-vats was only denser than it was outdoors, to the office partitioned off in a corner of the building. He pushed open the door, which closed with a weighted cord, and shut himself inside with John Langbrith.

The manager was sitting at his desk, and at the opening and closing of the door, which, through the shuddering and muttering of the machinery, made itself seen rather than heard, he got lankly up and took the doctor's offered hand, which he pushed horizontally back and forth without looking at him. "Good morning, doctor," he said, and then he glanced at the papers on his desk with a desperate sigh.

"John Langbrith," Anther began at once, "you know about this scheme of James's for putting up a tablet to his father?"

"I've heard about it. I heard he had dropped it."

"He's going on with it."

"Well, what have I got to do with it? I've got enough on my hands looking after my job here in the mills."

"Has he consulted you about it?"

"No."

"Well, I advise you to write to him and urge him to stop it."

John Langbrith lifted his narrow yellow eyes and met the doctor's. "Why?"

"You know what your brother really was."

"So do you. Why don't *you* tell James to stop it?"

"That's nonsense. Sometime the truth must come out."

"You mean that you will give it away?"

"That's stuff! But there are others."

"Hawberk? What's *his* word worth?"

"Nothing, now. But if he pulls up—"

"He'll never pull up."

"I have hopes of curing him, and I tell you that, when the truth comes out, there will be shame and sorrow for that boy, and scandal for the community. It isn't for me to tell him about his father, and you know his mother can't. It's for you, or for Hawberk."

"He's making up to Hawberk's girl, ain't he? Then they can fix it with Hawberk. My job is to look after the mills. I'm not going outside of it."

"It would be an outrage to let that girl marry the son of the man who ruined her father, and you will be a partaker in the wrong unless you speak. Tell James about it, and let him act from his instincts of honor and justice."

"I can't go outside of my job."

"If he's allowed to go on and marry that poor girl, it will be taking a cruel advantage of her. She will be marrying him blindfold. She will be trapped and fettered and manacled for life."

"I can't go outside of my job."

"When the truth is known, and it must be known, the effect with the public will be hardening and depraving beyond that of any bad life openly lived. It will breed a spirit of defiant cynicism, and put a premium on hypocrisy. It will be inconceivably debauching and corrupting. Think it over, Langbrith!"

"I sha'n't go outside of my job."

The words came with an unexcited dryness which convinced Anther of their finality, and kept him from saying more. But Langbrith followed him to the door with words more forbidding still.

"I don't owe that young man anything; let him make a fool of himself any shape he wants to. And I don't owe this community anything; it may rot for all me. And I don't owe *you* anything; you mind your own business! I don't want you bothering round here any more."

Anther made him no answer. He did not blame him greatly. He knew John Langbrith to be as clean a man as his brother had been foul; but he knew that it was not in the measure of his narrow

nature to do what he had required of him. His job was the measure of him, and Anther owned to himself that John Langbrith could be safe only in keeping to that.

He was lifting his hitching-weight into the buggy, when he felt a hand on his shoulder, and recognized in its touch the heavy mental method of Judge Garley, "Been asking brother John for help?" the judge conjectured.

With the weight dangling by its strap, Anther said, "Yes, I have."

"Well, you didn't get it, I presume. Brother John likes the safe side, which happens in this case to be the inside. I have been considering the matter you laid before me the other day, and my advice is to drop it."

"I sha'n't drop it!" Anther answered, sharply.

The judge did not mind his wilfulness. "At this late day, nothing can be done—nothing but mischief can be done—by drawing the frailties of our departed brother from their dread abode."

"That's what you said."

"Well, that merely proves that I saw it in the right light at first, before taking time to reflect upon it. It increases my respect for myself without diminishing my regard for you, my dear friend. You can accomplish nothing whatever by the course you propose to pursue. An exposure would come from you with a peculiarly bad grace; it is hardly necessary for me to say why; and it would only convince the young man that you were his father's enemy. You could not count upon his mother's corroboration in such an event."

"I could count upon her truth, in any event."

The judge slowly shook his large head. "Not if she is the good woman I take her to be." Anther nervelessly dropped the hitching-weight, and it fell so near the judge's foot that he looked down at it, though he did not move. "My dear friend, you would stand unaided and alone, and the outraged sentiment of the community would be against you. The sentimentality of the community would overwhelm you. Your exposure of the boy's father would be attributed to the worst motive, in the absence of any, and the tide of pity for him would bear you down."

"Look here, Judge Garley!" Anther said. "Would you deliver the dedication address, if you were asked, knowing what you do?"

"There will be time to consider that point when I have been asked. I may say in general terms that I would refuse to do nothing that I was required by my sense of public duty to do."

"It's a pity you went out of politics," Anther said, dryly. He got a new grip of his anchor-strap, and lifted the weight into his buggy. Then he lifted himself in.

But the judge laid a detaining hand on the frame of the lowered top, and questioned with an anxious smile: "Anther, I hope you are not about to do anything precipitate?"

Anther braced himself for an angry reply, and then fell back

against the seat. "Oh, precipitate! I don't know that I'm going to do anything at all."

"Well, that's right," the judge said, and let him drive away.

XXII.

The twenty-ninth of June was fixed for the dedication of the tablet, and the time that passed before that date seemed by no means too long for the work of preparation. The young sculptor, under the inspiration of Langbrith's frequent visits, worked with such ardor that he finished the bas-relief early enough to send the model to Chicopee, and have it cast in the bronze which alone satisfied Langbrith's sense of the sincerity essential in the tribute he was paying to his father's memory; and Falk owned that the sculptor had done his work well. He had done it with a touch that suggested the most modern sculpture, and yet preserved a sort of allegiance to the stern Puritan nature of the subject. Royal Langbrith was there not only in the life, but in what his son felt to be that high personal character proper to him. Here was a man, not of the immediate moment, but of that hour of the later eighteen sixties which created the immediate moment: the hour of the Republic's supreme consciousness, when all the American forces, redeemed from their employment in the waste of war, were given to enterprises which have since enriched us, and, under the direction of such captains of industry as Langbrith's father, have pressed forward to the commercial conquest of the world. The face, which the sculptor had imagined from the son's face more than from the likenesses supplied him, wore not the old-fashioned Websterian frown of the ante-bellum Americans, when there was no greatness but political greatness in the popular ideal, but had almost an eager smile, full of business promptness, and yet with refined intelligence, a sagacity instantly self-helpful, but ultimately not unkindly. The son's heart glowed within him as he looked at it, and he offered it the ancestor-worship of a man proud of his race, of a dreamer idealizing the future from the past. He wished Hope could see it with him, and the wish reddened him with a conscious blush.

He wrote home to his mother, declaring his entire satisfaction with the work, and predicting her own; and he betrayed his impatience for the event which should appeal with that sculptured face to the gratitude of the community at Saxmills. During his childhood and boyhood, when he had looked out upon the place always as through the windows of his father's house, with a sense of being in it but not of it, he had nourished the arrogant, yet affectionate, longing to dominate it by winning its kindness for himself and his name. His impassioned reveries abounded in dramas of his acceptance by the matter-of-fact little Yankee town, in a sort of seigneurial supremacy, which should be its voluntary acknowledgment of what the Langbriths had done for it; and during the

absences of his college years he had not wholly lost this ambition. His temperament had kept him from great knowledge of the world, and such knowledge as he had grown into had given his boyish fancies practical shape rather than destroyed them. He might be a disagreeable fool, as he often approved himself to his acquaintance, but he was not finally an ignoble fool.

At the bottom of Langbrith's heart still rankled the obscure resentment for Dr. Anther's obscure indifference to his scheme, that he had instantly felt when he first spoke of the scheme before the village magnates in his mother's house. The bruise of that obstruction against which he had so unexpectedly struck remained, and nothing could assuage the hurt but Anther's conviction of wrong and his confession of it. He wondered at times if his mother had ever spoken of the matter to Anther. He had peremptorily forbidden her to do so, in the first letter he wrote home afterwards, but he had hoped she would. Yet no word came from her concerning it, and he could only suppose that she had too faithfully obeyed him. At times, he questioned his own impressions of the fact, and doubted whether it happened, with the significance which his veneration for his father and his affection for Dr. Anther both gave it; and again he could not rid himself of the belief that it had happened in the form and meaning which it first seemed to have.

Before it happened, he had imagined asking Anther, as foremost of the Saxmills men who had known his father, to deliver the dedicatory address; but, with this bruise, this doubt, in his mind, it was impossible to do that; and he felt himself less able to demand the explanation from Anther which he sometimes trembled upon the point of asking, than to turn to some one else for the address. He would have preferred Anther to all others, even if Anther had not been his father's old friend; for the doctor had his repute as a speaker of simple effectiveness; his oration at the celebration of the first Decoration Day after the great war was remembered still in Saxmills, with the exaggerated admiration which history compels when it becomes tradition. It seemed to Langbrith that no one could do such justice to the quiet, almost disdainful, virtues of his father, as the quiet, almost disdainful, powers of his father's friend. But now he had to devolve for the office of orator upon Judge Garley, a speaker of most respectable gifts, but pompous and ponderous, and of a personal ignorance of the man to be commemorated which, in Langbrith's estimation, all but disqualified him. The sweet in the bitter was the hope that Anther might feel the slight of being passed over, and be duly humiliated; but this did not so much console Langbrith as it might if he had not been hurt in his love as well as his pride.

The judge met the doctor driving through the town the day after he had Langbrith's letter requesting him to make the address, and he overcame a certain embarrassment he had in telling his old friend of it.

"I congratulate you," the doctor said with ironical dryness; but he did not ask the judge if he had consented.

"I do not know," the judge said, "whether you will approve of my accepting the invitation."

"Oh, approve!" the doctor said, with deprecation which was also ironical.

But the judge showed no resentment. "I didn't think it was fair to bother you with the matter, or else I should have come to speak with you before writing. But I did not see how I could decline, and I believe you will be satisfied with the manner in which I shall treat the subject."

Anther, if he was too much vexed to try penetrating the reserve which the judge's words invited him to explore, felt also that he had no right to take any tone of censure with him. He said, "You couldn't refuse without wounding the boy's feelings."

"That was what I felt," the judge answered, with relief. "I might have pleaded an excuse of some kind, such as intended absence from the place, but I did not like to do so, in view of the fact that I shall be detained here by some business that is coming up at the time. He asked for an early answer, so that he might get ready some biographical material he wishes to supply me with."

There was a twinkle in the judge's legal eye, and a smile at the corner of his legal mouth, and he responded with a laugh to the doctor's remark: "In addition to what I have given you?"

"Yes, I need all that I can get on account of that!" The judge roared at his own fun, and Anther drove slowly away at the jog-trot which was his horse's habitual gait when they were both absorbed in thought. Their heads hung down with the same droop, and the horse looked as if he might be revolving the same distasteful thought as the doctor, with the same sense of helplessness.

Within the week that followed, Anther was stopped at different times in his progresses through the main street of Saxmills by different leading citizens, who invited him to consult with them upon points of the common interest. James Langbrith seemed not to have rested, after getting Judge Garley's reply, before addressing himself to the Selectmen, the High School Principal, and the Sunday-School Superintendent, as well as the chief officers of the Sons of Pythias and the Saxmills Cadets, inviting their cooperation in the ceremony which he had so much at heart. Each of these dignitaries now addressed himself to Dr. Anther, in his succession, with the confident belief that Dr. Anther, as the oldest friend of Royal Langbrith in the community, and as the close friend of his son and widow, would be most concerned in the affair, and would perhaps have some inside authority and information to impart. He had necessarily to disappoint their hopes, but he found himself putting on more and more the air of at least civic sympathy, which they seemed to demand of him. He could not, indeed, show them his real mind without awakening a suspicion he was far from wishing to rouse,

without starting gossip that would grow into scandal, and involve the Langbriths and himself in mischievous conjecture. He carried his compliance with their obvious expectation to a point where it became almost intolerably irksome, without seeing the point at which he could refuse compliance. When it came to Mrs. Enderby's calling gayly to him from the sidewalk, and halting him, like the rest, to announce that the rector had just had a letter from young Mr. Langbrith asking him to take part in the dedicatory ceremonies, Anther's soul rose in insurrection. "But you knew he had written, I suppose," the lady said.

"No, I certainly didn't," he answered with a sharpness which suggested to her the possibility that the doctor resented the young man's not consulting so old and so near a friend, but suggested it not so forcibly as to withhold her from saying:

"Yes, he has asked Dr. Enderby, and Father Cody, and Mr. Alway of the 'orthodox' church"—she said "orthodox" with the effect of humoring local usage, but also of putting the word between quotation marks—"all to take part. I believe Father Cody is to ask the blessing, and Mr. Alway is to make the opening prayer. Mr. Langbrith has asked my husband to say something from the altruistic standpoint, as it bears upon what his father did for labor in his time by profit-sharing, and, incidentally, if he pleases, to draw any lessons as to character-building from the example of his personality."

Mrs. Enderby ceased obviously reporting Langbrith's diction and continued: "Of course, he is rather vague about what he really does want, but Dr. Enderby found his wish, so far as he imagined it, rather suggestive, and he said at once that he would like to talk with you about it. When could he see you, at your entire leisure?" she could not help pushing officiously on, though she had no authority from her husband to ask the question. Anther did not know what to say, between his ire and his embarrassment. In his hesitation, she added: "I know how difficult it will be for you to fix a time, but I knew how interested you would be!"

"Thank you. I'm afraid I should be very little use," Anther began, but she broke in upon him, to make reparation for James Langbrith's strange thoughtlessness, and to soothe the doctor's wounded pride:

"I'm sure Mr. Langbrith will write you about it. I'm surprised—He probably knows how pressed you are, and wanted to save you all the trouble with details that he could. I rather like his going forward, and doing it all himself, don't you? It shows such spirit, and such a pride in keeping it in his own hands!"

"Yes, yes," Anther said.

"But, of course, you don't have to wait for a direct application from him."

"No."

"Why!" she started in self-surprise. "Why shouldn't you stop in

any evening, and have tea with us, and talk the matter over with Dr. Enderby, then? I should so like to hear you two discussing the civic and social significance of such a man as Royal Langbrith, and getting at the psychology of him. You *will* come, won't you? Won't that be the easiest for you? Will you come, say, to-morrow night?"

"Not to-morrow night. I can't fix the time just now. But I will see. Will you excuse my hurrying off to a patient—"

"Why, of course! How thoughtless of me! But any night will do, doctor, so that it's soon. Good-by, good-by!"

She turned from the gate where she had stopped the doctor, and went indoors to her husband.

"I think it's strangely thoughtless of James Langbrith not to have written to Dr. Anther about the measures he's been taking. The doctor feels it, I know, but he's so large-minded that he'll not let it interfere. He's coming here some evening to talk Royal Langbrith's personality over with you."

"Where have you seen him?"

"At the gate, just now. But I didn't call you, because I didn't want to interrupt you. I've told him all about it, and he's coming the first evening he can. I told him any evening would do. I knew you'd want me to. And all I shall ask is to sit by and hear you two analyze Royal Langbrith. With the scientific standpoint which Doctor Anther can supply, and the philosophic and religious view which you can give, I think it will be one of the most intensely interesting things that ever was. Don't you?"

"I hope you'll find it so, my dear. But, really, young Langbrith's oversight seems an extraordinary—"

"Yes, don't it! I hardly know how to account for it, but if the doctor can overlook it, *we* can, and he's evidently disposed to overlook it. At any rate, I shall 'keep right round after him,' as the country people say, till he redeems his promise."

She so far redeemed her own promise as to halt Anther, whenever she could reach him, by hailing him with her voice, and when she could not, by waving him to a stand with her fluttered handkerchief. But it was not till she had almost lost faith in his large-mindedness, and had many times sided with him and against him in his imaginable resentment of young Langbrith's neglect; it was not till the eve of the day fixed for the dedication ceremonies, that Anther appeared at the rectory. He came too late for tea; and, when he did come, he did not invite Mrs. Enderby's presence at the psychological analysis of Royal Langbrith's personality, which he did not enter upon till she no longer had the least excuse for not leaving him to her husband.

(To be Continued.)

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THE COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM.

A Review of Criticisms and Objections—Reflections Upon the Power, the Progress and the Prejudices of the Press—Why Specialized Concentration and Education at College Would Improve the Character and Work of Journalists and So Promote the Welfare of the Republic.

"The man who writes, the man who month in and month out, week in and week out, day in and day out, furnishes the material which is to shape the thoughts of our people, is essentially the man who more than any other determines the character of the people and the kind of government this people shall possess."
—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, *April 7, 1904.*

BY JOSEPH PULITZER.

THE editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked me to reply to an article recently printed in its pages criticising the College of Journalism which it has been my pleasure to found and permanently to endow in Columbia University. In complying with his request I have enlarged the scope of the reply to include all other criticisms and misgivings, many honest, some shallow, some based on misunderstanding, but the most representing only prejudice and ignorance. If my comment upon these criticisms shall seem to be diffuse and perhaps repetitious, my apology is that—alas!—I am compelled to write by voice, not by pen, and to revise the proofs by ear, not by eye—a somewhat difficult task.

Some of my critics have called my scheme "visionary." If it

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be so I can at least plead that it is a vision I have cherished long, thought upon deeply and followed persistently. Twelve years ago I submitted the idea to President Low of Columbia, when it was declined. I have ever since continued to perfect and organize the scheme in my mind, until it is now accepted. In examining the criticisms and misgivings I have endeavored to do so without prejudice, anxious only to find the truth. I admit that the difficulties are many, but after weighing them all impartially I am more firmly convinced than ever of the ultimate success of the idea. Before the century closes schools of journalism will be generally accepted as a feature of specialized higher education, like schools of law or of medicine.

And now for our critics and objectors:

MUST A JOURNALIST BE "BORN?"

They object, the critics and cavillers, that a "newspaper man" must depend solely upon natural aptitude, or, in the common phrase, that he must be "born, not made."

Perhaps the critics can name some great editor, born full-winged like Mercury, the messenger of the gods? I know of none. The only position that occurs to me which a man in our Republic can successfully fill by the simple fact of birth is that of an idiot. Is there any other position for which a man does not demand and receive training—training at home, training in schools and colleges, training by master craftsmen, or training through bitter experience—through the burns that make the child dread the fire, through blunders costly to the aspirant?

This last is the process by which the profession of journalism at present obtains its recruits. It works by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, and its failures are strewn along the wayside.

The "born editor" who has succeeded greatly without special preparation is simply a man with unusual ability and aptitude for his chosen profession, with great power of concentration and sustained effort. He is one who loves his work and puts his whole heart and mind into it. He is in the strictest sense an educated man, but he has merely substituted *self*-education for education by others, making up for any deficiencies in his training by the unreserved sacrifice of strength, energy and pleasure. Even in his case might it not be an advantage to have a system of instruction that

would give him the same results at a saving of much time and labor?

Education begins in the cradle, at home, with a mother's teaching, and is continued by other influences through life. A college is one of those influences—useful, but with no magical power. A fool trailing an alphabet of degrees after his name is still a fool, and a genius, if necessary, will make his own college, although with a painful waste of effort which might be better reserved for productive work. I seem to remember that Lincoln, whose academy was a borrowed book read by the light of a pine-knot on the hearth, studied Euclid in Congress when nearly forty. But would it not have been better if that work had been done at fourteen?

All intelligence requires development. The highest profits by it; the lowest is helpless without it. Shakespeare's best play, "Hamlet," was not his first, but his nineteenth, written after growth and maturity—after the hard work, the experience, the exercise of faculties and the accumulation of knowledge gained by writing eighteen plays. As Shakespeare was a "born" genius why did he not write "Hamlet" first?

John Stuart Mill had natural talents, but they were strained to the last possible limit of accomplishment by a course of early training that was not only thorough but inhuman. His father was his college—a great college, better than any in England. Like Mill, Herbert Spencer, Buckle, Huxley, Tyndall, and Lewes were without college education, but their mental discipline was most severe. Cobden was undoubtedly a genius born, but if we compare his original style—turgid, clumsy—with the masterly clearness and force of his trained maturity, can we doubt that his brain was developed by the hardest work, just as Sandow's muscles were developed?

Of course in every field natural aptitude is the key to success. When the experiment was tried of turning Whistler into a disciplined soldier, even West Point had to lay down its arms. Your sawmill may have all the modern improvements, but it will not make a pine board out of a basswood log. No college can create a good lawyer without a legal mind to work on, nor make a successful doctor of a young man whom nature designed to sell tape. Talleyrand took holy orders, but they did not turn him into a holy man.

The great general, even more than the great editor, is supposed to be born, not made. The picturesque historian tells us that he "fell like a thunderbolt upon the enemy," and we imagine a miracle-working magician. But the truth is, that the brilliant general is simply a man who has learned how to apply skilfully the natural laws of force, and who has the nerve to act on his knowledge. Hannibal, the greatest of all in my opinion, is called a typical example of native military genius. But can we forget that he was the son and pupil of Hamilcar, the ablest soldier of his generation, born in the camp, never outside the military atmosphere, sworn in earliest boyhood to war and hatred of Rome, and endowed by his father with all the military knowledge that the experience of antiquity could give? He was educated. In his father he had a military college to himself. Can we think of Napoleon without remembering that he had the best military education of his time at the college of Brienne, and that he was always an eager student of the great campaigns of history? Frederick the Great lost his head in his first battle. It took him years to learn his trade and finally to surpass his instructors. There is not a cadet at any military school who is not expected as a necessary part of his professional preparation to study every important battle on record — to learn how it was fought, what mistakes were committed on each side, and how it was won.

Every issue of a newspaper represents a battle—a battle for excellence. When the editor reads it and compares it with its rivals he knows that he has scored a victory or suffered a defeat. Might not the study of the most notable of these battles of the press be as useful to the student of journalism as is the study of military battles to the student of war?

NEWS INSTINCT—NATURAL OR CULTIVATED.

They object that news instinct must be born.

Certainly. But however great a gift, if news instinct as born were turned loose in any newspaper office in New York without the control of sound judgment bred by considerable experience and training, the results would be much more pleasing to the lawyers than to the editor. One of the chief difficulties in journalism now is to keep the news instinct from running rampant over the restraints of accuracy and conscience. And if "a nose

for news" is born in the cradle, does not the instinct, like other great qualities, need development by teaching, by training, by practical object-lessons illustrating the good and the bad, the Right and the Wrong, the popular and the unpopular, the things that succeed and the things that fail, and above all the things that deserve to succeed, and the things that do not—not the things only that make circulation for to-day, but the things that make character and influence and public confidence?

CAN CONSCIENCE BE DEVELOPED?

"Of the ends to be kept in view by the legislator, all are unimportant compared to the end of 'character-making.' This alone is national education."—HERBERT SPENCER.

They object that moral character, like news instinct, cannot be made, but must be born. This is a very serious objection, for to me an editor without moral character has nothing. But is it entirely true? Have not the critics themselves reached their present moral altitude by degrees? Training cannot create temperament, I admit, nor perhaps radically change it; but is not conscience different from temperament? Is it not largely a question of education? May it not be considered more an acquired than an inherited or inherent quality? Is there not some reason to believe that conscience is largely a question of climate and geography? As Macaulay said: "Child murder in London leads to the scaffold; on the Ganges it is an honored religious sacrifice." A Hindu widow who burned herself to death on her husband's funeral pyre was performing the highest duty imposed by her moral sense. The English regarded her sacrifice as not only a crime, but the act of an incredible fool, and suppressed it in callous disregard of the protests of her shocked conscience.

Many an English or American married woman not only regards widowhood without any of those feelings of horror that led her Hindu sister to cut it short on the funeral pile—she often anticipates it by the help of the divorce courts, and enjoys the pleasing sensation of being the legal widow of more than one man at the same time. The missionary feels no profounder complacency in converting the cannibal than the cannibal feels in eating the missionary. A Kentucky mountaineer will commit murder, but he will not steal; a ward politician will often steal, but he will

not, as a rule, commit murder. In Turkey a man may with a clear conscience have several wives; in Tibet a woman may have several husbands; in America nobody may have more than one husband or wife in good legal standing at a time. If George Washington had been kidnapped in infancy and reared by thieves in a slum, with a thief for his only instructor, instead of the devout mother who trained him in morals and religion, is it likely that he would have grown up the Washington whom we love and revere as the father of his country?

CAN MORAL COURAGE BE TAUGHT?

They object that moral courage cannot be taught. Very true. I admit that it is the hardest thing in the world to teach. But may we not be encouraged by the reflection that physical courage is taught? It is not to be supposed that every young man who enters West Point or Annapolis, Brienne, St. Cyr or Sandhurst is a born hero. Yet the student at any of these schools is so drilled, hammered and braced in the direction of courage that by the time he graduates it is morally certain that when he takes his men under fire for the first time he will not flinch. Pride and the spirit of emulation can make masses of men do what even a hero would not venture to do alone. Is it likely that Napoleon himself would have charged in solitary grandeur across the bridge at Lodi if there had been no one to see him do it? Or would Pickett's brigade at Gettysburg have gone forward to destruction if every man in it had not been lifted out of himself by the feeling that he and his comrades were all doing a heroic thing together—a thing in which he simply could not do less than the rest?

If such things can be done for physical courage, why not for moral courage? If the mind can be taught to expose the body fearlessly to wounds and death, cannot the soul be taught to cling to its convictions against temptation, prejudice, obloquy and persecution? Moral courage is developed by experience and by teaching. Every successful exercise of it makes the next easier. The editor is often confronted by an apparent dilemma—either to yield to a popular passion that he feels to be wrong or to risk the consequences of unpopularity. Adherence to convictions can and should be taught by precept and example as not only high principle but sound policy. Might not a hundred concrete ex-

amples of inflexible devotion to the right serve as a moral tonic to the student?

MUST JOURNALISM BE LEARNED IN THE OFFICE?

They object that such making as a newspaper man needs after he has been successfully born can be done only in the actual practice of the office, or "shop."

What is the actual practice of the office? It is not intentional, but only incidental training—it is not apprenticeship—it is work, in which every participant is supposed to know his business. Nobody in a newspaper office has the time or the inclination to teach a raw reporter the things he ought to know before taking up even the humblest work of the journalist. That is not what editors are doing. One of the learned critics remarks that Greeley took young Raymond in hand and hammered him into a great editor. True. But was it not an expensive process, as well as an unusual one—the most distinguished newspaper-maker of his time turning himself into a College of Journalism for the benefit of a single pupil? Suppose a man of half Greeley's capacity, set free from the exhausting labors and the harassing perplexities of creating a newspaper every day—relieved from the necessity of correcting the blunders of subordinates, of watching to prevent the perpetration of more blunders and able to concentrate his whole heart and soul upon training his pupils—might he not be able to turn out, not one Raymond, but forty?

Incidentally, I venture to mention that in my own experience as a newspaper reporter and editor I never had one single lesson from anybody.

The "shop" idea is the one that used to prevail in the law and in medicine. Legal studies began by copying bills of costs for the country lawyer; medical training by sweeping out a doctor's office. Now it is recognized that better results are obtained by starting with a systematic equipment in a professional school. The lawyer learns nothing at college except the theory of the law, its principles and some precedents. When he receives his diploma he is quite unprepared to practise. Nor does the doctor learn to practise at the medical school. He learns only principles, theories, rules, the experience of others—the foundation of his profession. After leaving college he must work in the hospitals to acquire the art of practically applying his knowledge.

In journalism at present the newspaper offices are the hospitals, but the students come to them knowing nothing of principles or theories. The newspaper hospital is extremely accommodating. It furnishes the patients for its young men to practise on, puts dissecting-knives into the hands of beginners who do not know an artery from a vermiform appendix, and pays them for the blunders by which they gradually teach themselves their profession. We may sympathize with the students in their industrious efforts at self-education, but may we not also sympathize with the unfortunate editor who has to work with such incompetent instruments?

IS A NEW COLLEGE SUPERFLUOUS?

> *"To rear up minds with aspirations and faculties above the herd, capable of leading on their countrymen to greater achievement in virtue, intelligence and general well-being,—these are the ends for which endowed universities are desirable; they are those which all endowed universities profess to aim at, and great is their disgrace if, having undertaken this task and claiming credit for fulfilling it, they leave it unfulfilled."*—JOHN STUART MILL.

They object that even if a college education be desirable, everything needed is already provided in the existing colleges and no special department is required.

This criticism appears to have some force. It is possible that it may be advanced with sincerity by intelligent newspaper men who know nothing of colleges, or by intelligent college men who know nothing of newspapers. But it is superficial. It is true that many of the subjects needed for the general education of a journalist are already covered in college. But they are too much covered. The student of journalism may find one course in a law school, another in a graduate school of political science, another, at the same hour, in an undergraduate class at college, and another in a department of literature.

A young man of very remarkable gifts—enough to enable him to educate himself without the help of a college—might be able to make from the catalogue a selection of courses which would appear on paper to be a very fair curriculum. It would perhaps be adequate if he could keep the studies from conflicting in hours, which he could not, and if at twenty years of age he already possessed that knowledge of the requirements of his chosen profession which I feel that twice twenty years' experience and hard work in my profession have not given me.

But after this wonderful young man has made out his list of studies he will be doomed to disappointment. The courses in history, in law, in political science and the rest will not be what he really needs as a specialist in journalism. They will give him only a fraction of the knowledge he requires on those subjects, and they will swamp that fraction in a flood of details of which he can make no use. To fit these courses to his purpose they must be remodelled and specialized. Modern industry looks sharply after its by-products. In silver-mining, gold is sometimes found as a by-product exceeding the value of the silver. So in general university courses we may find by-products that would meet the needs of the journalist. Why not divert, deflect, extract, concentrate, *specialize them for the journalist as a specialist?*

The spirit of specialization is everywhere. The lawyer is a real-estate lawyer, or a criminal lawyer, or a corporation lawyer, or possibly a criminal-corporation lawyer. Formerly the family physician treated every ailment; now there are specialists for the eye, the ear, the throat, the teeth; for men, for women, for children; even for imaginary diseases; for every possible variety of practice. And there is specialization in the newspaper offices themselves. The editor of a New York paper confined to the editorial page is as much surprised as the reader when in the morning he reads the news columns. The news editor does not know what editorials there will be; the musical critic could not write of sporting events; the man with the priceless sense of humor could not record and interpret the movements of the stock-market. The men in all these fields are specialists. The object of the College of Journalism will be to dig through this general scheme intended to cover every possible career or work in life, every profession, to select and concentrate only upon the things which the journalist wants, and not to waste time on things that he does not want.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS—WHY NOT?

They object that a College of Journalism would establish class distinctions in the profession—an invidious distinction of the few who had received the benefits of a collegiate training against the many who had not enjoyed this advantage. I sincerely hope it will create a class distinction between the fit and the unfit. We need a class feeling among journalists—one based not upon money, but upon morals, education and character.

There are still a few places in which money is not everything, and they are those in which men are joined by a bond of honorable association. The cadet at West Point is taught honor and pride in his profession. He knows that none of his comrades will lie or cheat or do anything unworthy of a gentleman, and the pleasure he feels in such associations fully compensates for his ridiculously small income. He sees thousands of vulgar people, much more prosperous than himself, living in much greater luxury, yet he would not change his life and his social circle for theirs. May we not hope that a similar education will in the future create a similar corps feeling among journalists—the same pride in the profession, the same determination to do nothing "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman"? Why not?

The journalist has a position that is all his own. He alone has the privilege of moulding the opinion, touching the hearts and appealing to the reason of hundreds of thousands every day. Here is the most fascinating of all professions. The soldier may wait forty years for his opportunity. Most lawyers, most physicians, most clergymen die in obscurity, but every single day opens new doors for the journalist who holds the confidence of the community and has the capacity to address it.

But as yet the journalist works alone. If he is a college graduate he goes to his college club as a graduate, not as a journalist. He never speaks of another journalist as "my colleague," as the lawyer or the physician does of his professional brother. He hardly ever meets other journalists socially, in any numbers. But if the future editors of the city were in large proportion graduates of the same college and had a recognized professional meeting-place in which they could come together informally and discuss matters of common interest, would they not eventually develop a professional pride that would enable them to work in concert for the public good and that would put any black sheep of the profession in a very uncomfortable position? Such a spirit would be the surest guaranty against the control of the press by powerful financial interests—not an imaginary danger by any means.

If such a class spirit existed, no editor who had degraded himself by becoming the hireling of any Wall Street king or ring would dare to face his colleagues. He would be too conscious of having been false to his better nature, and equally false to the

traditions of his college and of his profession. It would be impossible then for any Huntington or Gould of the next generation to buy up newspapers—a thing easily feasible where hundreds of millions are at stake, unless there is a strong feeling of class pride and principle to prevent it. The knowledge that a reputable journalist would refuse to edit any paper that represented private interest against the public good would be enough of itself to discourage such an enterprise. Such a refusal would be as severe a blow to public confidence in the newspaper as the rejection of a brief by a high-minded lawyer is to the standing of a case in court.

No, there is nothing to fear in class distinctions founded on moral and mental superiority—on education and knowledge. We need more such classes, in the presence of the prevailing mania for mere money-making. The million of teachers form a class of this kind, with small pay, but with the consciousness of pursuing a noble profession. Such distinctions are especially necessary in a republic which has discarded everything in the way of rank and title and left personal merit the only thing that can dispute the worship of wealth.

HAS THE EXPERIMENT BEEN TRIED?

They object that schools of journalism have been tried and have failed. This is very shallow, and while technically true is practically untrue. There are persons occupying desk room in grimy offices who advertise to make journalists to order. There are more pretentious "correspondence schools" which tell, no doubt correctly, how to read proof and prepare copy for the press. And there have even been certain courses of lectures in colleges and universities of standing, in which gentlemen of more or less experience in journalism have expressed some general ideas about the requirements of the profession. This thus far has been the Lilliputian limit of effort in the direction of a university training for journalism.

So far as these could have any effect at all it would be in the direction of convincing the student that he would do better to choose some other profession. One lecturer, who is an exceedingly successful and able magazine editor, devoted his time to explaining the value of fiction and the "market" for short stories. He treated newspapers solely from the commercial point of view, and

never once referred to their ethical side. Another gentleman, whose ability I greatly admire and who ought to understand his subject, alleged that a young man could make more money in the law than in journalism, and ventured the surprising assertion that a reporter earns only $20 a week. Thus at the very start he chilled the enthusiasm of young men of talent who would have been attracted if they had known that they could win more prompt and more substantial pay as beginners in journalism than in any other profession.

Something has been said of a so-called school of journalism in London, which is compared with the proposed institution at Columbia. I do not wish to disparage the London school, but it has about ten boys—not college students, just schoolboys—and its whole endowment is one travelling scholarship. I may mention incidentally that there will be five travelling scholarships at Columbia. To compare a boys' school or a few desultory courses of lectures with a college amply and permanently endowed and equipped in a great university is preposterous. Instruction in journalism has never yet had a fair chance to show what it can do. The new institution will be the first experiment of its kind.

HOW WILL TEACHERS BE FOUND?

They object that competent teachers, without whom the most ingenious plans of instruction must fail, are not to be found. I confess that this is the greatest, gravest, difficulty and danger. Like any college, we must have in the first place a combination of the highest character and capacity, with love of and aptitude for teaching. Even this is no small thing to ask, as the difficulty of the colleges in finding suitable professors may warn us. But we need something beyond and much rarer than this. Teachers of journalism should also be experienced editors. But how are we to lure a truly able editor from the active work of the profession in which there is such splendid scope for his powers and such eager competition for his services while he is in the prime of life?

The difficulty of drawing the right men from active service suggests the possibility that it may be necessary to fall back upon retired editors, who can no longer take part in the strenuous newspaper life. But my hope is that the whole profession will see in this situation an appeal to its honor and its pride. I hope

that the very difficulty of the problem will prove its own solution, by enlisting the sympathetic interest and aid of the men of power and of energy who would not waste their time on work that others could do. These men could not shirk the responsibilities of leadership if they would, nor do I believe they would if they could.

The greatest painters of Paris visit the art schools and criticise the work of the pupils. The masters of the New York bar give lectures in the law schools. The most famous physicians teach in the medical colleges. Why should the greatest editors not have an equally unselfish pride in and love of their own profession? Upon their generous sympathy and aid will depend the success of the experiment.

Nor need we confine our search to journalists. Historians like McMaster, Wilson and Rhodes; college presidents like Eliot, Hadley and Angell; judges like Fuller, Brewer and Gray—could help the work with lectures and suggestions. It is nothing new for a justice of the Supreme Court to lecture in college. Justice Story did it at Harvard, Justice Field did it at the University of California, Justices Harlan and Brewer do it now at the Columbian University at Washington. Even ex-Presidents have not thought such work belittling. Harrison lectured at Stanford and Cleveland at Princeton. And surely the greatest minds of the nation must realize how indissolubly a pure republic is linked with an upright press. National pride will, I fully trust, constrain them to do what they can for the elevation of an agency by which the destinies of the Union are so profoundly affected for good or for evil.

THINGS UNTEACHABLE.

> *"Our task is improved exactly as we improve our judgment by extending our knowledge, by a steady attention to one object, and by frequent exercise."*
>
> —BURKE *on "The Sublime and Beautiful."*

They object that there are some things that a College of Journalism cannot teach. I admit it. No college can give imagination, initiative, impulses, enthusiasm, a sense of humor or irony. These things must be inborn. But would not such inborn qualities be developed and strengthened in the atmosphere of the proposed college? Is not the development of such inborn qualities seen everywhere in intellectual life? The poet, it is true, is born, not made. That is also true of a great orator and a great painter.

But does not the great poet indicate and cultivate his inborn genius by instinctively devouring, even as a child, all the poetry he can procure? Keats wrote: "I long to feast upon old Homer as we have upon Shakespeare and as I have lately upon Milton." Did not such orators as Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke and Webster declaim the masterpieces of oratory and rhetoric? Did not Van Dyck and every other great painter benefit by the careful study of the work of their great predecessors in art? And with these facts in mind may we not hope that the student at Columbia, living in an atmosphere of journalism, with the highest examples and ideals of journalism constantly before him, will bring to the highest efficiency whatever dormant or inborn faculty he may possess? It seems to me that the more conclusively the critics prove certain things to be unteachable the more they prove the necessity of teaching everything possible that *is* teachable.

This is all that any education can do, and it is enough. Education is development, not creation. If its value depended upon its ability to bring mental qualities into existence from nothing, every educational institution from the kindergarten to the university would have to close its doors, and every educator would be out of employment.

In short, does not every mental worker, whether creative or imitative, try to steep himself in the atmosphere of his work? And is it not reasonable to suppose that our student would gain some advantage from living and working for some years in the atmosphere of journalistic training?

DOES IT COME FROM THE WRONG SOURCE?

Finally, as if all these criticisms were not crushing enough, they object that even if this endowment be needed I am not the right man to give it. I fully realize the force of this argument, and I am ready cheerfully to retire in favor of any critic who will relieve me. I volunteered in the first place simply because there was a need which nobody else appeared anxious to meet. No pride of priority will deter me from giving way to a more suitable candidate. They also object that I have proved a college course in journalism to be unnecessary by succeeding without one. Perhaps I may be permitted to judge of that. It is ingenious to use me as a club against my own plan. If I have had any success it has been because I never, so far as my individual work and

pleasure are concerned, regarded journalism as a business. From my first hour's work, through a period of nearly forty years, I have regarded journalism not only as a profession, but as the noblest of all professions. I have always felt that I was in touch with the public mind and ought to do some good every day. Perhaps I have failed, but it has not been for lack of effort.

WHAT SHOULD NOT *BE TAUGHT.*

> *"The journalist's opportunity is beyond estimate. To him are given the keys of every study, the entry to every family, the ear of every citizen when at ease and in his most receptive moods—powers of approach and of persuasion beyond those of the Protestant pastor or the Catholic confessor. He is by no means a prophet, but, reverently be it said, he is a voice in the wilderness preparing the way. He is by no means a priest, but his words carry wider and further than the priest's, and he preaches the gospel of humanity. He is not a king, but he nurtures and trains the king, and the land is ruled by the public opinion he evokes and shapes. If you value this good land the Lord has given us, if you would have a soul in this marvellous civilization and lifting power of humanity, look well to the nurture and training of your king."*—Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

Not to teach typesetting, not to explain the methods of business management, not to reproduce with trivial variations the course of a commercial college. This is not university work. It needs no endowment. It is the idea of work for the community, not commerce, not for one's self, but primarily for the public, that needs to be taught. The School of Journalism is to be, in my conception, not only not commercial, but anti-commercial. It is to exalt principle, knowledge, culture, at the expense of business if need be. It is to set up ideals, to keep the counting-room in its proper place, and to make the soul of the editor the soul of the paper. Incidentally I may say that I have never spent an hour in any publication office either of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or the *World,* though I managed to establish both these journals and still own them.

In the proposed course of study, drawn up with admirable quickness by President Eliot and widely discussed as if it had been definitely adopted, Dr. Eliot included instruction in the business administration of a newspaper. He mentioned specifically circulation, advertising, manufacture and finance.

My own ideas upon many parts of the course of study are still uncertain, but upon this one point they are very decided. I am sure that, if my wishes are to be considered, business instruction of any sort should not, would not and must not form any part of the work of the College of Journalism.

The course of instruction will be decided by the Advisory Board, which is not yet appointed, acting in conjunction with the authorities of the university.

The course outlined was made in a private letter of President Eliot, and was stated when published to be merely tentative. In spite of this explanation many newspapers based their comment and criticism upon it as an accepted fact. I have the greatest admiration for the extraordinary genius and character of the president of Harvard, but nothing was further from my mind—nothing, in fact, is more inconsistent and incompatible with my intentions or repugnant to my feelings—than to include any of the business or commercial elements of a newspaper in what is to be taught in this department of Columbia College.

What is a College of Journalism? It is an institution to train journalists. What is a journalist? Not any business manager or publisher, or even proprietor. A journalist is the lookout on the bridge of the ship of state. He notes the passing sail, the little things of interest that dot the horizon in fine weather. He reports the drifting castaway whom the ship can save. He peers through fog and storm to give warning of dangers ahead. He is not thinking of his wages, or of the profits of his owners. He is there to watch over the safety and the welfare of the people who trust him.

Few men in the business office of a newspaper know anything about the principles of journalism. The proprietor himself is not necessarily a journalist. He may be, if he is capable of understanding public questions, of weighing public interests, of carrying out public tasks; if he is in touch with public feeling, realizes public duties, is in sympathy with the public welfare, and is capable of presenting his ideas to the people, either by his own pen or by the pens of others. But it is quite conceivable that some proprietors are deficient in these points.

My hope is that this College of Journalism will raise the standard of the editorial profession. But to do this it must mark the distinction between real journalists and men who do a kind of

newspaper work that requires neither culture nor conviction, but merely business training. I wish to begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession, growing in the respect of the community as other professions far less important to the public interests have grown.

There is an obvious difference between a business and a profession. An editor, an editorial writer or a correspondent is not in business. Nor is even a capable reporter. These men are already in a profession, though they may not admit it, or even realize it, as many of them unhappily do not. Ill or well, they represent authorship, and authorship is a profession.

The man in the counting-room of a newspaper is in the newspaper business. He concentrates his brain (quite legitimately) upon the commercial aspects of things, upon the margin of profit, upon the reduction of expenses, upon buying white paper and selling it printed—and that is business. But a man who has the advantage, honor and pleasure of addressing the public every day as a writer or thinker is a professional man. So, of course, is he who directs these writers and reporters, who tells them what to say and how to say it, who shows them how to think—who inspires them, though he may never write a line himself, and decides what the principles of the paper shall be. For example, the greatest editor in the whole history of European journalism, John Delane, never wrote any articles of his own, although for thirty-six years he was the head, the heart, the brain of the *London Times*. But he directed every writer, he furnished the thought, the policy, the initiative; he bore the responsibility, and he corrected both manuscript and proofs.

In this relation perhaps it may be interesting to note that Delane studied law and was admitted to the bar before he became its editor at the age of twenty-four. But it was without any intention of practising. His father, who was a lawyer for the *Times*, destined him for its service from his boyhood, and he joined its staff as a reporter soon after passing his legal examinations. Delane, with his editorial revision, elimination and substitution, was like some of the great old painters, who seem to have much of their work, measured by mere bulk, done for them by pupils. Rubens, or Van Dyck, or Raphael furnished the idea, the design, the composition, in an original drawing; the pupils did the drudgery of execution. Then the artist added the finish-

ing touches that lifted the picture to the rank of a masterpiece. Only in that way could the enormous output ascribed to those masters have been produced. So it was with Delane, and so it is with every editor who knows how to make the most of his powers.

That a newspaper, however great as a public institution and a public teacher, must also be a business is not to be denied, but there is nothing exceptional in this. Elements of business, of economy, of income and outgo, are in the government of the city, the State, the nation, in art, in every school, in every college, in every university, indeed, in every church. But a bishop, even though he receives pay for his work, is not regarded as a business man; nor is a great artist, though he charge the highest possible price for his paintings and die as rich as Meissonier or Rubens. Many distinguished lawyers, such as Mr. Tilden—one of the greatest—were shrewd business men, able probably to outwit the majority of publishers, yet they were rightly considered members of a learned profession.

George Washington had extraordinary business capacity. By intelligent economy, method, sound judgment and the closest attention to details he accumulated the greatest American fortune of his time. Yet when he was called to serve the country in the field he did it without a salary. At Mount Vernon he was a business man; in history he is a soldier, a statesman and the father of his country.

To sum up, the banker or broker, the baker or the candlestick-maker is in business—in trade. But the artist, the statesman, the thinker, the writer—all who are in touch with the public taste and mind, whose thoughts reach beyond their own livelihood to some common interest—are in professions.

DANGERS OF PLUTOCRACY AND DEMAGOGY.

"Our improvement is in proportion to our purpose."
—MARCUS AURELIUS.

Nothing less than the highest ideals, the most scrupulous anxiety to do right, the most accurate knowledge of the problems it has to meet, and a sincere sense of its moral responsibility will save journalism from subservience to business interests, seeking selfish ends, antagonistic to the public welfare. For instance, Jay Gould once owned the principal Democratic newspaper of

America. He had obtained it from Col. "Tom" Scott in a trade for the Texas Pacific Railroad, and I was fortunate enough to be able to relieve him of his unprofitable burden. C. P. Huntington bought a New York newspaper and turned it into a Democratic organ, he himself, like Gould, being an ardent Republican. He hoped in this way to influence Mr. Cleveland's administration and the Democrats in Congress against making the Pacific railroads pay their debts of about $120,000,000 to the Government. Incidentally he testified under oath that his journalistic experiment cost him over a million dollars, although his newspaper was so obscure that its utterances were hardly more than soliloquies. Mr. Huntington did somehow succeed in delaying for a number of years the enforcement of the Treasury's claims. More dangerous, however, than the plutocratic control of newspapers for sordid private ends is their control by demagogues for ambitious, selfish ends. The people know, with unerring instinct, when a newspaper is devoted to private rather than to public interests; and their refusal to buy it limits its capacity for harm. But when a demagogic agitator appeals to "the masses" against "the classes" and poses as the ardent friend of the people against their "oppressors," assailing law and order and property as a means of gaining followers among the discontented and unthinking, the newspaper becomes a dangerous power for evil. Especially is this true when money is freely used to mislead the people.

Commercialism has a legitimate place in a newspaper, namely, in the business office. The more successful a newspaper is commercially, the better for its moral side. The more prosperous it is, the more independent it can afford to be, the higher salaries it can pay to editors and reporters, the less subject it will be to temptation, the better it can stand losses for the sake of principle and conviction. But commercialism, which is proper and necessary in the business office, becomes a degradation and a danger when it invades the editorial rooms. Once let the public come to regard the press as exclusively a commercial business and there is an end of its moral power. Influence cannot exist without public confidence. And that confidence must have a human basis. It must rest in the end on the character of the journalist. The editor, the real "journalist" of the future, must be a man of such known integrity that he will be above the sus-

picion of writing or editing against his convictions. He must be known as one who would resign rather than sacrifice his principles to any business interest. It would be well if the editor of every newspaper were also its proprietor, but every editor can be at least the proprietor of himself. If he cannot keep the paper from degrading itself, he can refuse to be a party to the degradation.

By far the larger part of the American press is honest, although partisan. It means to do right; it would like to know how. To strengthen its resolution and give to its wisdom the indispensable basis of knowledge and independence is the object of training in journalism.

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS.

"I know but two ways by which society can be governed: the one is by Public Opinion, the other by the Sword."—MACAULAY.

In an interesting review of its seventy years of life, the New York *Sun* estimated the total circulation of the six morning papers existing in New York at its birth at 18,000 copies a day. Since then four of these six journals have died, and the *Tribune, Times, Herald* and *World* have been born.

To-day the New York morning papers alone print more than a million copies of every issue. At least 1,500,000 copies more are added every working-day by the evening papers which seventy years ago did not exist. In other words, for every New York newspaper sold in 1833, 140 are sold now to fourteen times as many people. Where there used to be nearly three families to every newspaper, there are now over three newspapers to every family.

There are men now living whose memories can bridge that gap of seventy years. In 1833 Andrew Jackson was President. The entire United States had less than the present population of the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and far less wealth than is concentrated to-day within half a mile of Trinity Church. There was not an American settlement west of the Missouri, and the few cabins were the only marks of civilization on the site of Chicago. New York City was smaller than Detroit is now. Washington was a swamp in which coaches were mired down and abandoned on Pennsylvania Avenue, and cows grazed on the site of the British Embassy. A generation had

passed since Jackson had resigned his seat in the Senate because it took him nearly six weeks to make the journey between Philadelphia, then the capital, and his home—a longer time than it has taken within the past year to girdle the globe—but there were yet Senators who found the trip to Washington not much shorter. Still there were steamboats on the navigable rivers, and stage-coaches drawn over rails by steam-engines had just begun to astonish the inhabitants of a few favored localities. The horse was still the usual motor for high-speed traffic, and the ox or the mule the customary freight-engine. "De Witt Clinton's ditch" across the State of New York was the commercial marvel of the age. The people of Virginia were strangers to the people of Pennsylvania, and the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was longer and vastly more arduous than the journey now from Boston to the City of Mexico. The farmer reaped his grain with a scythe and cradle, and threshed it with a flail or under the feet of horses. Whale-oil lamps glimmered feebly through the darkness of the city streets. Nails were made by hand on the blacksmith's forge. In the country a calico gown was a luxury, to be worn on state occasions. Colleges were few and puny. Harvard, the most ambitious of them all, was a high school in which a few professors taught Latin, Greek, moral philosophy and a little mathematics, leading in most cases to a course in theology. There was not a single real university in America. There were no great libraries.

In the best presses of that day, and for many years after, it was necessary to feed the paper by hand, one sheet at a time, print it on one side and then feed it again and print it on the other. All the presses then in existence would not have been able to print a single edition of a leading New York newspaper of our time, such as whirls between the cylinders of a Hoe machine from endless rolls of paper at the speed of the Niagara rapids. All the paper-mills then in the country could not have met the demands of such a journal for white paper. All the news-gathering agencies in the world would have hopelessly broken down in the attempt to provide even a fraction of its present daily supply of information. Had any one suggested then that children were already born who would be still living and reading when news would be flashed from Tokyo to New York by lightning and printed before it happened—who would see on

the same page despatches of the same date from India, from Siberia, from Australia, from Corea and from the sources of the Nile; that one of them in Boston could talk with his own voice to another in Omaha; that they would see newspapers printed on ships on the Atlantic containing news shot on invisible waves over a thousand miles of ocean, and that they could take breakfast in New York and dine in London a week later, he would have been treated as an eccentric "visionary."

So much for the seventy years upon which the old man can look back—what of the seventy years to which the boy can look forward?

The population of the Republic is still increasing at a rate that is more than equivalent to annexing a Canada every four years. New York promises to displace London in twenty or thirty years as the first city of the world. Nearly a million immigrants landed last year—the greatest human flood in all modern history. Electric trains have already been driven at a hundred and fifty miles an hour—as great an advance on the ordinary express train of 1904 as that has been on the stage-coach of 1833. Wireless telegraphy is in its feeble infancy, and radium is hinting of things unsuspected. The nations are drawing together. The International Postal Union and international conventions on copyrights, tariffs, arbitration and other matters of common concern are teaching them that it is as easy to cooperate as to quarrel. At the smallest rate of increase we have ever known in any census period the population of the United States would not be less than 290,000,000 in seventy years from now. Even allowing for any reasonable decline in the rate of growth it can hardly fall below 200,000,000.

We are embarked, whether we like it or not, upon a revolution in thought and life. Progress is sweeping forward with accelerating force, outstripping in decades the advance of former centuries and millenniums. All professions, all occupations but one, are keeping step with that majestic march. Its inspiration has fired all ranks of the marching army, or must we except the standard-bearers? The self-constituted leaders and enlighteners of the people—what are they doing? Standing still, lost in self-admiration, while the hosts march by? Are they even doing as well as that? Is it not a fact that the editors of seventy years ago were, as a rule, better informed in law, politics, government

and history than those of to-day? The statesmen and lawyers and political students who used to do editorial work for ambition or intellectual pleasure have ceased to frequent the newspaper offices. There is no trade so humble that it is not developing a standard of competence based on thorough training. For the more intellectual professions—law, medicine, art, architecture, music, engineering in all its varied branches—the years of preparation are stretching over ever-lengthening periods.

Is the most exacting profession of all—the one that requires the widest and the deepest knowledge and the firmest foundations of character—to be left entirely to the chances of self-education? Is the man who is everybody's critic and teacher the only one who does not need to be taught himself?

WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT—AND HOW?

"He (Gladstone) was never very ready to talk about himself, but when asked what he regarded as his master secret, he always said, concentration. Steady practice of instant, fixed, effectual, attention. . . ."—JOHN MORLEY.

Style.—Everybody says that a College of Journalism must teach good English style. But what is a good style and how shall it be taught?

The importance and the rarity of a really good English style are so great that, to my own mind, this college will be worth all its cost if it shall succeed only in teaching the future generations of journalists what a wonderful art Style is and how to perfect themselves in it.

"The style is the man," said Buffon; by which he obviously meant that the best thing in any man's writing is that which is individual—giving his own thought in his own way. But the important thing is to develop the style that is the man in a manner to make it conform to the requisites of the best newspaper writing, namely, accuracy, clearness, terseness and forcefulness.

The literary art is in general very inadequately taught and very little appreciated in this country. No artist aspires to fame without a knowledge of form and color and drawing. But one has only to read the newspapers and the books without number issued from the press to perceive that many authors

audaciously begin their careers without having learned to write.

In no profession is the art of writing more important than in journalism, which is daily turning out a literature—ephemeral, it is true, and in great part bad, but still the literature of the millions. Yet one style will not answer the manifold requirements of a newspaper. There must be a different style for each kind of work—polemical, descriptive, analytical, literary, satirical, expository, critical, narrative—and the mind of the editor, like a trained musical ear, must be able to detect every note out of place. An argumentative editorial on the tariff must not be written in the vein that would be appropriate to a pathetic description of a mother's search for a lost child, nor must a satirical dissection of a politician resemble a report of a bankruptcy case.

But, through all the varied styles fit for use in a newspaper there runs one common feature—public interest. Whether the subject he touches be profound or trivial, the journalist must not be dull nor involved, nor hard to understand. He must know exactly what he wants to say, how to say it and—when to stop. He must have a Gallic lucidity and precision.

He must have the critical faculty, for all newspaper work involves criticism and analysis. The journalist criticises everything under the sun; his eye is always at the mental microscope and his hand on the dissecting-knife.

Acute journalists gradually fashion their own styles through observation and practice. They can never be relieved of that necessity by any attempt to fit a ready-made style to them; but may they not be helped by a course of instruction systematically explaining what journalism requires, with illustrations of good and bad work?

THE LAW.

"Honest and independent journalism is the mightiest force evolved by modern civilization. With all its faults—and what human institution is faultless?—it is indispensable to the life of a free people. The frontiers of the constitutional privilege of the press are as wide as human thought, and it is one of the glories of our country that its journalism, as a whole, is incorrupt, fearless and patriotic. It is the never-sleeping enemy of bigotry, sectionalism, ignorance and crime. It deserves the freedom which our fathers gave it. It has justified itself."

—ALTON B. PARKER, *Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals.*

Everybody says that Law must be taught. Assuredly!—but how?

There are manifold branches of the law. International law, constitutional interpretation, the law of corporations, of contracts, of real estate, wills, patents, divorce, the criminal law and a score of other important subjects each command the almost undivided attention of legal experts who have practically become specialists.

To attempt the mastery of all phases of the law as taught in a law school would be impossible for a student of journalism. Nor is it necessary. Here again the fundamental idea underlying the entire scheme of this college, of *specializing the instruction,* is seen to be essential. The regular student of law must learn not merely the principles, but the practice and precedents, of his profession. But the journalist needs to know only the principles and theories of law and so much of their application as relates directly to the rights and the welfare of the public. The art of selection must be employed in separating the essential and the practical from the non-essential and the impractical.

Take the question of franchises, which has become so important to municipalities and to the country at large. Would not a series of special lectures, prepared by a competent jurist, instruct those who aim to become teachers and guardians of the people as to the nature and proper limitations of public franchises? A clear definition of the nature and responsibilities of a "common carrier" and of the reservations and conditions which it is right to impose upon corporations that seek the use of public property, like the streets of a city, for private gain, would be of great advantage to those who will be called upon to protect the public interests in the future.

There is much in the papers—and a good deal, it must be confessed, that is either ignorant or demagogic, or both—in denunciation of monopolies. How many know the fundamental fact that oppressive monopolies are abhorrent to the common law, which we inherited from England? How many know the difference between common law and statute law? President Cleveland, President Roosevelt, and even the astute Mr. Olney, thought a constitutional amendment necessary to enable Congress to forbid and punish "trusts, monopolies or other conspiracies in restraint of trade." But the Supreme Court has frequently decided, and

has just reaffirmed the truth that for twelve years I maintained in my newspaper, that under the common law all these combinations are unlawful and subject to the restraint of Congress under the Constitution.

The relations of capital and labor, which present one of the greatest problems before us as a nation and one filled with potentialities of the gravest danger, and the ownership or regulation of public utilities by municipalities or by the nation, both involve many strictly legal or constitutional points. The discussion of these questions in the press is too commonly partisan, superficial or demagogic. Would it not be of great advantage to the press and the public if journalists were instructed in the basic principles of law and equity in these matters? Is it not entirely practicable to teach them the legal meaning of such phrases as "eminent domain," "vested rights," "the public welfare" (as used in the Constitution), "corporate privileges" and the like?

The writ of injunction—or "government by injunction" as it has been mischievously called—would it not be enlightening and useful if a great jurist like Justice Brewer or James C. Carter or Joseph Choate were to give to the students in the College of Journalism a history of this writ, and a dispassionate account of its uses and necessity and possible limitations in a free government?

And so of divorce—the press teems with scandals arising from the too easy sundering of marriage ties. Clergymen deplore its evils, moralists suggest impossible remedies, legislators meddle only to muddle. Would it not conduce to the enactment of a national divorce law, uniform and stringent, if the journalists of the future were impressed with the anomaly of forty-five separate and often conflicting laws of marriage and divorce in this indissoluble Union?

The fundamental things—the settled principles of law—that touch closely the life and the welfare of the people, can surely be taught in a series of lectures by eminent lawyers, aided by the standard text-books. Nearly forty years ago, preparatory to my admission to the bar in St. Louis, I not only read but *studied* Blackstone; and I have never seen the day in my whole journalistic experience when I did not feel thankful for what I then learned of the *principles* of law.

A carefully specialized course of study, adapted to teach the student of journalism what he needs to know, and omitting the

things that are not required by one who has no intention of practising law, will, it seems to me, prove to be not only wholly practicable, but in the highest degree useful. No subject is more important, for Law is the basis of Civilization, the regulator of Liberty, the safeguard of Order, the groundwork of Government, the formal expression of a nation's ideas of Justice—and Justice is the supreme test of any and all government.

ETHICS.

Everybody says that ethics should be taught. But how?

I have expressed myself poorly indeed if I have not made it clear that here is the heart of the whole matter.

Without high ethical ideals a newspaper not only is stripped of its splendid possibilities of public service, but may become a positive danger to the community. There will naturally be a course in ethics, but training in ethical principles must not be confined to that. It must pervade all the courses. Ideals, character, professional standards not to be infringed without shame, a sense of honor which, as Burke said of the totally undeserving French noblesse, feels a stain like a wound: these will be the motif of the whole institution, never forgotten even in its most practical work.

News is important—it is the very life of a paper. But what is life without character? What is the life of a nation or of an individual without honor, without heart and soul?

Above knowledge, above news, above intelligence, the heart and soul of a paper lie in its moral sense, in its courage, its integrity, its humanity, its sympathy for the oppressed, its independence, its devotion to the public welfare, its anxiety to render public service.

Without these there may be smart journalists, but never a truly great or honorable one.

LITERATURE.

Everybody says a journalist must study literature. True—but how? A college course is too short to allow even the barest introduction to all the great works with which a newspaper writer ought to be familiar. But it can make a beginning, which can be intelligent and thorough as far as it goes. The student would have time enough to become intimately acquainted with a few of the masterpieces whose web of imagery and allusion has become part of the texture of English style.

Perhaps I may take it for granted that in this course particular attention will be paid to the literature of politics, from Plato to Burke, from the letters of Junius to Hamilton's famous Federalist letters, and from Jefferson to Lincoln.

TRUTH AND ACCURACY.

Everybody says that a journalist ought to be taught the importance of truth and accuracy. But how?

Journalism implies the duty and art of omniscience. A newspaper never admits that there is anything it does not know. But, while the newspaper may know everything, the man who helps to make it does not, and owing to the limited capacity of the human brain he never can.

More important, therefore, than filling him up with facts that can never reach the measure of his needs is his instruction in the art of finding things when they are required. Does a reader ask how many national bank-notes were outstanding in 1867? The editor may not know, but by turning to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency he can find out, and then the paper knows.

The library of reference is the editor's best friend, and the art of going at once to the proper source for any needed piece of information is one of the most useful arts a journalist can possibly acquire. And is not this something that could easily be taught in a class-room.

The bibliography of books of reference, with instruction in the art of finding data with speed and precision, would make a well-defined college course. There is always some best source for every kind of information—some original source from which the facts trickle through all sorts of media, and finally reach the public at second, third or fourth hand.

To know these sources of exact knowledge, to be able to put one's hand on them instantly, and so to be able to state facts with absolute confidence in their accuracy—could there be any more useful accomplishments for a journalist?

HISTORY.

"He alone reads history aright who, observing how powerfully circumstances influence the feelings and opinions of men, how often virtues pass into vices and paradoxes into axioms, learns to distinguish what is accidental and transitory in human nature from what is essential and immutable."—MACAULAY.

Everybody says that a School of Journalism must teach history. But how?

The world's historical records fill thousands of volumes. The utmost that any scholar can do in a whole lifetime is to dip into this mass of material here and there, and take out something that he particularly wants.

But the average college class is composed of young men with all kinds of purposes, and therefore with all kinds of wants, and these young men must all be taught together. Therefore the professor, perforce, prepares for them a neutral course.

Now, let us suppose that instead of lecturing for the general student in a general way, a professor of history should concentrate sharply upon the special object of the journalist, upon the special, separate needs of his training. Might he not then find time to throw light upon such subjects as these:

The history of politics. ("History," said Seeley, "is past politics and politics is present history.")

The growth and development of free institutions and the causes of their decay.

Revolutions, reforms and changes of government.

The influence of public opinion upon all progress.

Legislation.

Taxation.

Moral movements.

Slavery and war.

Conflicts between capital and labor.

The history of colonization, illuminating American policy at European experience.

The history of journalism.

Of course in this review general history would be lightly touched, English history more thoroughly, and American history would have several times as much attention as all the rest combined. And through all its phases would run the idea of progress, especially the progress of justice, of civilization, of humanity, of public opinion, and of the democratic idea and ideal.

SOCIOLOGY.

Everybody says that a College of Journalism should teach sociology. But how?

Vague and almost formless as this science is, it is full of the

raw material of the newspaper. Charles Booth's monumental seventeen volumes on the life and labor of the people of London, with its maps showing block by block where the thrifty workers congregate and where live the submerged tenth—where dens of vice elbow schools and where the saloon crowds upon the tenement —are the last condensation of a hundred years of reporting. Sociology, the science of the life of man in society, is the systematization of facts which it is the daily business of the journalist to collect.

The chief difficulty in teaching this science is that it is so very broad—like a river in flood, without any definite channel. But a professor who knows what to leave out can frame a course, theoretical and practical, that will be one of the best possible introductions to newspaper work.

ECONOMICS.

Everybody says that a College of Journalism should teach economics. But how?

May I not say with confidence that it should not confine itself to the old, arid, abstract, political economy, but should deal with the new play of industrial and commercial forces that is transforming modern society?

The relations between capital and labor, for instance. Can a journalist be too well informed about that? There are things here of which the old economists, with their "haggling of the market" and their "natural laws of wages," never dreamed.

THE ENEMIES OF THE REPUBLIC.

There are dangers ahead for the Republic. The demagogue is in the land. He is trying to array society into two camps. There is a new irrepressible conflict which it is folly to ignore. The stupendous growth of corporate power; the enormous increase in individual fortunes, combined to control railroad systems and industries, defiant of law and destructive of competition; the growing inequalities in life, in station and in opportunity; the practical disfranchisement of many millions of citizens equal under the Constitution; the enormous mass of illiteracy and political unfitness in the Southern States; the intensified antagonism of labor against corporate capital, of employees against employers—are problems which will tax the wisdom of our statesmen and the serene self-confidence of our people.

This confidence would be sublime, if it were not blind! What reason have we for thinking that our Government is exempt from the mutations of history? Is not, in fact, our Republic liable to popular passion, sitting as it does in a glass house, subject to the conflicts, the disturbances and the possible reactions of elections every two and four years?

A change of 25,000 votes in certain close States in 1896 would have put Mr. Bryan into the White House and have given him the appointment of three Supreme Court justices. With growing discontent, with appeals to ignorance by some newspapers, powerfully assisted by the proceedings of some financiers who act on the principle, "after us the deluge," who can be so dense as not to see the certainty of popular reaction against the money power, the rich, especially in hard times? Is it inconceivable that an element that could command over six million votes in 1896 might, under other conditions, secure twenty-five thousand more? Who can be so over-confident of the future as not to see that the very fire of liberty, maintained by universal suffrage, brings danger every two years or every four years, unless that liberty be regulated by law, order, intelligence and self-control?

And can we ignore the growing power and intelligence of organized labor in any course of ecomomic study? Not only do the labor-unions represent organized antagonism against organized capital, but they now display this very remarkable development—that they do not represent poor labor, destitute labor, as they formerly did and are supposed by some still to do, but what may fairly be called semi-capitalistic labor. Is it not most significant that after a six months' strike in the anthracite regions, during which the idle miners were reported to have drawn a million dollars from the funds of their union, that union now has, on the authority of Mr. John Mitchell, approximately another million dollars in its treasury? The laborers, in fact, have become semi-capitalists through organization. When they are armed with such a weapon, with the power of cooperation, with a strong leader, and with at least a million of votes for which the politicians of both parties are bidding, are there not sufficient possibilities to make the situation worth the study of men who assume to be popular teachers?

And Socialism!—a new economics in itself—treated as beyond the pale of respectable discussion a few years ago and now in prin-

ciple actually triumphant in Germany, France, and even in so conservative a country as England—whose bill for the purchase and distribution of landed estates in Ireland is the essence of state Socialism—what of that? The German socialists openly refuse to be considered simply as a political party, accepting the present situation and trying to improve existing institutions from within. They proclaim their purpose as distinctly revolutionary.

We have socialistic beginnings in America, such as demands for the Government ownership of mines and railroads and a pension roll on which we have spent three thousand million dollars since the civil war, and to which, already containing a million names, 300,000 new names have just been added by an act of Executive usurpation. But our Socialism has no leaders like Jaurès and Bebel—two of the greatest intellects in Europe.

How soon shall we have two such men in America?—not gifted merely with Mr. Bryan's talent for oratory, but with sound judgment, with stable character and with sincerity of purpose that would give them a hold on the people, not to be obtained except through that confidence which only such sincerity of character and soundness of judgment breed?

ARBITRATION.

And what are we to say of arbitration, that great engine of civilization, belonging equally to economics and to politics, and perhaps to ethics, which is daily proving its value as a substitute for disturbances, disorder, riot and war? The very act of submitting a dispute to arbitration proves that there is something to be said on both sides. The men who arrogantly issue demands for which they offer no reason but simple power have "nothing to arbitrate." Before an arbitration tribunal questions are discussed on their merits. Appeals to prejudice, to class or national animosities, to cynical self-interest, are dropped. Every such hearing is a lesson in order and civilization.

There is always a tendency on the part of the weaker side to ask for arbitration and on that of the stronger to refuse it. Here is the opportunity of the press to bring its moral force into the dispute and overcome the obstinacy of brute strength by the pressure of public opinion.

The literature of arbitration is already immense. The workings of experiments in compulsory arbitration, of boards of con-

ciliation, of permanent State arbitration tribunals, of standing arbitration agreements between labor-unions and employers, and of the long line of international settlements leading up to the establishment of the world's court of arbitration at The Hague, would furnish material in themselves for a full and most valuable course of study for a journalist.

STATISTICS.

Everybody says that statistics should be taught. But how?

Statistics are not simply figures. It is said that nothing lies like figures—except facts. You want statistics to tell you the truth. You can find truth there if you know how to get at it, and romance, human interest, humor and fascinating revelations as well. The journalist must know how to find all these things—truth, of course, first. His figures must bear examination. It is much better to understate than to overstate his case, so that his critics and not himself may be put to confusion when they challenge him to verify his comparisons.

He must not read his statistics blindly; he must be able to test them by knowledge and by common sense. He must always be on the alert to discover how far they can actually be trusted—and what they really mean. The analysis of statistics to get at the essential truth of them has become a well-developed science, whose principles are systematically taught. And what a fascinating science it is! What romance can equal the facts of our national growth?

Is it not a stupendous fact that there are 204,000 miles of railroad in the United States (more than in the whole of Europe) owned by companies having a total capitalization of more than $14,000,000,000, par value, affording livelihood to 5,000,000 of persons (employees and their families) and distributing $178,000,000 in dividends to owners and $610,713,701 in wages?

The flow of our exports—over three thousand millions above imports in seven years—does not the imagination see, in these figures, the whole story of the recent forward rush of American industry—the "American Invasion" of Europe, and the homeward flight of securities? And then, are there not interesting reflections in the fact that we have spent almost exactly the same amount in pensions in the past thirty years? What a tribute to our institutions—what hope for the future—in the fact that

18,000,000 pupils are attending school or college! And immigration—more than 20,000,000 since 1820—nearly a million arrivals last year—a New Zealand swallowed in a year; an Australia in four years;—surely it looks as if Europe were being transplanted bodily to America. But when we remember that the natural increase of the population of Europe is about four millions a year, we may feel reasonably sure that the old continent will always have a few people left.

MODERN LANGUAGES.

Everybody says a School of Journalism should teach modern languages. But which?

It cannot treat them as a luxurious culture subject, or as a mental discipline. It must regard each foreign language as a tool —a key with which to unlock the life, the literature, the morals and the manners of the people that use it. "He who knows no other tongue," said Goethe, "knows little of his own." And every additional tongue he can master is a new asset for the journalist. The special advantage of French is on the side of style. Order, precision, lucidity, the sense of form, are all French characteristics of especial value to the journalist.

An advantage of German is that it is, above all others, the language of translations. With that you have a key to everything else. Everything of importance in every other language, ancient or modern, has been translated into German, and translated wonderfully well. How much can be done in two or three years in the teaching of one or more modern languages as a part of that special course is a matter for the Advisory Board and the college authorities to consider.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

Everybody says that physical science should be taught. But how?

Even when Pope said: "The proper study of mankind is man" —there were some things outside of himself that were worth a little of a philosopher's attention. But, in this age, it is impossible to make even a pretence of intelligence, not to speak of filling the post of a public teacher without, at least, a little scientific knowledge.

The journalist need not be a specialist in science; he need not

even follow the ordinary scientific courses at college which are too choked with small details to answer his needs. But ought he not to have some bold outlines of the principles of physics, chemistry, biology and astronomy, in the light of the latest discoveries, with such an introduction to the best authorities on these subjects as would enable him to follow them out to any further extent by himself?

THE STUDY OF NEWSPAPERS.

Everybody says that in the training of a journalist the current newspapers must be studied. But how?

Suppose the managing or chief editor of a great daily, moved by a generous zeal for his profession, should give several hours to a thorough study of the newspapers of the current day. Then let us imagine him saying to a class: "Here is the best and here is the worst story of the day"—and telling why. "Here is the wrong of the day; here is the injustice that needs to be righted; here is the best editorial; here is a brilliant paragraph; here is a bit of sentimental trash; here is a superb 'beat'; here is a scandalous 'fake,' for which the perpetrator ought to go to Sing Sing; here is a grossly inaccurate and misleading headline; here is an example of crass ingorance of foreign politics; here is something 'crammed' from an almanac by a man who does not know the meaning of figures when he sees them."

If the editors of twenty of the foremost journals in the country should deliver such lectures in turn, "demonstrating" from the day's paper as the lecturer in a medical college does from the object of his clinic, could a young man worth his room in a newspaper office go through a year of their training without learning to see and to think? Would not that course alone be a liberal education?

THE POWER OF IDEAS.

> *"Public opinion is at once the guide and the monitor of statesmen."*—ERSKINE MAY.

Everybody says that journalistic ideas should be taught. But how?—and by whom?

Goethe said: "Everything has been thought of before, but the difficulty is to think of it again." If everything has been thought of before, it can all be recalled and set down in order. You can make a list of all the important ideas that brought honor and suc-

cess in journalism in the last twenty years. Would it be possible for anybody, unless he were a fool, to survey for three hundred days in the year a procession of ideas on which successful and respectable newspapers had been founded and maintained without absorbing, digesting, assimilating and unconsciously taking into his brain thought material which he could apply to his own needs?

Fools have had no place in my plans for a College of Journalism. They belong with the journalists who are "born, not made."

To think rightly, to think instantly, to think incessantly, to think intensely, to seize opportunities when others let them go by —this is the secret of success in journalism. To teach this is twenty times more important than to teach Latin or Greek.

Napoleon said that every battle depended upon one thought, but that one thought, though seeming to be a sudden inspiration, was the result of a whole life of thinking and experience.

Thought is the only power that has no limits. You may say of a steam boiler: "This will develop a thousand horse-power," but who can say where the influence of a thought will stop?

The French Revolution sprang from the thought of a few men. Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopædists said that the idea of the people belonging to the King by divine right was preposterous; that the people belonged to themselves. This thought-germ floated in the air; the American revolution stimulated it and suddenly the awakened people made the thought a deed.

An old thought applied to a new situation is new. Robespierre spoke of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" long before Lincoln was born. Yet who remembers Robespierre in connection with that phrase which Lincoln recreated and immortalized?

Before the days of railroads, of telegraphs or of great industrial and commercial combinations a thinker in France attacked corporations as a danger to the State, because, having no souls, they were destitute of that sense of pride and personal responsibility, of individual shame and honor, without which good citizenship is impossible. It was the idea of Helvetius that devotion to the State is the first duty of patriotism. In his day that idea seemed purely theoretical—corporations were not then really formidable. But the thought was sound and the time has come when it is practical.

"There is nothing new under the sun." Mr. Bryan's idea of

scaling down debts by law is as old as social discontent. If he had read history attentively he would not have taken himself so seriously as an agitator. His scheme was tried by Lycurgus, by Solon, by the Gracchi; it was part of the programme of Catiline. Even the method of doing it, by depreciating the value of the coinage, was applied repeatedly by European Kings in the Middle Ages, and later.

None of us can hope to be original. We simply take from the great stock of old thoughts what suits our purpose, and it depends upon ourselves and our training whether we select the good or the bad.

PRINCIPLES OF JOURNALISM.

Everybody says that we should teach the principles and methods of journalism. But how?

Well, it seems impossible to do so, without lectures explaining the subject in a systematic way. But would not still more be gained from the actual preparation by the students of a newspaper to be printed, perhaps, once a week at first, by means of a press and plant, for which I have provided, in the college building?

Such a paper would give practice in all branches of newspaper work—editing, reporting, criticising, copy-reading, proof-reading, making-up—everything, in short, that a young man ought to be able to do before he ventures to undertake the work of a journalist. It would be under the supervision of a professor who would not only wield the pencil as ruthlessly as a real editor does, but would also do what the real editor has no time to do—tell why he did it. Sometimes all the students might be asked to write editorials on the same subject and the best one could be printed, with an explanation of the reasons for its selection.

If the ablest twenty editors in the country or in the East, or in New York, were to consent to take turns once or twice a year in analyzing and criticising the paper so produced, and the New York dailies, putting their best thought and experience into the task, the students would have the benefit, not of one mind, but of twenty, and these the best in the profession. Would not editors in sympathy with the plan do this much as a matter of pride, of honor? By such practice, under such expert criticism, the journalist would be trained for work, as the young officer is trained for war by military manœuvres.

But the object of the course would be always to make real

editors, to develop right thinking—to teach the student that what makes a newspaper is not type, nor presses, nor advertising, but brains, conscience, character working out into public service.

FINALE—THE NEWS.

But I must stop—and should perhaps apologize for the interminable length of this paper, which has exceeded all reasonable bounds. The writing of it has convinced me that the two years' course of study suggested for the College of Journalism would be altogether too short—for, after all, we have not yet said anything about news.

It is not that I underestimate its value. News is the life of a paper. It is perennially changing—more varied than any kaleidoscope, bringing every day some new surprise, some new sensation —always the unexpected.

But I have no time to treat the subject adequately, and ought to confess that the editorial discussion of politics and public questions has ever been the matter of deepest personal interest to me.

News is very interesting, but there are others who no doubt will take care of it better than I. Give me a news editor who has been well grounded, who has the foundations of accuracy, love of truth and an instinct for the public service, and there will be no trouble about his gathering the news.

PUBLIC SERVICE THE SUPREME END.

> *"What are great gifts but the correlative of great work? We are not born for ourselves but for our kind, for our neighbors, for our country."*—CARDINAL NEWMAN.

It has been said by some that my object in founding the College of Journalism was to help young men who wish to make this their vocation. Others have commended it as an effort to raise journalism to its real rank as one of the learned professions. This is true. But while it is a great pleasure to feel that a large number of young men will be helped to a better start in life by means of this college, this is not my primary object. Neither is the elevation of the profession which I love so much and regard so highly. In all my planning the chief end I had in view was the welfare of the Republic. It will be the object of the college to make better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve

the public. It will impart knowledge—not for its own sake, but to be used for the public service. It will try to develop character, but even that will be only a means to the one supreme end—the public good. We are facing that hitherto-unheard-of portent—an innumerable, world-wide, educated, and self-conscious democracy. The little revolutions of the past have been effected by a few leaders working upon an ignorant populace, conscious only of vague feelings of discontent. Now the masses read. They know their grievances and their power. They discuss in New York the position of labor in Berlin and in Sydney. Capital, too, is developing a world-wide class feeling. It likewise has learned the power of cooperation.

What will be the state of society and of politics in this Republic seventy years hence, when some of the children now in school will be still living? Shall we preserve the government of the Constitution, the equality of all citizens before the law and the purity of justice—or shall we have the government of either money or the mob?

The answers to these questions will depend largely upon the kind of instruction the people of that day draw from their newspapers—the text-books, the orators, the preachers of the masses.

I have said so much of the need for improvement in journalism that to avoid misconception I must put on record my appreciation of the really admirable work so many newspaper men are doing already. The competent editorial writer, for instance—how much sound information he furnishes every day! How generally just his judgments are, and how prompt his decisions! Unknown to the people he serves, he is in close sympathy with their feelings and aspirations, and, when left to himself and unhampered by party prejudices, he generally interprets their thought as they would wish to express it themselves.

It is not too much to say that the press is the only great organized force which is actively and as a body upholding the standard of civic righteousness. There are many political reformers among the clergy, but the pulpit as an institution is concerned with the Kingdom of Heaven, not with the Republic of America. There are many public-spirited lawyers, but the bar as a profession works for its retainers, and no law-defying trust ever came to grief from a dearth of legal talent to serve it. Physicians work for their patients and architects for their patrons. The press alone makes the

public interests its own. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business"—except the journalist's; it is his by adoption. But for his care almost every reform would fall stillborn. He holds officials to their duty. He exposes secret schemes of plunder. He promotes every hopeful plan of progress. Without him public opinion would be shapeless and dumb. He brings all classes, all professions together, and teaches them to act in concert on the basis of their common citizenship.

The Greeks thought that no republic could be successfully governed if it were too large for all the citizens to come together in one place. The Athenian democracy could all meet in the popular assembly. There public opinion was made, and accordingly as the people listened to a Pericles or to a Cleon the state flourished or declined. The orator that reaches the American democracy is the newspaper. It alone makes it possible to keep the political blood in healthful circulation in the veins of a continental republic. We have—it is unfortunately true—a few newspapers which advocate dangerous fallacies and falsehoods, appealing to ignorance, to partisanship, to passion, to popular prejudice, to poverty, to hatred of the rich, to socialism, sowing the seeds of discontent—eventually sure, if unchecked, to produce lawlessness and bloodshed. Virtue, said Montesquieu, is the principle of a republic, and therefore a republic, which in its purity is the most desirable of all forms of government, is the hardest of all to preserve. For there is nothing more subject to decay than virtue.

Our Republic and its press will rise or fall together. An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and a mockery. A cynical, mercenary, demagogic press will produce in time a people as base as itself. The power to mould the future of the Republic will be in the hands of the journalists of future generations. This is why I urge my colleagues to aid the important experiment which I have ventured to endow. Upon their generous aid and cooperation the ultimate success of the project must depend.

JOSEPH PULITZER.

RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

A STATEMENT TO THE "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" BY COMTE CASSINI, THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

I HAVE been invited by the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to make a statement of Russia's position in the Far Eastern conflict. Contributing articles to magazines and newspapers is not the mission of a diplomat, and I have been obliged to decline many kind invitations from the periodical press. For several reasons I have made an exception in favor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the principal one being that I have from time to time given to the American press, upon application, certain facts regarding my country and its policies which, in my faith in the fairness and impartiality of the American people, I felt would be carefully considered by them in attempting to reach an honest and a just conclusion as to the true position of Russia in the Far East. In furnishing this statement to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I am actuated by the hope that it will be alike for the benefit of Russia and the readers of the magazine.

A common belief is that war comes only when diplomacy fails. As a general proposition this idea is correct; but it must be remembered that there are instances on record where diplomacy has been invoked for the specific purpose of precipitating war. Russia's diplomacy has ever made for her peace and that of the world. It was in this spirit that she entered into negotiations with Japan last summer, in the fervent hope that an understanding satisfactory and honorable to all concerned might be the result. Russia believed that Japan's diplomacy was directed to the same end. She saw her mistake only when Japan, without fair warning, substituted arms for diplomacy. It was then that my country realized that her patience in the negotiations had been abused, and that Japan was using diplomacy as a time-

gaining device that she might the better equip herself for the war upon which she appears all along to have been determined.

When I was in Paris last summer a prominent Japanese remarked to me:

"Before we meet again our countries probably will be at war."

"Why do you say that?" I asked. "Russia's desire has always been for peace, and the war would not be of her making."

"Certainly not," he replied. "It would be what my country has so long been hoping for and expecting. She needs a war to place her in the front rank of nations; and while your diplomacy may stave off hostilities a little while longer, Japan will get a war with you before a year has gone."

I hoped my Japanese friend was wrong; my government hoped so; and yet even then there were many evidences that he spoke the truth. The correctness of his statement was not fully appreciated, however, until the treacherous midnight attack at Port Arthur by Japanese torpedo-boats, while the Japanese Minister at Petersburg was still enjoying the protection and the courtesies of the Russian government, to whom he had only a short while before expressed the confident hope that war might yet be averted.

Russia has never ceased to wonder why the idea that she was willing and anxious to make war with Japan became so generally prevalent in the United States. Prejudiced minds, or those having nothing beyond a superficial knowledge of my government's position preceding the unexpected and dishonorable attack upon our fleet at Port Arthur, may dispute the statement that Russia hoped for and tried to maintain peace, but I have no hesitation in making it. If proof of the assertion be demanded, it lies in the simple but uncontradicted answer, Russia was not prepared. For the personal representative of the Russian Emperor to make an admission seemingly so humiliating to national pride may appear strange and remarkable to the people of the United States, but it is made with full appreciation of its importance and significance. I repeat that Russia was not prepared for war because she had no reason to expect war. In her faith that the negotiations with Japan were being conducted by both parties with the object of reaching an amicable and an honorable adjustment of their differences, she was not conscious that the outcome was to be other than peaceful. Faithfully adhering to the terms of her treaty with China respecting Manchuria, she had with-

drawn the major portion of her troops from that province until between sixty thousand and seventy thousand only remained. Such a proceeding makes ridiculous the allegation that Russia, actuated by designs upon not only Manchuria, but Corea, was from the first determined to possess this territory by force of arms, and that negotiations were prolonged for the purpose of giving opportunity for the concentration of the Russian forces upon Manchurian soil. Had Russia desired war, or even had she expected it, no considerations would have induced her to evacuate Chinese territory and thus lose the opportunity of ending the war quickly.

It should not be supposed that Russia is at war for the purpose of gratifying the ambition of her opponent to become a great nation. Russia is fighting to defend her position in the Far East; for vast interests which it would be foolhardy for her to abandon. That Russia, foremost in developing Manchuria, holds a privileged position in that vast expanse of territory, will not be denied by fair-minded men. It is a popular impression that Russia has attained her present foothold in this Chinese province through the right of virtual military conquest. No idea could be more erroneous. Through the pacific channels of diplomacy my government acquired privileges which, accepted in good faith, have been exercised in a spirit of true modern progressiveness, until now the flower of enlightened civilization blooms throughout a land that a few years ago was a wild, and in many parts a desolate, seemingly unproductive waste. Before the signing of the treaty which I had the honor to negotiate in behalf of my sovereign, giving to Russia railroad and other concessions in Manchuria, no white man could have ventured into that province without danger to his life. China, of her own free volition, conferred upon Russia permission to build a railway through Manchuria to Port Arthur, and it was to Russia that China turned when, forced to assent to Japan's demand for one hundred million dollars as war indemnity, she found herself unable to meet this enormous obligation imposed upon a defeated country, bankrupt, or practically so, by the exactions of a costly war. China's appeal was not in vain; she received the loan from Russia. I claim it to have been another friendly act on the part of my government, in cooperation with France and Germany, to save to China the Liaotung peninsula which Japan had seized as

part of the spoils of victory. 'How much more serious even than it is to-day would have been the menace to Europe and to the whole world, if Japan had secured a firm foothold upon the Asiatic mainland.

Upon the basis of the rights to commercial exploitation thus peaceably obtained, Russia built a railway into and through Manchuria. She built bridges, roads and canals. She has built cities whose rapid construction and wonderful strides in population and industry have no parallel, certainly in Europe and Asia, perhaps even in America. Harbin and Dalny are monuments to Russian progressiveness and civilization. These great undertakings, wonderful even in a day of marvellous human accomplishment, have cost Russia more than three hundred million dollars. To have abandoned them in the face of the menacing attitude of an ambitious and daring nation would have been an act of stupendous folly that would have made Russia not only the laughing-stock, but the object of the scornful pity, of the whole civilized world. Had the menace not existed, however; had China not failed to offer satisfactory guarantees of adequate protection to Russia's interests in Manchuria, Russia would cheerfully have continued to carry out her arrangement with China for the withdrawal of the Imperial military forces from Chinese territory.

It may properly be asked, and doubtless is asked: Why was a Russian army sent to Manchuria at all? The answer involves only a simple explanation. Initial successes achieved by the Boxers in the anti-foreign uprising of 1900 emboldened them to cross the Amur River, which divides Russian territory from Manchuria, and attack the Siberian city of Blagovistchensk. There were regular Chinese troops in this attacking force, commanded by officers of the Chinese Imperial service. That fact gave Russia cause for war. It was an act of war. But Russia, with a forbearance that contradicts the charges against her of a desire to dismember the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire, took no such advantage of the situation. Her military forces in Siberia vigorously resented the invasion and punished the invaders, and then, in accordance with that high law of self-preservation, crossed the frontier to protect the vast Russian material interests in Manchuria from the destructive designs of the fanatical hordes of soldiers and Boxers whose rallying cry was, "Death to all foreigners."

Had not Russian troops gone into Manchuria, that province would doubtless have witnessed scenes of carnage, pillage, and wanton destruction that would have created a sensation throughout the world. Russia restored order in Manchuria. She held her military forces there pending an adjustment of the differences between China and the Powers. When inquiries were made as to Russia's intentions toward Manchuria, assurances were promptly and cheerfully given of her willingness to evacuate as soon as China had furnished guarantees absolutely necessary to the preservation of Russia's vast interests.

In accordance with her expressed purpose, Russia negotiated an arrangement with China which provided among other things for the evacuation of Manchuria by the Imperial troops, and more than half of these troops had been withdrawn when the failure of China to furnish the required guarantees produced a halt. In failing to complete her evacuation of Manchuria on October 8 last, Russia is charged with the violation of her agreement with China. It requires but a reading of every Russian note on the subject to prove the injustice of this charge. Russia in all her diplomatic exchanges, written and verbal, on this subject, has qualified this pledge with the condition: "if action of other Powers proves no obstacle thereto."

Jealous of the growing interests of Russia in Manchuria, the Japanese government long ago endeavored to establish a parallel between its position in Corea and that of Russia in the Chinese province. The justice of this contention my government has never for a moment admitted. To consent to the establishment of such parallel would be to surrender a principle which the Powers, Japan included, have repeatedly recognized, and the same Powers have stood or claimed to have stood for the absolute integrity of the Corean Empire and for its independence. Having promised protection to the interests of foreign Powers in Manchuria, Russia refused to enter into a bargain with Japan by which that country might secure certain rights that in themselves would affect the political and territorial integrity of Corea.

In the progress of the negotiations begun last summer between Petersburg and Tokyo, Russia showed at all times a most conciliatory spirit. She modified her terms time and again, so intent was His Majesty, the Emperor, upon preserving the peace of the Empire. At all times, however, my government insisted upon a

mutual and unconditional guaranty of this principle of the independence and integrity of Corea; on an undertaking to use no part of Corea for strategic purposes, as the authorization of such action on the part of any foreign Power was directly opposed to the principle of the independence of Corea, and finally on the preservation of the full freedom of navigation of the Straits of Corea.

The Japanese government declined to accept these conditions, and replied by demanding again that Russia incorporate in a separate treaty between the Petersburg and Tokyo governments a declaration defining anew the rights which Japan was to enjoy in Manchuria, and a reiteration of the statements of my government's future intentions in that province. First, because such a subject was quite irrelevant to the negotiations in progress, and for the additional reason that Manchuria was a question to be settled between Russia and China in which Japan was no more legitimately concerned than any other Power, my government refused to accede to these demands. To have entered into a separate arrangement with Japan regarding Manchuria would not only have been a violation of good faith with China, but with the Powers which, with Russia and Japan, signed the peace protocol of 1900. However, in another effort to bring the negotiations to a peaceful conclusion, my country did all that dignity would permit and offered to give assurances again that the sovereignty of the Emperor of China in Manchuria would be recognized. Such a declaration had already been addressed to the Powers. Having made this marked concession solely in the interest of peace, my government awaited the Japanese answer in the expectation that it would at least be diplomatic in character, and would furnish the basis for the furtherance of the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. Before the Russian Minister at Tokyo could deliver this reply, the Japanese answer came, not through the regular channels, but as a torpedo attack at midnight. And now that war has come, Russia does not doubt the issue.

It is not a thoughtless statement that were Japan to obtain supreme control in Manchuria, the dominant military spirit of the Japanese would lead them to organize the Chinese into a modern army of such proportions that Europe and America would stand aghast at this menace to their peace and well-being. That is a

phase of what has been called the "Yellow Peril" that it would be well for the thoughtful and intelligent classes to consider carefully. The Chinese make good soldiers. To suppose them to be pusillanimous in character is erroneous. They are easily trained by competent instructors, and with a population of more than four hundred and thirty millions to draw from, an army could be raised that, cooperating with Japan, might, with a reasonable show of confidence, defy the civilized world.

You in America should pause to contemplate the result of a union of the two great Mongol races—one progressive, aggressive, alert, over-ambitious, dreaming dreams of standing dominant not only in the Far East, but in the councils of the Powers; the other imitative, easily influenced, ready if not anxious to have a stronger hand mould its flaccid character into whatever shape would be best suited to carry out a scheme of national aggrandizement. You of America, as well as we of Europe, have this to confront. It is not Russia alone that the danger threatens, but the whole family of Caucasian nations.

There is another aspect of the question which has doubtless already appealed to that admirable, rugged common sense for which the American business man is noted the world over. I refer to the commercial feature of the Far Eastern situation. In the outcropping of that perhaps natural sympathy arising from a kindly feeling for what has been considered a weak nation in its conflict with a powerful antagonist, many well-meaning people in this country have not taken time to contemplate the future. Every man looks to his own interests, and nations and the people composing them are the same in that respect. I know that in Europe there is a disposition to credit America with the worship of the Mighty Dollar above all else, but my experience in this great land, many of whose distinguished citizens have given me a friendship that I deeply appreciate, has taught me that money is not everything, and that the hearts of men and women are full of those Christian qualities that place honor and fair play higher than mere sordidness. Believing that the American people, however much their judgment may have been warped at times by misconception of the truth, will see that there are two sides to the present unfortunate conflict in Asia, I do not doubt that they will ultimately reach the conclusion that Russian progress is not only not inimical to their interests, but distinctly helpful to them.

Let us consider the issue in the Far East from the practical standpoint, and see to what extent it bears on the sentimental. It is claimed that with Russia out of Manchuria, that great province would be a lucrative market for American textile goods, agricultural implements and notions. But would there be no competition in this trade? Immediately the rivalry of Japan suggests itself. There are no people so quick to learn as the Japanese. They are intelligent, deft, wonderfully imitative. With the opportunity of commercial success in Manchuria presented, how quickly they would appreciate the value of learning the art of making the goods demanded by the countless inhabitants of that territory. Cheap grades of cotton fabrics are necessary to the Manchurians; Japan would not be long in learning to fashion them. Manchuria, given up to tilling the soil, requires agricultural implements; the Japanese would quickly be turning out ploughs and harrows, reapers and scythes. With their cheaper labor and their nearness to Manchuria, no other people could compete with the Japanese.

But let us suppose for argument's sake that Russia, triumphant in this war, finds herself dominant in Manchuria. Japan, her enemy, could look for no favors; she could not expect to find encouragement for the importation of her manufactures. But Manchuria would require many things that Russia could not supply, or supply at figures reasonable enough to create a market. In Russia, agriculture is, comparatively speaking, more important than manufacturing, and those goods which are made in my country are not such as Manchuria would need. Russia, too, would be obliged to use the railway with its high freight tariffs. Contrast Russia's position commercially toward Manchuria with that of the United States. In this country are made not only the very materials that would find a ready sale among the people of the province, but with American goods shipped by an all-water route, the cost of transportation would be much lower than the cost of carrying on the all-land routes to which Russia would be confined. Should Russia ship by water to Manchuria from Odessa, the distance would still be too great to make competition with the United States successful. From Moscow to Port Arthur the distance by rail is 5,000 miles. It is therefore easy to realize the privileged position of the United States in competing over an all-water route from the Pacific Coast, with Russia over an all-rail route.

What then, taking these matters into consideration, is the Far Eastern question viewed in its commercial aspect from the American point of view? On the other hand stands Manchuria open to the commerce of the world—Japan in competition with the United States, a manufacturing Japan capable of making the goods needed in Manchuria and of making them cheaper than America can make them, and having the additional advantage of short all-water freight rates. On the other hand stands Manchuria under Russian control with a friendly hand extended to the United States, and Japan given no encouragement. To my mind, the conclusion is obvious. What better evidence of Russian friendship could America have than such an opening, or, to merge the practical with the sentimental, what better results could follow for both America and Russia than mutual cooperation in the stimulation of American trade with Manchuria?

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1904.*

A HAPPY AUGURY OF PEACE.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

As the habit of looking on the bright side of things is in itself a virtue of no mean order, it ought, like all other virtues, to be cultivated even under adverse conditions, and when the conditions are very favorable cheerfulness ought to pass into thanksgiving. Such, it seems to me, is the state of mind in which all who long for, and strive after, the practical realization, as soon as possible, of "peace on earth and good-will to men" as a substitute for war on earth and ill-will to men should welcome the treaty just concluded between Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia.

Several of the leading nations of Europe have recently entered into treaties with each other providing for the arbitration of such controversies as might thereafter arise between them and which could not be amicably settled, agreeing in some cases to refer them to the decision of the Hague Tribunal. Such a treaty was signed last October between Great Britain and France, but it is now followed by a treaty settling, upon just and honorable bases, all disputed questions at present existing, which might otherwise, from time to time, not only lead to war between them, but otherwise endanger the peace of Europe.

While fully recognizing the great service to humanity thus rendered, it should never be forgotten that the Emperor of Russia led the way in this good work, by his appeal to the nations to lessen as far as possible the terrible evils of war. He did not call it hell, in the apt and picturesque phrase of General Sherman, but he did use these noble words:

"The maintenance of general peace and a sensible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves in the existing condition of the whole world as the

ideal towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed. . . . This Conference will be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century now about to open. It will unite and thus greatly strengthen the efforts of all those states which are sincerely seeking to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It will at the same time cement them together by a general consecration of the principles of equity and right, on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples."

That lofty, ethical appeal was not unheeded, and although the law of force had always theretofore reigned supreme, it became at once a subject of practical discussion by responsible sovereigns, statesmen and diplomatists whether the principles of justice and right might not take its place; and a representative of the Emperor at the Conference thus called declared that "the name of Peace Conference, which the instincts of the people, anticipating a decision on this point by the governments, have given to our assemblage, indicated accurately the essential object of our labors. The Peace Conference must not fail in the mission which devolves upon it. It must offer a result of its deliberations which shall be tangible and upon which all humanity waits with confidence. We shall also undertake in a special manner to generalize and codify the practice of good offices, of mediation, and of arbitration. These ideas constitute, so to speak, the very essence of our task. . . . Without doubt rivalries exist. . . . Such rivalry may do good, provided that above it all there shall remain the idea of justice and the lofty sentiment of human brotherhood. . . . *The nations have a great need of peace.*"

The Conference itself in constituting the Hague Tribunal was actuated by the same beneficent purpose. When doing so, the assembled representatives of twenty-six nations declared that such a tribunal would be "a mighty power making for the cause of right and justice throughout the world, and that it would incessantly remind the spirit of all peoples, by a conspicuous and respected sign, of the superior ideas of right and humanity, while it would be a mighty instrument towards the solemn establishment of the sentiment of justice in the world, for the good of all peoples and for the progress of humanity."

Next to the Emperor of Russia the credit for the present movement in Europe to discourage war and to encourage peace

undoubtedly belongs to the King of Great Britain. Ever since his accession his labors have been incessant in this good cause. He began his reign by seeking to bring the war in the Transvaal to a close, and he has ever since been visiting the capitals of other nations as a genuine missionary of peace, so that the statement officially published does him no more than justice in asserting that the amicable treaty of friendship just signed with France is due in a large measure to his "powerful influence."

As one grows older one ought to grow wiser, for as one gets into years the years ought to bring with them a better sense of proportion and a truer judgment of truth and error, in comparative politics, as well as in other matters. Whether that is so or not, it is very certain that time only increases in Americans their faith in a "government of the people, by the people and for the people," but that unalterable conviction makes it the more desirable that we should give full credit alike to the Emperor and to the King for their unselfish efforts to make "the great idea of general peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord," for such an idea is in perfect harmony with our history and our institutions.

Anticipating their advocacy of peace, General Grant as long ago as 1879 wrote these modest but significant words:

"Although educated and brought up as a soldier, and probably having been in as many battles as any one, certainly as many as most people could have been, yet there never was a time nor a day when it was not my desire that some just and fair way should be established for settling difficulties, instead of bringing innocent persons into conflict and thus withdrawing from productive labor able-bodied men who in a large majority of cases have no particular interest in the subject for which they are contending."

The purport of these words is, it will be observed, very similar to the purport of the words used by the Emperor of Russia more than twenty years afterwards in asking the nations to assemble in a peace conference at The Hague.

The impressive words recently spoken by Senator Fairbanks of Indiana on this subject deserve also to be quoted: "The questions recur as often as we witness the devastating effects of international strife, cannot the wit of man devise some agency whereby to avert it in whole or in good part? Cannot men reason and solve grave questions in the deliberative chamber as well as upon

the battle-field? Cannot men successfully discuss questions of international significance in the serene tribunals of peace as well as upon the decks of men-of-war, with the air filled with the missiles of death and destruction?

"The arbitral tribunal affords a ready, fair and honorable way of determining most of the disputes which arise between nations. It will not be efficacious in all cases, but that it is capable of settling many and serious problems there can be no possible doubt. This agency may be invoked without the loss of national dignity or national self-respect in adjusting a vast range of international differences.

"The strongest nations can well lead the way in promoting the principle of international arbitration. Their motives will not be questioned and their example will have a far-reaching and beneficent influence. The principle is essentially sound. It should receive, as it is receiving, the utmost consideration at the hands of statesmen and students of public questions, to the end that it may become an acknowledged, permanent international policy. It makes for peace. It will become an effective agency to avert war."

The especial reason why the friends of peace are entitled to exult over the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty, as over a great victory achieved for their cause, is admirably stated by Lord Lansdowne in expressing the hope that those two countries "in basing the composition of their long-standing differences upon mutual concessions may afford a precedent which will contribute something to the maintenance of international good-will and the preservation of general peace." The statesmen and diplomatists, on both sides of the British Channel, who have assisted in accomplishing this happy consummation of a treaty of friendship which is to take the place of the hostility of centuries should be the objects of our gratitude as well as of our congratulations, for the peaceful issue of their labors is likely to confer immeasurable blessings not only upon their own countries, but by the influence of this treaty, as well as by its example, upon all the nations of the earth. Such a transaction, so free from all base alloy, should not only renew the courage of the advocates of peace, but also strengthen their hope that the dawning of a better day is not so distant as it sometimes seems.

Optimism, like most other things, is of two kinds, the false and

the true. That is a false optimism which insists upon calling black white and evil good, and seeks compensation from the persons and the parties which happen to have at their disposal favors to dispense, for pretending that whatever they do is right and wise, however wrong and unwise it may be. That is a true optimism which sees clearly and states distinctly that black is black and things evil are things evil, but which believes and declares that the present decade will probably witness the perpetration of fewer inexcusable wrongs than the decade which preceded it, and that the decade which follows will probably present a still fairer record in that respect, for the simple reason that the world grows better and not worse with "the process of the suns."

It is, however, idle to deny that the possession of great military or naval strength continues to be, as it always has been, a dangerous temptation to use it for the wicked purpose of conquering or dismembering some country too weak to offer successful resistance. For more than thirty years no great Power had ventured to assail any other great Power, but almost every one of them had been guilty of acts of spoliation against small Powers who were unable to defend themselves—such aggressions are so utterly wanting in every element of true courage that it is not easy even to allude to them in good temper, and unhappily, our own government is no longer entitled to criticise other nations for despoiling their weaker neighbors by the abuse of the superior force they happen to possess.

Certainly such wanton and wicked aggressions if standing alone would justify very gloomy apprehensions of the future, but happily they do not stand alone. Over against them is to be set the fact that every one of these occurrences has encountered severe criticism and reprobation from great numbers of people in the different countries supposed to be commercially benefited by the wrongs committed in their name. There is also the cheering consideration that there is a constant pressure of an ever-increasing weight of public opinion in all countries where such opinion exists, that unnecessary and aggressive war is a great and terrible evil, and a growing discontent with the spoliation and dismemberment of weak nations by force, no matter under what specious pretence it is accomplished, as well as the belief that such action is a crime with which history is sure to deal in no measured terms. The best, however, of all reasons for hopeful-

ness, in the face of such wrongdoing, is to be found in the encouraging consideration that the violations of international law and of international justice must constantly grow less and less, alike in number and in atrocity. At the same time we all know that the moral law makes its way but slowly in the relations alike of individuals and of nations, nor must we expect the age of miracles to return even in so good a cause as that of the world's peace.

After the intimation given in the pages of this REVIEW last December there ought not to have been any surprise that the decision of the Hague Tribunal was in favor of the Powers who engaged in war against Venezuela. Indeed, arbitrators, all of whom happened to be subjects of great European monarchies, could hardly be expected to deal harshly with other great European monarchies for imposing their will by war upon a weak and distant South-American republic, nor ought they to be greatly blamed, in view of their training and environment, for their inability to see that the only important question for the Hague Tribunal, the ethical question, was the one they declined to decide. By confining themselves to what seems to be an unreasonable construction of the words used on behalf of Venezuela to secure the ending of the war, they evaded the duty of deciding whether the war itself was or was not justifiable upon the principles enunciated by the Peace Conference which created the Tribunal upon which they were sitting. There can, however, be no manner of doubt that they acted according to the best light they had, nor can there be any doubt that the presence for the first time of so many great nations at the bar of the Tribunal outweighs in usefulness any adverse result of the decision itself.

If, as reported, M. Mouravieff is trying to persuade the Emperor of Russia that a Peace Tribunal should treat as what he calls "politics" and ignore as irrelevant all arguments in favor of peace, he certainly deserves the sympathy of all kindly disposed persons. In calling the arguments against unnecessary war "politics" he shows himself unacquainted with the broad distinction between "politics" and "ethics," a distinction which has been tolerably familiar at least since Aristotle—and possibly his failure to recognize that distinction accounts for his otherwise unaccountable confusion of ideas on the subject.

In spite, however, of all the hostile influences which have been

mentioned, the friends of peace possess ample grounds for thanksgiving in the present condition and the future prospects of the cause, whose triumph seems to them so necessary to the true progress and welfare of mankind; and while the war between Japan and Russia is a source of profound sorrow the result of it may not prove an unmixed evil. We are far too ignorant of the facts essential to a just judgment to attempt to fix the blame for the resort to arms, but even at this early stage of the struggle it seems probable that at its close both combatants will have suffered great losses without compensating gains to either. Certainly, no previous war ever evoked so little public interest, the general feeling being only one of regret that a war is being waged without any apparent necessity for it.

Such a condition of public opinion certainly indicates that it is changing its attitude towards war in general, and no person could have attended the conference held in Washington last January without being impressed with the immense advance the cause of international arbitration, which is only another name for the cause of international peace, has recently made in this country. The attendance upon the conference was fully representative, as well in numbers as in character, of the most influential elements in American citizenship in every section of the country, while letters were received from over four hundred persons sympathizing with the object of the conference, but who were unable to attend it in person. The commercial organizations of more than twenty of our great cities, from the point of view of men engaged in transacting the world's business, have given their valuable support to the movement, while all the influential leaders of organized labor continue, as they have always been, ardent advocates of it.

Indeed, in every civilized country throughout the world this good cause is constantly growing in strength, for each country is daily becoming more weary of the heavy burdens—"and grievous to be borne"—which are imposed upon productive industry to meet the ever-augmenting expenditures for great military or great naval armaments.

"The International Parliamentary Union for the Promotion of Arbitration" now includes in its membership the names of leading members of every parliamentary body in Europe, and when it assembles at St. Louis during the present year it will

also represent the leading parliamentary bodies in America, and the results of its deliberations, therefore, cannot fail to be fruitful of great good. And the same is true of the International Peace Congress which meets in Boston next October.

For all the reasons which have been stated the friends of peace are to-day entitled to be more cheerful and to feel more hopeful than ever before, for all the signs point to the substitution, far sooner than was expected, of amity between nations in place of hostility, and it ought not to cause surprise if the treaty just signed between France and England leads to a like treaty at an early day between England and Russia,—and if so, other similar treaties will inevitably follow, conferring similar blessings.

Meanwhile, it is our duty to see that our own country does not fall behind in this beneficent movement. Our proper place is at the head of it, and we must not be so intent on swelling our military and naval expenditures and boasting of ourselves as "a world Power"—as if we had ever been anything else since the Declaration of Independence—as to endanger our leadership of the nations in the cause of peace, for it is the growing strength of that cause of which the Anglo-French treaty is such a happy augury.

WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

THE LETTERS OF LORD ACTON.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE JAMES BRYCE, M.P.

LORD ACTON was one of the most remarkable and most peculiar figures in the generation which is now beginning to pass away. He was also one of those whom his contemporaries least understood. Though never widely known to the English public—if, indeed, any one but a jockey or a cricketer can be said to be really widely known in modern England—his name had become familiar to cultivated society during the last twenty years of his life. Yet, he was little more than a name. People talked vaguely of his boundless learning or recalled the resistance which he, a devout Catholic layman, had organized in 1870 to the acceptance of the Vatican Decree of Papal Infallibility, or attributed to him an influence over Mr. Gladstone's opinions on ecclesiastical subjects. But hardly anybody really understood either the quality of his mind or the range of his attainments.

This volume* will go a long way, though not all the way, to explain him and to make him a living figure to his younger contemporaries. It contains a sketch of his life, prepared by the skilful pen of Mr. Herbert Paul, who knew him personally, and a collection of Letters addressed by him (mostly from abroad) during the years 1879 to 1886 to Miss Mary Gladstone (now Mrs. Henry Drew), second daughter of the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone. The biographical sketch is an excellent piece of work, clear, concise and vivid. In reading the life of a person with whom one has been intimate, one is often apt to say, "This is well done, and, if I had known the man less thoroughly, I might have thought it a lifelike portrait." No one who knew Lord Acton will make such a remark in this case. The biography does not tell everything about its subject that might have been told; nor will all

* Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone. Macmillan, 1904.

that it says find universal agreement. But it gives within its short compass a view of his character, an estimate of his gifts, and a statement of his position in political and ecclesiastical matters which is not only illuminative but just and true.

The main facts of his life may be set forth in a few words. Born at Naples in 1834, the son of an English father and a German mother, both of ancient lineage, he was educated in the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, near Birmingham, under Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, and at Munich under the illustrious Dr. von Döllinger. He sat in the House of Commons for a few years, but thereafter lived mostly abroad, usually in Bavaria, where he had married a German lady, daughter of Count Arco Valley. For a time he edited the "Home and Foreign Review," an organ of Liberal Catholicism, which ultimately succumbed to the censure of Catholic authority, and he contributed largely to the "North British Review." In 1869 and 1870, he took an active part in stimulating, by his private influence and by his immense learning, the opposition which the more liberal part of the Roman Catholic Episcopate made to the proclamation at the Vatican Council of the doctrine of the infallibility (in matters of faith) of the Pope. This was the part of his career which brought him most into contact with the world of action; and it was followed by writings in which he defended the position of an orthodox Catholic who disapproved of that doctrine, yet refused to separate himself from the Church. In 1869, he received a peerage at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister; and in 1892 he was appointed a Lord in Waiting in Mr. Gladstone's last administration. Selected in 1895 by Lord Rosebery to be Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, he lectured in that university until attacked by the malady of which he died in 1902. He wrote no large book, and never found time even to collect and republish the articles which he had contributed to various reviews, for the acquisition of knowledge was the passion of his life. Yet, constant as were his labors and vast the range of his reading, he moved much in the world, enjoyed society, watched every phase of contemporary politics with unflagging interest. Though never, except during the Vatican Council, an actor in great affairs, he was always close to them, an observant student of the history that made itself under his eyes, as well as of all that the last three or four centuries had seen.

A few passages may profitably be quoted from Mr. Paul's sketch, in order to convey to the reader a general impression of the man upon whose Letters I am going to comment.

"Lord Acton's spacious forehead, his deep sonorous voice, his piercing eyes and his air of vigilant repose, were the outward signs of genuine power in which the latent force behind is greater than anything the surface displays. He might well have sat to Titian for one of those ecclesiastical statesmen whose mingled strength and subtlety have attracted the admiring gaze of three hundred and fifty years."

"The force and originality of his conversation are reflected in and may be inferred from his epistolary style. In absolutely uncongenial company he would maintain the silence of the tomb. But, when there was any community of taste or subject, he shone equally as a talker and as a listener. It was not that he tried to shine. He did not aim at epigram and his humor was as spontaneous as it was delightful. He loved to stimulate conversation in others, and no man had more sympathy with a good thing which he had not said himself. He was entirely free from jealousy, vanity and egoism. A merciless intellectual critic he could hardly help being. He had so trained and furnished his mind that it rejected instinctively a sophism or a false pretence. He was the raciest and most stimulating of companions, with an instinctive perception for the true significance of a hint."

"He was never a bookworm. When he was in London he constantly dined out, and he corresponded freely with Continental friends. Few people were more agreeable in a country house. No one assumed more naturally the aspect of disengaged leisure, and it was possible to live in the same house with him for weeks without ever seeing him read. Even the frivolities of the world were not beneath his notice. He liked to know about marriages before they occurred. He was an excellent judge of cookery and of wine. Yet the passion of his life was reading."

"He cared little for poetry, for art, or for pure literature, the literature of style. Of physical science he knew only what most educated men know. But he was well versed in metaphysics, he was a deep theologian, and his knowledge of modern history was bounded only by the limits of the theme."

"He was observant of everything and he made up his mind about everything. But, except where supreme principles—Truth, Right, Toleration, Freedom—were in question, he was cautious in the expression of opinion, and he always preferred to leave action to others. . . . He could never have written anything which was not literature of a high order—dignified, incisive, vigorous; and yet history was to him not literature but political philosophy, not an interesting narrative but a scientific study of cause and effect."*

* This last quotation is from a letter by a distinguished Cambridge teacher, Dr. Henry Jackson of Trinity College.

I have thought over many collections of letters of famous men, from Cicero down to Cowper, Gibbon, Macaulay, William von Humboldt and Prosper Merimée, without being able to find any quite like those of Lord Acton's. For one thing, they are, though uniform in the texture of the thought, singularly various in subject and in manner. Some are light and gossipy, playing with the incidents of the moment. Others are disquisitions, studies of character, or miniature treaties upon the weightiest questions. Others again are political reflections and counsels, suggested by current events, counsels which seem to have been intended for the father of the lady who received them, and which might, in several instances, have been highly profitable to him. To comprehend all of the allusions to these current events, a considerable knowledge of the years 1880-85 is needed; and, as not every one has a copy of the "Annual Register" at his elbow, it would be well, in a future edition, to add to the brief footnotes which the editor has appended a few more, sufficient to explain the circumstances under which Lord Acton delivered his opinions.

It has long been a commonplace to say that newspapers and the penny postage have destroyed English letter-writing. This correspondence justifies rather than discredits the remark, inasmuch as these Letters were, nearly all of them, written from a foreign country, where the writer could not gather from such newspapers as reached him what was passing behind the scenes. Moreover, while he felt the need of expressing himself, he was removed from the society to or in which he would naturally have expressed himself either orally or by short notes, instead of by these long epistles so full of various matter. They contain—and here of course I am referring to the political observations only—the reflections of one who is not in the middle of things, but looking at them from outside, with a full knowledge of most of the actors, but an imperfect knowledge of the momentary aspect of the problems changing from day to day, with which the actors have to deal. Hence, they are less valuable as materials for the future historian—*i.e.*, they tell us less about what was actually passing behind the scenes—than those other letters which Lord Acton, when in England, wrote to his nearest relatives and friends abroad, but which it is not at present intended to publish. Those who live to read these last-named letters will learn a good deal that is now known to very few. Here there is comparatively lit-

tle revelation of secrets. Yet these reflections of a singularly acute and penetrating mind are full of interest, especially to those whose personal recollection can carry them back over the last twenty-five years. Acton is not always right in his judgment of men, overestimating, to take a recurring instance, not perhaps the abilities, but the practical capacity for diplomacy, of Sir Robert Morier. He does not always see in what direction the stream of tendency is running. He assumes, for instance, that Sir H. S. Maine's book against democratic government would be warmly welcomed by reactionaries in England, and would have political effect there, not realizing that the demerits of democratic government had in 1882 virtually ceased to be a live issue in England. Other minor errors might be mentioned. But he brings immense knowledge and profound thought to bear upon practical politics in a way so rare that I can recall no parallel to it within living memory. Tocqueville and Schérer, both of whom Acton admired, had not half of their admirer's learning. Neither had Cornewall Lewis, nor Molesworth; while Macaulay's mind, with all its vigor, was not at bottom philosophical. It is an unusual pleasure to find in these Letters a man who carries all modern history in his head applying himself to the question of Home Rule for Ireland, to the nature of the English party system (p. 199), to the remedies for Parliamentary obstruction (p. 67), to the capacity of the masses for sharing in the government of the country (pp. 90-96). Whether or not you agree with Lord Acton, you can never ignore his view; and seldom, indeed, does it happen that you do not learn something new, something worth remembering, from his way of illustrating or enforcing his opinion. He was extremely fond of copying out and preserving on slips of paper passages from the authors he read, which contained some statement he thought valuable; and, indeed, he spent far too much of his time in this practice, which might have been very proper in the days of the antediluvian patriarchs, or might be proper now for a man without original power but intelligent enough to know what is good. Whoever does resort to such a practice could not employ it better than on Acton's own compositions. Few writers better deserve to be so handled. On almost every page of these Letters there is some dictum, or some anecdote, or some phrase happily hitting off a character, which any one with the tenacity needed for keeping

a book of extracts might like to write down and remember. Though Acton's views have often a certain theoretic quality and a remoteness from the actual, they sometimes strike down to truths, cogent and practical truths, which the ordinary politician misses because he does not look at things in the light of a wide human experience. An instance is furnished by Acton's views on Ireland. He had, as far back as 1870 (p. 165), "ceased to be sanguine that the English could govern Ireland successfully"; and after 1880 he frequently advised Mr. Gladstone to consider the policy of granting some amount of self-government to Ireland and recognizing Irish national sentiment. He advised this when nearly all English politicians were of an opposite opinion; but it is worth remarking that his view was that of three out of the four most eminent English historians of the time, none of these three connected with Ireland, viz., J. R. Green, E. A. Freeman and S. R. Gardiner.*

He had no special connection with Ireland, though he had once sat in Parliament for a few years as member for the little borough of Carlow. His view was based partly on his passionate attachment to the principles of liberty in general, and his faith in the curative power of liberty, partly on his observation of the wholesome results which in modern Europe had followed from the recognition of the principle of nationality. He wrote me on this subject a letter, just after the Home Rule Bill of 1886 had been brought in, which stated that argument with even greater fulness and force than are assigned to it in the present volume: and from that conviction he never wavered, even after the defeat of the bills of 1886 and 1893.

Acton would have called himself a strong Liberal. But, in his attachment to party, as in everything else, he was singularly unlike the normal politician. He cared for doctrines most, for men less, for the corporate organization of a party least of all. The question of what party is and ought to be, had an intense fascination for him. He once told me that there was no subject (always excepting that History of Liberty, his "Madonna of the Future," on which he constantly thought and never wrote) which he so much desired to treat at full length. Here he gives us his

* By the fourth I, of course, mean Bishop Stubbs. He never wrote about politics; but, as a steady, quiet Tory, he was doubtless quite at variance with Acton's view.

view, expressed, as usual, in sentences which seem at first sight slightly inconsistent with one another, but were, to so subtle a mind, different sides of the same unity.

"Politics come nearer religion with me, a party is more like a church, error more like heresy, prejudice more like sin, than I find it to be with better men. And by these canons I am forced to think ill of Peel, to think, if you won't misunderstand me, that he was not a man of principle. The nature of Toryism is to be entangled in interests, traditions, necessities, difficulties, expedients; to manage us best one may without creating artificial obstacles in the shape of dogmas, or superfluous barriers of general principles. '*Périssent les colonies plutôt que les principes*' (which is a made-up sentence, no more authentic than '*Roma locuta est*') expresses the sort of thing Liberalism means and Toryism rejects. . . . But if party is sacred to me as a body of doctrine, it is not as an association of men bound together, not by common convictions, but by mutual obligations and engagements. In the life of every great man there is a point where fidelity to ideas, which are the justifying cause of party, diverges from fidelity to arrangements and understandings which are its machinery. And one expects a great man to sacrifice his friends—at least his friendship—to the higher cause" (pp. 199, 200).

Instructive as are Acton's comments on current events, and still more instructive as are the reflections into which those comments often run, most readers, and especially most American readers, will turn with keener interest to his remarks upon men and books. These have that outspoken freedom which belongs to a confidential correspondence, and may sometimes surprise the reader by their sweeping vigor. Writing without reserve, he is often trenchant yet never malignant. He was a discriminating judge, and an impartial judge, who did not suffer either his political or his religious proclivities to color his judgments. But he had, under a calm exterior and a guarded manner, a vein of passion which gave warmth and even fire to his deliverances, especially when any moral question was involved. The praise he bestows on Mr. Gladstone, the person most frequently referred to in the correspondence, may seem to be in some respects exaggerated. Yet no one had a keener eye for the deficiencies in the idol than this fervent admirer. He saw not only Mr. Gladstone's weak points in critical scholarship, as applied to the Bible or to Homer, but also the inner causes of his occasional mistakes in the conduct of public affairs. What fascinated him was the courage, the ardor, the sweep of intellectual view wherein his hero

rose above all his contemporaries. And if the language in which his admiration is expressed may appear now and then overstrained, it is to be remembered that where his feelings were aroused, Acton did sometimes allow himself the luxury of unqualified expression. There are other instances in this correspondence of what appears to be overstatement, because, though the praise, or the blame, may be deserved, only the one or the other is delivered, without the compensating opposite side of the case. The judgments passed on Mazzini and on Cardinal Newman, for instance, are evidently too severe, if taken alone. Had Acton been writing an estimate of the characters of these two men, that estimate would have left a quite different impression of his view as a whole. This undervaluing of Newman is not more strange than the inadequate appreciation of the political abilities of Lord Granville, whom Robert Lowe called the shrewdest of English statesmen, and on whose judgment Mr. Gladstone so greatly relied. Loyal, courageous and tactful, Lord Granville was a colleague whom his colleagues specially prized.

Here is a deliverance on Macaulay which does give both sides, but which most of us will think extravagant in its censure:

"Macaulay's Essays are really flashy and superficial. He was not above par in literary criticism; his Indian articles will not hold water; and his two most famous reviews, on Bacon and Ranke, show his incompetence. The Essays are only pleasant reading, and a key to half the prejudices of our age. It is the History, with one or two speeches, that is wonderful. He knew nothing respectably before the seventeenth century, he knew nothing of foreign history, of religion, philosophy, science or art. His account of debates has been thrown into the shade by Ranke; his account of diplomatic affairs by Klopp. He is, I am persuaded, grossly, basely, unfair. Read him, therefore, to find out how it comes that the most unsympathetic of critics can think him nearly the greatest of English writers" (p. 173).

The explanation of this harsh judgment of the Essays (a key to much in the literary manner of the last age as well as to half its prejudices), is to be found in Acton's dislike, or disgust, for Macaulay's broad, offhand way of dealing with large subjects the details of which he had not mastered. The doctrine that no one should write on a period in history till he had explored all its nooks and crannies by independent research, is a true doctrine which cannot be disputed, like the Apostle's direction, "Prove all things." But it is a counsel of perfection.

Acton once censured a writer, who, in dealing with an enormously large subject, had said that he would have described one episode more fully if he had been able to spend some months in reading the files of the San Francisco newspapers during several years. Unhappily, he practised what he preached; and we are all of us the poorer for it. Could he have been induced to throw off swiftly essays like Macaulay's out of the fulness of his knowledge, they would have been, if less brilliant in form, more precious to the learned world. But Acton would, in his later days, have spent at least a year in preparing himself to write on any one of the many subjects which he already knew far more thoroughly than any other Englishman.

Scattered here and there one finds not a few acute (and almost always just) characterizations of the people he met. Of Sir Bartle Frere we read:

"He is a strong, an able and a plausible man. It is true that his strength is akin to obstinacy and self-will, that he is rather too plausible, and that he will gain his ends by crooked paths when he has tried the straight in vain. He is a dangerous agent, but, I should think, a useful adviser. Indians are not generally a healthy element in the body politic, and he has the constant vice of Indians, belief in force. But he has a breadth of mind that is rare among them; and I have known people that hated him because he is so good" (p. 17).

What follows is of Tennyson:

"The Poet made a favorable impression on my ladies and children. He was not only a gracious Poet, but he told us lots of good stories, read aloud without pressure, walked repeatedly with M.,* and seemed interested in the books he carried to his room [a trait specially pleasing to Acton]. . . . There was a shell to crack, but I got at the kernel, chiefly at night when everybody was in bed. His want of reality, his habit of walking on the clouds, the airiness of his metaphysics, the indefiniteness of his knowledge, his neglect of transitions, the looseness of his political reasonings — all this made up an alarming *cheval de frise*. But then there was a gladness—not quickness—in taking a joke or story, a comic impatience of the external criticism of Taine and others found here, coupled with a simple dignity when reading ill-natured attacks, a grave groping for religious certainty, and a generosity in the treatment of rivals—of Browning and Swinburne, though not of Taylor—that helped me through."

Acton was not himself a great lover of poetry, nor did his imaginative equal his reflective gifts. For the same reason, per-

* Lord Acton's eldest daughter.

haps, he never professed to be a connoisseur in style, nor did he set a high value upon it. The excellence of his own was due to the energy, the subtlety and precision of his thought and to his natural wit, not to any effort to secure rhetorical effects. Indeed, he looked upon the allurements of rhetoric in composition as dangerous, tending to lead men away from the pursuit of pure truth, and perhaps to obscure moral distinctions. That distinctions lie at the bottom of everything is a doctrine curiously illustrated by the following characterization of the man whom, outside his own family, he probably loved most in the world:

"Serenity has grown on Döllinger with years, although they were years of conflict and of the great grief that men who do not live for themselves can feel for the cause they have lived for. Strength, too, though in a less degree, by reason of a vice that besets another great man. [He meant Mr. Gladstone.] From a sense of dignity and of charity he refuses to see all the evil there is in men; and, in order that his judgments may be always charitable, generous and leaning to the safer side, he is not always exact in definitions or rigorous in applying principles. He looks for the root of differences in speculative systems, in defect of knowledge, in everything but moral causes; and, if you had remained with us longer, you would have found out that this is a matter on which I am divided from him by a gulf almost too wide for sympathy."

The same view has much to do with Acton's unfavorable judgment of Thomas Carlyle:

"Excepting Froude, I think Carlyle the most detestable of historians.* The doctrine of heroes, the doctrine that Will is above Law, comes next in atrocity to the doctrine that the flag covers the goods, that the cause justifies its agents, which is what Froude lives for. Carlyle's robust mental independence is not the same thing as originality. . . . Germany gave him his most valuable faculty, that of standing aside from the current of contemporary English ideas, and looking at it from an Archimedean point, but it gave him no rule for judging, no test of truth, no definite conviction, no certain method and no sure conclusion. But he had historic grasp, which is a rare quality, some sympathy with things that are not evident, and a vague fluctuating notion of the work of impersonal forces. There is a flash of genius in 'Past and Present' and in the 'French Revolution,' though it is a wretched history. And he invented Oliver Cromwell. That is the positive result of him."

* Like the other historians of that generation, Acton had a low opinion of Froude; nor did charms of style mitigate his severity.

Lest it should be thought that Acton was always and everywhere a hanging judge, I will quote a few lines giving his opinion of the writer whom, among his contemporaries, he most admired. It will be seen that his admiration was at bottom that of a historian. What he valued was the power of getting into the mind and life of persons remote in time, or in place, or in social environment, and making them real and alive, so as to comprehend how their ideas worked in and through them.

"'Middlemarch' revealed to me, not only George Eliot's grand serenity, but her superiority to some of the greatest writers. My life is spent in endless striving to make out the inner point of view, the *raison d'être*, the secret of fascination for powerful minds of systems of religion and philosophy, and of politics, the offspring of the others: and one finds that the deepest historians know how to display their origin and their defects, but do not know how to think or feel as men do who live in the grasp of the various systems. And if they sometimes do, it is from a sort of sympathy with the one or the other, which creates partiality and exclusiveness and antipathies. Poets are no better. Hugo fails . . . as Shakespeare fails ignobly with the Roman Plebs. George Eliot seemed to me capable not only of reading the diverse hearts of men but of creeping into their skin, watching the world through their eyes, feeling their latent background of conviction, discerning theory and habit, influences of thought and knowledge, of life and of descent, and having obtained this experience, recovering her independence, stripping off the borrowed shell, and exposing scientifically and impartially the soul of a Vestal, a Crusader, an Anabaptist, an Inquisitor, a Dervish, a Nihilist or a Cavalier, without attraction, preference or caricature. And each of them should say that she displayed him in his strength, that she gave rational form to motives he had imperfectly analyzed, that she laid bare features in his character he had never realized" (pp. 60, 61).

This vigorous piece of criticism has an interest beyond that of its subject. It throws light on Acton's own conception of history. With all his passion for accuracy in details, with all his interest in speculation and in the world of abstractions, he was occupied, passionately occupied, above all things, in the effort to realize the soul of the past, the thoughts and emotions and beliefs of the men, whose past in events he was tracing. Not many historians have deliberately set themselves to this, which is the highest and most difficult part of their task. Few indeed have attained even a moderate success, and the success can only be moderate at best. It may, indeed, be plausibly argued that whoever should possess enough imagination to succeed in this side

of the historian's work would have too much imagination to permit him to apply that cautious and balanced criticism which the historian needs for other branches of his investigation. Acton never himself wrote any book in which he could have tried to carry out his own theory; unless, indeed, he should prove to have done so in the lectures on the French Revolution which he delivered at Cambridge, and which are before long to appear in print.

These Letters, though, as was observed in an earlier page, they throw a copious light on Lord Acton's gifts and opinions, do not solve all the problems his position suggests, and they may even be deemed to raise new problems. He was all his life a devout and devoted Catholic. That his friends knew; that the Letters show. But he expresses, not once, but repeatedly, not hastily, but deliberately, the most vehement condemnation of some things which he charges Rome—or at least the Popes—with having solemnly approved. The passages are too long to quote, but two sentences may serve as an sample:

"A speculative Ultramontanism, separate from theories of tyranny, mendacity and murder, keeping honestly clear of the Jesuit with his lies, of the Dominican with his faggots, of the Popes with their massacres, has not yet been brought to light. Döllinger, who thinks of nothing else, has never been able to define it, and I do not know how to distinguish a Vaticanist of that sort, a Vaticanist in a state of grace, from a Catholic" (p. 131).

Here again the fire of moral indignation breaks forth. A crime is to Acton none the less a crime because committed from a perverted sense of duty, or by a man who might in other parts of his life—like St. Charles Borromeo (to whose encouragement of murder the Letters return again and again)—be saintly. Nor does a crime excite his horror any the less because it was committed three or four centuries ago, when the so-called "moral standard" was different from our own.

Most of the remarks upon this topic come from a long discussion, running through several letters, of the merits of a book now almost forgotten which had considerable success in its time—Shorthouse's "John Inglesant." Acton's criticisms on the book are a remarkable illustration of the range and minuteness of his learning. He discovers dozens of errors, some of them grave errors, errors in dates, errors in names, errors in the attribution of opinions to persons, very few of which a normally well-educated

reader would have detected; and he seems to do this without any research, out of the fulness of his own personal knowledge, which was, I feel certain, no greater for the seventeenth century than it was for the sixteenth or the eighteenth.

The book leaves three impressions on the reader's mind. The first is that of this amazing exuberance of knowledge, ready to gush out at a moment's notice, a knowledge not merely of books, but of what is in books, a knowledge arranged, tested by critical methods, carefully digested, capable of being applied whenever and wherever it is wanted.

The second is that of the writer's wit. Acton sometimes failed to see the humorous side of things. Perhaps he was too serious, or too much absorbed in the hunt for explanations. "*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*" might have been his motto. But he had a real faculty for expressing a truth, or an aspect of a truth, in the most pointed and polished form. These Letters sparkle with good things, though it is hard to detach them from their context for the purpose of quotation. The gem cannot be cut out of its matrix without suffering in the process.

The third impression is that of an intellect as untiring as it was powerful. When one met Acton in society, or stayed in the same house with him, he did not strike one as specially restless, but seemed able to take the world easily like other people. But here we see his mind incessantly at work, fastening upon everything he sees or hears as well as everything he reads, constantly striving to pierce below the surface to comprehend, to formulate. Mr. Gladstone led a wonderfully laborious life, but the sum of his thinking in the twenty-four hours of each day was not as large as Acton's. It is the unslakable curiosity that is here disclosed, the high voltage (if one may borrow a metaphor from the electricians) at which this eager active mind was ceaselessly working, that excites our interest and our wonder even more than does the volume of its garnered stores of learning.

JAMES BRYCE.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THIBET.

BY OSCAR T. CROSBY.

"Ici il n'y a pas de Chinois!
Il n'y a que les Russes!"

THIS was the vigorous answer made last August by a vigorous Russian officer to whom as toast-master I had proposed the health of the Chinese—our common hosts—for we were in Kashgar, one of the three most important cities of Chinese Turkestan. In a later, and calmer, conversation the same gentleman, an accomplished military student, utterly disclaimed as impracticable, any idea that the Great Bear should climb the Kuen-Lun Mountains to put his paw on the high deserts and distant valleys of Thibet. In this confident assumption as to a future "benevolent assimilation" by Russia of all Chinese Turkestan, and in the reasonable disclaimer as to Russian designs in Thibet, we have the key to the Central-Asian question which may soon be heard echoing over the European world from the sequestered mountains that lie in the heart of the mother Continent. Indeed, even now, in the staccato accounts of Col. Younghusband's rifles, we hear the usual spirited opening of the argument which civilization makes with those who ask only one thing of the world—namely, an independent isolation. Let us endeavor to outline something of those vast regions whose political destinies are now about to be changed. Follow me for a moment as in slippered ease we retrace the stages of a journey from which I have just returned. Start at the Caspian Sea; thence we go eastward, by the Trans-Caspian Railway, over the great Turkoman deserts—passing Bokhara, and the once glorious Samarcand on to Andijan terminus of the southeastern branch of this railway. Here, after twelve hundred miles of sleeping-car discomfort we take caravan for Kashgar—southeastward still—and about three

hundred miles away in Chinese Turkestan. The frontier is at the foot of the Altai Mountains, which we cross at the Taldyk Pass—1200 feet high. From that elevation, were our eyes telescopic, we might see the wide-stretching sands of Turkestan verging far to the northeast, touching there the Mongolian borders; straight-away east are the western confines of China proper; while to the south of Turkestan are the glistening tops of the Kuen-Lun Range—Thibet's northern barrier. Descending to the level of the Taklakaman desert, we ride comfortably enough through Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan—big towns, each of them the seats of Chinese Governors and centres of a Turki population aggregating about one million people. From Kashgar to Khotan we have made about three hundred miles—for the most part desert—but partly across the artificial oases which irrigation ditches have circled. Now another hundred miles—still southeastward, and we reach Polu; here we climb with infinite trouble and constant danger to the Thibetan plateau, lying south of the frowning mountains. Now one may travel, eastward, southeastward, or southwestward—everywhere fatal wastes of desert; no altitude less than the top of Mount Blanc, until one reaches the vicinity of Lhassa, five or six hundred miles away; or of Ladakh Leh, four hundred miles southwestward.

We need not go farther just now in following the painful steps of our caravan, whose route is marked only by the skeletons of our horses, untimely dead. Let us glance far to the southeastward. Up from Darjeeling, over intervening barriers of the Himalayas, down to an elevation of about 13,000 feet we see the British-Indian column. It is going to make a call on the Dalai Lama—uninvited. The blue books say that this arduous and expensive effort on the part of the Calcutta government is made to teach the Thibetans a salutary lesson in politeness, made necessary, it is claimed, by the willful failure of the Dalai Lama to send representatives to an agreed rendezvous with British representatives. They also say that trade between Nepal (an "independent" but protected state) and Thibet, has been hampered, contrary to treaty stipulations. They also express surprise and irritation because the Dalai Lama, while refusing relations with the Indian government, has recently sent presents to the Czar of Russia through the intermediary of a Russian subject, one of the Bhuriyat people, near Lake Baikal, who recognize the Dalai

Lama as their spiritual head. In this last complaint we have, I think, a hint as to the real reasons inducing Lord Curzon to spend a large sum of money and possibly some lives in forcing a way into the inhabited portion of Thibet. Indeed the London "Times" in a recent article defending the government against the charge of wasteful and hasty action—admittedly so, if due only to the first two causes above-mentioned—roundly states that the expedition means much more than the correction of unimportant misbehavior on the part of Thibet—that it means the final, definite closing of avenues for Russian interference in that country. And yet later a careful writer in the "Fortnightly Review," adopting fully the "Times'" attitude, goes logically further; and states that the British column must not stop short of the gates of Lhassa and must not return without leaving a proper force behind, together with a capable resident, whom indeed the writer at once nominates in the person of Mr. MacCartney who has long represented Great Britain at Kashgar.

The two articles here cited fairly represent also the views expressed to me by a number of frank Britishers whom I met, all the way from Ladakh Leh to London.

The authorities in India and in England were either sincerely afraid of the early establishment of Russian preponderating influence in Lhassa, or considered the gift-making episode a sufficient explanation to the Little-Englander element for another step in the fated march of the strong against the weak. That the Czar's government ever seriously contemplated the establishment of armed force in Lhassa, I do not at all believe. The physical difficulties are enormous—insuperable perhaps. To reach Thibet from any Russian territory means to bring troops over vast deserts, one great one at a moderate elevation, say 4,000 feet; the other at a very great elevation, say 16,000 feet, and to climb many resisting mountains. It means also to make most of this march across Chinese territory. But let us even suppose Chinese Turkestan to have fallen to Russia, as I believe it will. Suppose Russian troops at Kashgar—not merely the 60 Cossacks now there as a consular guard, but enough to meet the opposition of Great Britain, which must be assumed in considering an advance against Lhassa; it is my belief that no such army could make its way across the Thibetan plateau whose rigors I have just experienced, and which have rendered perilous every journey even of the small

and specially equipped caravans that have made the attempt. On the other hand approach from Darjeeling is relatively easy, say fifteen days good march to Lhassa, only a small part of which is in extremely high and barren territory. In other words, just as Chinese Turkestan lies in the power of Russia, so Thibet lies in the power of England, and between the inhabited regions of both countries are found dreadful deserts and titanic mountains, proper bulwark and barrier between two great, rival empires. This view was expressed by me in a paper recently read before the Royal Geographical Society, and though political discussion, in such presence is properly limited, yet Sir Clements Markham, president of the society, expressed complete agreement with the proposition that no fear need be entertained of movement from the north upon the cultivated area of Thibet which lies near the southern borders, the rest being mere valueless waste.

The practical destruction of Thibetan independence, which may be assumed as the object of the present Younghusband expedition, will serve Russia admirably, as authorizing the easy conquest of Chinese Turkestan. For such is the accepted code of balances generally adopted by the nations who believe themselves commissioned to benevolently assimilate certain other nations. Indeed, except for her present preoccupation in another part of the Chinese Empire, the consular guard might at any moment be put to the easy task of seizing the reins of government now in the hands of the quiet, dignified, philosophical Chinese officials, who, alas! have somewhat outgrown that simple faith in Force which controls the policies of Christian nations. The easy-going Turki people, natives of the soil, accustomed to be mastered, will doubtless be indifferent to the change, perhaps even hopeful. Already they feel that the Russian Consul-General largely influences the acts of the Chinese Taotai.

Recognizing then that the *status quo* is now being rudely shaken in Thibet, and may at any time be destroyed in Turkestan, let us note that in both cases there will result a partial disintegration of the Chinese Empire, for whose integrity the world may well be concerned. In neither case is the territory now considered a part of any of the eighteen provinces constituting China proper, but in one case the administration of all public affairs is directly in the hands of men named in Peking, and in the other the suzerainty of China is distinctly recognized in the presence

of three Ambans residing in Lhassa and exercising preponderating influence in all important matters. If, however, the encroachments from this direction could be guaranteed to be arrested at the frontier, separating China proper from Turkestan on the one hand, and Thibet on the other, the world-at-large—wisely shirking the moral questions, because all have sinned alike—might be content to exhibit only the interest of curiosity in the changes now working in the heart of Asia. But can such an arrest be possible as against the compelling rivalry of two great, forceful, belligerent empires? They will each have long frontier lines at the back door of China. In each case the controlled territory has intimate relations with China proper. A hundred petty questions some large ones, will arise, each capable of being developed into a cause of complaint. Complaints against China when made by the peoples of iron and fire are usually satisfied by taking something from China, unless objection be made by some yet stronger nation of iron and fire. Quite independent of any plan looking thereto, even against their vague plans of moderation, the jealous rivals may find themselves driven on to continued aggressions. And these jealousies will thus operate in a theatre so remote from the world's success that gravest injuries might be inflicted upon the peace-loving celestials long before such injuries could be known to friendly critics, ourselves for instance, who insist that no harm shall be done to China which may do harm to us.

This, then, is but a word of caution. There is no room for cant or self-righteousness on the part of any nation. We have all been made sordid. What we call progress has self-interest as its mainspring. To prevent surprises and recriminations it is best that there should be no misunderstanding. European and American diplomats in China should now endeavor to watch the back door as well as the front door of the great mansion which all desire to enter. My prayer is that our quarrels may not urge us to do unmeasured violence to a great, civilized, non-military people.

Let us recognize the sweet reasonableness of British control in Thibet, but let us not at the same time echo the conventional cry that only the Russians are aggressors upon Chinese integrity. Let us remember that the policy of isolation now being attacked is not peculiarly that of the Thibetans, but more particularly that of the suzerain power—China. When Father Huc was ex-

pelled from Lhassa nearly sixty years ago, it was due to Chinese authority. The Thibetans were most friendly—knowing not the danger of contact with European peoples. But the Chinese had just suffered humiliation in the opium war; and, because of their defenceless ocean front, have continued to be insulted by the peoples who have ships and guns for killing people, and goods to sell to those who are spared. It has been impossible for the "Elder Brother" to keep his own house from being entered, but he advises—perhaps commands, the Younger Brother, to preserve himself and his people from the violent westerner. So it has come about that even hospitality toward individual travellers has been refused. And have not the Thibetans now sadly learned that wisdom lay in *complete* non-intercourse? Is it not pitiful to think that these poor people are now being slaughtered because their young ruler—too progressive—laid aside the safe traditions, when, yielding to the solicitation of a co-religionist from the Far North, he sent presents to a ruler vaguely known to him only as one whose dominions sheltered some of the faithful? Kalmuks on the Volga, Bhuriyats on Lake Baikal, Thibetans in Ladakh—all these are sheep of the spiritual flock of the Dalai Lama. This ignorant but well-meaning man may have had no other thought than the good of his flock when he sent gifts to Petersburg. He could not have known that he was sending away the independence of his people.

He has trusted vainly to the gods who have been immemorially prayed to to defeat some ever-feared enemy from the south by pouring upon him the fatal snows of the Himalayas. The enemy of to-day is one yet more cunning than the mountain gods. He shall assume this rôle of Protector, and his government, in the end shall be one of Peace and Justice—Peace founded on bloody war—Justice founded on what seems a cruel wrong. But these words—Justice, right, wrong—we know not their meanings which are hid in the bosom of Omniscience.

OSCAR T. CROSBY.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

AGAINST the inroads of materialistic science, the upholders of spiritual life struggle to assert the immortality of the soul. In the phrase, "immortality of the soul," both terms require qualification. Immortality, if taken to mean conscious existence without end, is inconceivable. The attempt to conceive it ends in mental vertigo. The term is too familiar to be supplanted, but it must be taken to mean no more than continuance of existence after death. The soul, again, must be taken to mean, not a specially created being separate from the body in which it is enclosed and from which it is by death set free, but the spiritual outcome and completion of our general frame, that which forms our conscious personality.

Those who feel assured that they have sufficient historical evidence of the resurrection of Christ, of the raising of Lazarus and Jairus's daughter, and of the apparition of the dead in the streets of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, are independent of scientific or speculative proof, which at most can only serve to afford them confirmation of their belief. There is nothing inconceivable, however much there may be contrary to experience, in a miraculous immunity from death.

It may be safely assumed that the belief of those who do not find this historical evidence sufficient must rest wholly on reason. We have no ocular proof. No one has yet come back from the other world, or given any sign of his existence after death. Ghost-stories may still be told. The writer not long ago fell in with an intelligent and highly educated man, a Catholic priest, who believed in an apparition, and even seemed to find in it a strong support of his faith. But it was difficult to listen with gravity to him. We look for dignity in the manifestations of the spirit world.

Spiritualism, which, it should be remembered, began in table-turning, must surely by this time have succumbed to multiplied exposure. What the writer has seen of it has been so palpably terrestrial that exposure was hardly needed. Besides, proof is not even tendered of the existence of disembodied spirits, since the spirits have to materialize—in other words, to resume their bodies—before they can make their presence known. We crave for the renewal of communion with those whom we have loved and lost. This apparently is the main cause of such success as Spiritualism has had. It is a not inconsiderable, while it is a most natural and amiable, element of our general attachment to the belief in the immortality of the soul. Professional mediums have not failed to cater to it. The chief of them in his day was made by the British Court of Chancery to refund a large sum of money which he had obtained from an old lady by personating the spirit of her deceased husband.

When the supernatural is in question we must be prepared for honest credulity. We must also be prepared for the influence of hysteria, of which there is probably abundant proof at Lourdes and Ste. Anne Beaupré. Fifty years ago there was a controversy about the Estatica and the Addolorata, two female devotees in the Tyrol, one of whom, the Addolorata, it was pretended, had the *stigmata,* while the Estatica was said to be miraculously raised from the ground in prayer. One of the lay leaders of English Catholicism, a man of intellect, upheld the reality of the miracles. The writer happened to allude to them in print as a probable case of hysteria. Thereupon he received a visit from a friend, a man whose evidence in any ordinary case would have been first rate, and who declared that he and two other persons, known to the writer, and whose testimony in any ordinary case would have likewise been first rate, had actually witnessed the miracles, and had seen the blood run upward on the Addolorata's forehead. Two of the three persons so testifying afterwards joined the Church of Rome. The miracles in the end collapsed and took their place among recognized cases of self-delusion.

An eclipse of religious belief, such as the world is at present undergoing, seems to be a natural time for the prevalence of spiritual impostures, in which minds unwilling to part with the supernatural find compensation for the loss of their religious faith. So it was in the decadence of ancient religion, which was

marked by the appearance of such pretenders as Apollonius of Tyana, and by the mystical and probably hysterical worship of Isis. So it was in the decadence of the medieval faith at the period of the Renaissance, when astrology was the rage, and took possession of minds so practical as that of Wallenstein and so scientific as that of Kepler. Astrology and palmistry are strangely prevalent at the present day. Three establishments of palmistry were to be seen in one city.

If we have no respectable assurance of the immortality of the soul from the evidence of our senses, what assurance have we from our reason? Is the belief innate and intuitive? Is it in such a sense innate and intuitive that we may assume it to have been implanted by the Author of our nature? Its absence in the lowest savages might perhaps be ascribed to degradation. But nothing can be more certain than that the Hebrews, neither intellectually nor morally degraded, were devoid, down to a late period of their history and literature, of any such belief.

From the Pharisees the doctrine of the resurrection was transmitted to the Founder of Christianity. Jesus used it, and the imagery of the Judgment Day, with awful force for exhortation. But as a teacher he did nothing specially to confirm us in the belief, nor did he do anything to clear up the mystery. He can hardly be said even to proclaim the doctrine with the dogmatic distinctness which, considering its vital and fundamental character, might have been expected. He does not attempt to solve the physical difficulties of the resurrection, nor does he satisfy our natural cravings for knowledge about the other world, though in answer to a cavil he says that in heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage. The apologue of Dives and Lazarus, manifestly fictitious and almost fantastic, is an indication that its author was charged with no revelation of the secrets of the world beyond the grave.

From the Founder of Christianity the doctrine descended to the Church in the form which he had given it, that of a Day of Judgment which would divide the good from the wicked, the good going into eternal bliss, the wicked into eternal fire, with all the difficulties inherent in such a doctrine—that of gathering together the dispersed particles of the bodies of the dead, many of them incorporated in other bodies; that connected with the case of the heathen who had never known the true God; those connected with

the cases of infants, idiots, and savages; above all, the difficulty of drawing a sharp line between the good and the wicked, when human characters vary so much from time to time, and run so much into each other as to make it apparently impossible to draw anything like a line of moral bisection.

St. Paul, both as a Pharisee and as a Christian, would accept the doctrine of the resurrection. He fervently embraced it, and tried to elucidate it by comparison with what he supposed to be the death and revival of a seed, taking for death that which is really germination. And this belief was coupled with belief in the immediate coming of Christ to open the graves and translate the saints to heaven.

Thus came down to the medieval Church her ideas of the opening of the graves at the last day, of the Judgment, of the abode of bliss for the true believers and the good, of eternal fire for the heathen, the heretic, and the wicked.

Of the philosophers of antiquity, the one who, so far as we know, most seriously accepted and upheld the immortality of the soul was Socrates. We are pretty sure that it is Socrates himself, not only Plato, who speaks in the *Phaedo,* because the doctrine is put forward by his other disciple, Xenophon, at the close of the Cyropædia. A pathetic interest and a certain moral force attach to arguments used by the great teacher to his sorrowing disciples when he is about to drink the hemlock. But for us they have little or no validity. Socrates takes the soul for a being separate from the body, imprisoned during life in the body and released by death. He believes in its pre-existence as well as in its future existence. He regards its immortality as the consequence of its connection with certain ideas which he takes to be objective realities, whereas they are ideas and nothing more. His notion of the relation of the soul to the body, curiously enough, is confuted on the spot by one of his hearers, who reminds him that though the tune is a different thing from the harp, when the harp is broken up the tune is at an end.

Bishop Butler opens his Dissertation on Natural Religion with an Essay on Future Life, which he justly says "is the foundation of all our hopes and of all our fears, of all our hopes and fears at least which are of any consideration." He was a man of first-rate intellectual power, thoroughly loyal to truth, to which he bravely says that reason is our only guide, and

as open-minded as it was possible for the bishop of a state Church to be. But he wrote a century before Darwin, and he approached his subject not as an original inquirer, but as a defender of the doctrine of his Church. He, like Socrates, and like apologists in general, takes the soul to be something independent of the body, and therefore presumably capable of surviving it. "Nothing," he says, "is more certain than that the reason of the thing shows us no connection between death and the destruction of living agents. Nor can we find anything throughout the whole analogy of nature to afford us even the slightest presumption that animals ever lose their living powers; much less, if it were possible, that they lose them by death: for we have no faculties wherewith to trace any beyond or through it, so as to see what becomes of them. This even removes them from our view. It destroys the sensible proof, which we had before their death, of their being possessed of living powers, but does not appear to afford the least reason to believe that they are, then, or by that event, deprived of them."* "All presumption of death's being the destruction of living beings," Butler says, "must go upon the supposition that they are compounded; and so, discerptible."† The whole argument proceeds upon the assumption that "our gross organized bodies with which we perceive the objects of sense, and with which we act, are no part of ourselves, and therefore we have no reason to believe their destruction to be ours." With that assumption, which we now know to be baseless, Bishop Butler's whole argument falls to the ground.

The general attitude of apologists has been greatly changed since the discovery of evolution, which, having at first combated it, they are now rather freely adopting, some of them even making the Deity, in His revelation of Himself to man, obey a supreme law which requires Him to accommodate Himself to the stages of progressive morality. A recent writer of eminence, for the theory of universal immortality, which has hitherto been that of Christendom, substitutes that of evolutionary immortality, limiting future life to the choicest and most advanced specimens of humanity. He thus, as he thinks, gets rid of the difficulty which attends the doctrine from its application to human beings whose character when they die is undeveloped or evil, and at the same

* *Analogy of Religion*, Part I., chap. i.
† *Ib.*

time of the ecclesiastical hell. But his hypothesis, with deference be it said, in the first place is totally incapable of verification; in the second place, it involves an enormous waste of living and sentient beings; and, in the third place, it exhibits Providence in the curious position of having to wait for Darwin's theory before it could make known to man its ways and intentions about that which Butler calls "the foundation of all our hopes and of all our fears." Is this God who can operate only upon the Darwinian hypothesis, really anything more than the Darwinian hypothesis itself seated on the throne of the universe?

Mill, in his later writings, perhaps from the awakening of his own emotional nature, though he remains a free-thinker, and criticises theism in all its forms, seems to have somewhat softened on religious questions. He says that there is in science no evidence against the immortality of the soul, saving that negative evidence which consists in the absence of evidence in its favor; an admission, however, which does not practically amount to much, since the complete absence of confirmatory evidence is surely enough fatally to suspend if it does not in such a case actually repel belief. Absence of evidence in favor of the existence of a God would surely be the death of religion. Mill has a passage, almost rapturously applauded by so powerful a thinker as Fitz-James Stephen, and therefore certainly worthy of attention, in which he undertakes to prove that the relation of thought to a material brain is no metaphysical necessity; that thought consequently may survive the brain; and "that the same thoughts, emotions, volitions, and even sensations which we have here, may persist or recommence somewhere else under other conditions, just as we may suppose that other thoughts and sensations may exist under other conditions in other parts of the universe."* That thought may in a certain sense survive its original organ, Mill might see whenever he took up a book the author of which was dead. But surely it is difficult to imagine how conscious personality can survive the person; still more how we can be warranted in assuming, without positive evidence of any kind, that it does so survive. We want for that "which is the foundation of all our hopes and of all our fears" not only a surmise of possibility, but conclusive proof of the fact.

It is impossible, since Darwin's discoveries, to uphold anything

* *Three Essays on Religion.* "Theism."

dependent on the belief that man is a creature apart from the other animals, with a special soul infused into him by his Creator. It has been overwhelmingly demonstrated that man's bodily frame, and his soul as its outcome and perfection, have been produced by a process of evolution from lower forms of animal, it may be of vegetable, life. Not that this discovery vitally affects the question of man's spiritual nature or hopes. It was known before that the human frame, bodily, intellectual and moral, was developed from an unconscious embryo which at some stage of its existence became a living soul; at what stage, could make no difference in the ultimate development or in anything dependent thereon. We are what we are, whatever our genesis may have been.

Apologists have made a point of the failure of science hitherto to discover the origin of life. But we cannot be sure that the discovery will not in time be made. At all events, the origin is not likely to be supernatural, when the development, through all its stages, is natural. Life, moreover, is the same in the worm as in the man. It would be a poor hope of immortality which should in any measure rest upon our present ignorance of the origin of life.

Faith, on which some still rest, is individual, and has only individual sensation or experience to support it. The individual it may support and console. But there its efficacy ends. Moreover, the objects of St. Paul's faith, be it observed, are not things unproved or disproved, but things unseen.

The conclusion appears to be that our hope of a future life which shall justify and reward righteousness, compensate undeserved suffering, fulfil our spiritual hopes and vindicate the constitution of the universe, rests on our belief in a Supreme Being, just, benevolent, caring for us as His children, intending and indicating through our nature that it is His intention to raise us from the dust. But belief in such a Being is now rudely challenged by the Agnostic and the Monist. "When," they ask, and "how has this Supreme Being manifested Himself to man? Of what have we any experience or evidence except the course of nature, which with all its immensities and marvels appears to be fortuitous and blind? What proof does this dwelling of ours, with its glacial epochs, its volcanic eruptions, its earthquakes, its droughts, and its deserts, or the sidereal universe such as astron-

omy reveals it, present of a directing intelligence? Does the enormous waste of lives, animal and human, attended as it is with an infinity of suffering, bespeak either supreme wisdom or perfect benevolence? Can that be omnipotence which, to attain its end, finds it necessary to have recourse to such means, or indeed to any means whatever beyond its own fiat?"

When we come to deal with such ideas as eternity, infinity and necessity, it is easy for the adversary to confuse our minds and make us feel that all our conceptions are self-contradictory and futile. This has been done with singular force and mastery of the subject by a recent writer, who nevertheless concludes by pronouncing that as beliefs in a God, in free will, and the future life are indispensable to the perfection of character, they must be true; a summary mode of reasoning, with a postulate which the Agnostic and Monist would vehemently refuse to endorse. Would it be possible that our character should be sustained and elevated by the effort morally to retain beliefs which we knew that reason and science had intellectually overthrown?

On the other hand, there are some tendencies and features of our nature to be considered which, though they are very far from being conclusive proofs of the immortality of the soul, seem to point to something beyond our present sphere and state of existence. That there is nothing beyond our present sphere and state of existence we have apparently no reason to assume. Nor are we warranted in supposing that the universe presented to our bodily senses, even when they are aided by the telescope, the microscope, and the calculus, is the full reality of Being. It may well be that we see as little of the full reality of Being as the purblind mole sees of the world discerned by us through our bodily senses.

Man is manifestly unlike other animals, and superior to them, in that, whereas they remain stationary, he advances, and apparently will continue to advance in the future. Bees, ants and beavers do show an intelligence remarkable in its way; so remarkable that a fervent admirer of the beehive is inclined to present its corporate intelligence as a rival to the intelligence of man. But the beehive of the Egyptian monuments is the beehive of the present day.

If man were merely an animal, he would in one most important respect be the most unhappy of animals, for in his nature alone there is a conflict; he alone has to struggle against moral evil;

he alone feels the stings of conscience. Other animals seek their food with perfect simplicity of instinct, and kill their fellows for food without compunction or remorse.

Man, at least in his higher development, aspires to a spiritual perfection of character which seems beyond anything enforced or impressed by regard for the circumstances, material or social, of his present life. Moreover, all men, all civilized men at least, are capable of imagining, and do sometimes paint to themselves, states of existence higher than that in which they are. It is not affirmed that realities correspond to these ideals; but idealization is a fact of human nature, and one which we have no reason to suppose that any other animals share.

The very name of free will has been made repulsive by the metaphysical puzzles and attempts to solve those puzzles in which it has been involved. But is not Necessarianism, after all, merely a mental puzzle? Achilles does overtake the tortoise; though in that case there is a mathematical solution, whereas in this case there is none. Man is conscious of a power of choice, upon which his responsibility depends, and the existence of which he assumes in his fellows when he holds them responsible for their conduct to him. Not that his volition operates in a vacuum. It must always have its antecedents. The exact relation between the antecedents and the ultimate volition eludes our apprehension and will probably never be expressed. It is of course possible that our minutest actions and those which seem least material, such as our assent to religious doctrines, and our poetic compositions, may have been determined in the cosmogonic nebula; the hypothesis to which, in fact, Necessarianism apparently must come. But unless our nature lies to us, we have liberty of choice with responsibility attached to it; and if our nature lies to us, philosophy may as well spare its pains. Whence did the notion of moral freedom find its way into our minds, if we had no more of the thing than has a stock or a stone? Is there not something ludicrous in the idea of an automaton automatically convinced of its own automatism after automatically fancying itself a free agent? It may be said that in the lower animals there may be perceived a certain sense of responsibility. That on the present hypothesis does not vitiate the argument as regards man. It is not likely that the animal's choice or its sense of responsibility is moral. A hunter that has refused a leap, or a pointer that has

run into game, fears his master's wrath, not an injury to his moral being.

We have in this inquiry to keep our minds clear of theistic prepossessions. We have also to keep them clear of ultra-materialistic prepossessions, such as surely are discernible in Haeckel.

However, it would seem that we have come practically to a point at which, Evolution and the Higher Criticism having between them done the work of demolition, and the work of reconstruction, if it is ever to be done, being still in the future, no small part of educated mankind has renounced or is gradually renouncing the hope of a future life and acting on the belief that death ends all. In countries where education is general, new opinions sometimes spread fast, like a tide running in over a flat, and it would not be surprising if in this case the collapse were to be rapid. Even the pulpits seem to recognize a marked increase of the relative importance of the present life.

It can hardly be doubted that Bishop Butler, as a defender of religion, is right in assigning, as he does, the place of paramount and vital importance to belief in a future state. Without that belief religion as it now is would in all probability fall.

Mill proposes, in place of theistic religion, a religion of Humanity, the idea of which he has evidently borrowed from Comte. This, he thinks, will be a sufficient, perhaps more than a sufficient, substitute for theism. Enthusiastic devotion to humanity in itself is conceivable; but how can you have a religion without a God?

The Founder of Christendom taught the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. On what does the universal brotherhood of man rest, if not on the universal fatherhood of God? Is there among all the different tribes of men any bond of unity, or even of common origin, so assured as to constitute a fraternal relation? Certain it is that a failure of practical belief in the fatherhood of God has been accompanied by a burst of disregard, even of contempt, for the brotherhood of man. Jingoism, which seems everywhere to be spreading, is an open defiance of humanity. It tramples under foot, in its thirst of expansion, the restraints of the Christian code. It is accompanied and partly fed by a thirst of gain, turning the commercial world into a battle-field, which had hitherto been in some measure balanced and repressed by spiritual interests and aspirations.

Darwin assumes that conscience is merely the individual index of general opinion. Surely in the case of religious men and nations it has been something more. It has sustained the martyr against the overwhelming preponderance of general opinion, and is constantly sustaining men of independent mind against the dominant opinion of the hour. Its authority has been that of a monitor empowered to hold out the prospect of reward to him who did well and of punishment to those who did evil irrespectively of the judgments and awards of this present world. Men have died happy in its promises who have been happy in nothing besides. Men have been tortured by its pangs who in all material things have been happy. It appealed to a power above that of this world, and based its promises and threats on the assurance of a life to come.

Take away the religious conscience, and what remains? Enough remains no doubt to hold society together. There will still be the rules which the community makes for self-preservation and embodies in municipal law. There will still be the policeman and the judge. There will still be social influences and restrictions of all kinds, which may hereafter take the more definite and impressive form of Social Science. Besides these, there will be affection, conjugal, parental, and general. There will be friendship; there will be the need and desire of the good opinion of fellow-men. In the character and minds of men of the higher class there will by general benevolence and love of their kind. But what will there be to restrain evil natures, such as will probably continue to exist, from gratifying their propensities, if they can evade or overcome human law during their lives and there is nothing to be feared beyond—if at the end of life there is to be no difference between the condition of the best man and that of the worst? That is a question which not only may present itself, but perhaps is presenting itself, though in forms less antisocial than that here supposed, to men who have cast off belief in future retribution. Social Science may be able to fill the void left by religion. If it is, let it do this with all speed.

A general contraction of views to the man's own life must apparently be the consequence of the conviction that this life is all. A man of sense will probably be inclined to let reforms alone, and to consider how he may best go through the brief journey of life with comfort, if possible with enjoyment to himself, and in

pleasant intercourse with his fellow-men. High social or political aspirations, or high aspirations of any kind, will hardly survive the disillusion.

We have an interest in our own children. But otherwise what interest have we in the generations that are to come after us on which a religion of Humanity can be founded? It is not a very lively interest that we feel even in the remoter members of the human race, to say nothing of those in the next street. Yet these exist; and of their existence we are conscious, and are reminded by the electric cable. Of the existence of future generations, supposing there is no future life, we shall not be conscious, and therefore for us they will not exist. We cannot even say with absolute certainty that they will exist at all. The end of man's dwelling-place and therefore of all human progress, science tells us, will be a physical catastrophe; and there are even those who seem to think that this catastrophe may be forestalled by a recurrence of the glacial era. Natural law, which science bids us venerate, departs, it must be remembered, with the Lawgiver. Nothing remains but physical forces without a guiding mind, the play of which it is impossible to forecast. As to posthumous fame, it would be an arrant delusion, even if one man in a million could hope to obtain it.

Whatever conduces to the enjoyment and prolongation of this life will probably be sought more energetically than before. Material progress, therefore, may quicken its pace. Nor is it likely that men will be quite so ready as they are now to throw away their lives in war. At present the soldier in facing death is probably sustained by a notion, however dim and vague, of a reward for the performance of his duty.

It can hardly be doubted that hope of compensation in a future state, for a short measure of happiness here, though it may have been somewhat dim, has materially helped to reconcile the less favored members of the community to the inequalities of the existing order of things. The vanishing of that hope can scarcely fail to be followed in the future by an increased impatience of inequality, and a growing determination not to be put off the indemnity to another world. In fact, this is already visible in the spirit and language of labor agitation. Serious problems of this kind seem to wait the coming generation.

It would not be surprising if in this dissolution of the ancient

faith and failure of familiar supports, there were to be a partial reaction in favor of churches which, like the Roman Catholic or the Eastern Church, can pretend to offer the assurance of authority and to still the disquieting voice of reason while they lap the disturbed soul in the soothing element of religious æsthetics. A tendency of this kind is already seen in Ritualism, which bids the doubting take refuge in the sacerdotalism and sacramentalism of the Middle Ages. But such a back-stream of opinion and sentiment would, of course, not be lasting.

It is useless to argue against the sadness of mortality. No one can think without emotion of ceasing to be. No one can think without emotion of an eternal parting from the objects of our affection. Mazarin is described in his last hours as moaning over the sentence of his physician who had told him that his departure was at hand. But the things at the thought of leaving which Mazarin was agonized were only a palace, a glorious gallery of pictures and an immense fortune. He was probably not leaving a soul whom he had loved.

By the miserable and the very weary death will not seldom be welcomed as eternal sleep. By all it must be met with resignation. What is universal and inevitable can hardly be an evil. Let us have no ghastly death's-head and cross bones. Our frames will mingle again with the general life of the universe; and the more quickly they are allowed to do this, the less repulsive the thought of death will be. Nothing, surely, can be more senseless or odious than our fashion of protracting decay. The Egyptian practice of embalmment, which sought to avert decay altogether, was comparatively sensible, and certainly less revolting. It is to be hoped also that there will some day be an end of the undertaker, with his hideous pomp of death struggling with the life and traffic of the crowded street, as well as of that sort of social *suttee* which survivors at present think themselves bound to perform under the guise of mourning; as if the dead could be benefited or pleased by casting gloom over the life of the survivors.

All this is said on the hypothesis that scientific scepticism succeeds in demolishing the hope of a future life. After all, great is our ignorance, and there may be something yet behind the veil.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE NEW PHILIPPINE JUDICIARY.

BY LEBBEUS R. WILFLEY, ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

"There is no peace in the absence of justice."

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY, in selecting the second United States Philippine Commission, recognized the historic fact that, in the formative periods of Government, new institutions are moulded by men learned in the law. He, therefore, appointed, as the majority of that group of men whose unique and arduous mission it was to transplant American institutions to our new possessions on the other side of the globe, three eminent lawyers, William H. Taft, of Ohio, Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee, and Henry C. Ide, of Vermont.

The personnel of the Commission, taken in connection with the conditions which had to be met in the Philippines, explains the fact that the most significant piece of work that has yet been accomplished by the administration in those Islands is the organization of the judiciary and the enactment of the laws relating thereto. Peace and order had to be restored throughout the archipelago, a Spanish system of administration had to be swept away, Spanish laws modified, and a new government built from the ground up.

President McKinley realized that no civil government could be useful and permanent which was not based upon the confidence and good-will of the people. He deplored the necessity for war and his purpose was to supersede military rule in the Philippines with the sway of kindliness and justice. The people of the Islands had been under Spanish rule for nearly four centuries. At the date of the appointment of the Commission they were under the military government of the United States. While organized,

armed opposition to our authority had ceased, a state of insurrection, in the form of guerilla warfare, existed in many provinces and a feeling of hostility to Americans and American occupation was practically universal. The Commission was, therefore, sent out to pacify as well as to administer, with instructions to take over the provinces from the military as rapidly as practicable, and set up civil government in them. This resulted for a time in a dual form of government.

On the one hand we sought, by the use of the military arm, to break down insurrection and restore order; on the other we endeavored, through the civil commission, as it were by contrast with the military, to win the affections of the people by offering them the blessings of peace and civil government.

This policy was successful. The early efforts of the Commission, however, were viewed with more or less contempt by the military authorities and with a certain degree of suspicion by the natives. The former looked upon the Commission as a weak and ineffectual institution, without virility and without power to enforce its laws, while the natives received their proffers of friendship with instinctive Oriental distrust, intensified by long experience under Spanish rule.

This feeling of the natives and of the military was overcome chiefly by the organization of the judiciary and the passage of the acts providing for local self-government in the municipalities and in the provinces. The operation of the judiciary soon gave evidence that the civil government had power, and the enactment of the local self-government acts was a pledge that the people were to have a large part in the management of their own affairs.

Spanish rule in the Philippines was essentially military; hence the quality of justice dispensed by the courts depended largely upon the character of the military governor. While in early times there were governors of undoubted character, who gave the people honest and effective administration, of late years the administration was in the hands of corrupt officials and fell into a state of decadence. In no branch was this so manifest as in the judiciary.

While the Spanish law, which is based upon the Code Napoleon, is, in the main, good, its administration in the Philippines was bad. This maladministration resulted from two causes.

First, the judiciary was not independent; and, second, the delays flowing from the operation of certain provisions of the code of procedure were so long as to amount to a practical denial of justice. This code permitted an appeal to the Supreme Court from almost every order or ruling of the trial court and allowed either party to an action to challenge the trial judge in nearly every case. The result was to keep litigants waiting in the vestibule of the temple of justice until their means and their patience were alike exhausted. Before a suit could be instituted in the trial court the plaintiff had to execute a power of attorney authorizing a solicitor to act for him. This power of attorney had to be acknowledged before a notary. Then it became necessary to have it declared sufficient by the attorney who was to act in the cause. There was thus the intervention of three paid officials, attorney, solicitor, and notary, before the suit was begun. The slightest defect invalidated the pleadings, and often an action was dismissed upon the merest technicality.

This system naturally yielded injustice rather than justice. Business men refused to go to the courts with their controversies because it was better and wiser to submit to loss of their claims than to lose time and energy in useless litigation and, in the end, be robbed under the forms of law. One of its worst iniquities was the practice of keeping prisoners in confinement for an indefinite period without trial. After the establishment of civil government, hundreds of prisoners who had been sentenced during the Spanish régime made application to the Governor for pardon. These applications were first examined in the Bureau of Justice. It was not uncommon, in fact it was the rule, for the petitioner to recite that he had been kept in prison before trial for a term ranging from one to eleven years, while not infrequently his sentence was for a much less time.

The Commission, upon learning these facts, immediately swept away the Spanish code of procedure which made them possible and assigned to the Hon. Henry C. Ide, Secretary of Finance and Justice, the task of drafting a new one. In a comparatively short time Judge Ide produced a code consisting of 796 sections and forming a book of 283 pages, entitled "The Code of Procedure in Civil Actions and Special Proceedings in the Philippine Islands." It received full consideration by the Commission and, after a public hearing upon each section of it,

in which the Spanish, Filipino, and American members of the Bar of Manila participated, was adopted on October 1, 1901. This code introduced many new principles of procedure, though the main body of the substantive law was but slightly changed. It is distinctly American and adopts what is known as "the code practice," as distinguished from the common law practice. It is now known in the Philippines as "The Ide Code."

While the change from a Spanish to an American system of administering justice was a radical one, conditions in the Islands rendered necessary the retention of some features of the old system, the most important of which were, (1) Spanish as the official language of the courts; (2) trial by judges without juries, and (3) the right of the Government as well as of the accused to appeal from judgments in criminal cases.

The adoption of each of these provisions called forth vigorous criticism in the United States and from Americans in the Islands. The language question brought out perhaps the most interesting public discussion held by the Commission. The native and American lawyers attended in full force. The Americans contended that, in order to introduce an American system of procedure, the use of English was essential; and, as this would be a means of encouraging its study by the natives, it would aid the policy of the administration in introducing generally the English language in the Philippines.

On the other hand, it was argued by the native lawyers that the adoption of English would deprive them of their occupation and that it would cause great disturbance among the Filipino people.

The argument which finally determined the action of the Commission was this: The English-speaking portion of the community at that time amounted to only a fraction of one per cent. of the population. If English became the official language of the courts, the great mass of the people, who spoke neither English nor Spanish, would have to consult their lawyers through the medium of an interpreter, and in some cases even two would be necessary. If the Spanish language was adopted, they could directly consult Spanish-speaking native lawyers who understood their dialects, thus placing them at least one degree nearer the courts. Since justice was to be administered for the benefit of the people and not for the convenience of the lawyers, this argu-

ment prevailed and the Commission enacted the present law making Spanish the language of the courts for a period of five years. English may be used, however, in cases where all parties speak English and a stipulation is made to that effect.

The question whether the right of trial by jury exists in the Philippines has been the occasion of much debate, both in the Islands and in the United States. It was contended for a long time by a number of able constitutional lawyers that the limitations contained in the Federal Constitution left Congress no discretion in the matter of extending trial by jury to the Philippines. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the so-called Insular Cases and in a recent case from the Hawaiian Islands, has settled this proposition contrary to their contention. Under the holding of the court in these cases, Congress, in the exercise of its power to create local governments and "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting territory belonging to the United States," is not restricted in the matter of prescribing methods of procedure and forms of judicial trial, so that the power of Congress to withhold trial by jury from the Philippines is no longer seriously questioned. It may be said without exaggeration that the introduction of the jury system in the Philippines now, far from aiding, would practically defeat the administration of justice altogether, and no one who has been in the Islands and is familiar with local conditions would advocate it at this time.

Governor Taft, testifying before the Senate Committee on the Philippines in 1902, pointed out the obstacles which lie in the way of adopting the jury system in the Islands. He said:

"Ninety per cent. of the people are so ignorant that they could not sit on the jury, to begin with, and understand anything that would be adduced. Then I am bound to say that the difficulty of selecting judges who are above reproach makes it certain that the selection of juries would lead to nothing but corruption and injustice, and we inserted this provision with respect to assessors for the purpose of educating the people up to a possibility of justice. The difficulty with the Filipino mind to-day in the administering of a public trust or the decision of a question between parties is his inability to bring himself to the point of looking impartially at a question between parties."

The nearest approach we have to the jury system in the Philippines is a system of assessors. The law provides for two

assessors, who may sit with the trial court and who are mere triers of fact. Either party is entitled to ask for assessors, but their findings are not binding upon the court. They act merely in an advisory capacity, except that when their judgment in civil cases is contrary to the trial judge, the case must be reviewed by the Supreme Court on the issue of fact. In criminal cases the Supreme Court reviews the fact in all cases.

The right of the Government to appeal in cases of acquittal in criminal causes is claimed to be a violation of both the common and statute law rule against double jeopardy. On the face of it this contention appears to be sound, but upon investigation it will be found that the doctrine against double jeopardy is in the Spanish, as well as in the common, law. At common law, jeopardy ends with the verdict of the jury, which marks the end of the trial. Under the Spanish law, jeopardy also ends with the termination of the trial, which, however, does not occur until the case is reviewed, and judgment pronounced, by the Supreme Court. It is thus seen that the difference is one of application merely, and arises from the difference between the common law and Spanish law conceptions of what constitutes a trial. The question whether the Spanish law relating to double jeopardy violates the act of Congress providing against double jeopardy in the Islands is involved in a case now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States, on appeal from the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, and will be passed upon in a short time.

Simultaneously with the reform in the law of procedure, the Commission established the judiciary proper, consisting of the Supreme Court, the Courts of First Instance, the Bureau of Justice, and the Justices of the Peace.

The personnel of this judiciary typifies the whole Philippine public service. It comprises both Filipinos and Americans, and the American portion of it is composed of Democrats and Republicans. From the beginning the Commission adopted the policy of appointing Filipinos to office wherever competent ones could be found and of selecting Americans without regard to party affiliations. The records show there are more Democrats in the judiciary than there are Republicans.

The Supreme Court consists of seven judges, four Americans and three Filipinos, who are appointed by the President and hold office at his pleasure. The Chief Justice is an eminent Filipino,

Cayetano Arellano, who receives a salary of $7,500; the other justices each receive $7,000 per annum.

The trial courts are called Courts of First Instance. The archipelago, including Manila which has three divisions, is divided into 17 judicial districts. There are also four judges-at-large, whose duty it is, under the direction of the Governor, to assist the regular judges when necessary. All told, there are 23 First Instance judges, one-third of whom are natives. The Manila judges receive an annual salary of $5,500; those outside of Manila, with two or three exceptions, $5,000, and the judges-at-large $4,500.

The Bureau of Justice corresponds to the Department of Justice in the United States. It was organized by Governor Taft, who was formerly connected with the Department at Washington in the capacity of Solicitor-General. It is presided over by an Attorney-General (salary $7,000), assisted by a Solicitor-General (salary $5,500), an Assistant Attorney-General (salary $4,500), a Supervisor of Fiscals (salary $4,000) and eight assistant lawyers.

This bureau, in addition to having charge of the legal business of the Government, including all public prosecutions, has certain executive duties, among which is the appointment of subordinate court officials.

Under the original organization there were 1033 justices of the peace and as many auxiliary justices; under the reorganization of the municipalities there are now 623. These justices are all natives, as are also the provincial fiscals (prosecuting attorneys.)

This constitutes the machinery of the present judicial system in the Philippines.

Now the practical question is: How has the experiment worked in actual practice; to what extent has it succeeded, and wherein has it failed? In answer to this question we may truthfully say in regard to the judiciary in the Philippines what Sir Henry Maine said with reference to the courts of justice in India:

"The point which requires to be observed is that the true revolutionary agent in India has been neither the executive government nor the legislature, but the court of justice, without which the existence of the British rule in India can hardly be conceived."*

* "Village Communities," p. 300.

The success of the system, which it is safe to say has been beyond the anticipation of its authors, has been due to two causes. First, the character of the Commissioners, and especially of the Chief Executive, who gave it direction during its formative period; and, second, the policy of introducing innovations in such a manner and with such modifications as to adapt them to the usages, customs, and local needs of the people. Governor Taft's judicial training fitted him in a special manner for the work of setting up civil government in the Philippines, and especially for the organization and development of the judiciary. This department has received his closest attention from the first, and bears the impress of his broad and liberal mind. Our experience in the Philippines illustrates the truth of Montesquieu's saying:

"In the infancy of societies the chiefs of state form the institutions; afterwards the institutions form the chiefs of state."

The success of our administration in the Philippines depends more upon the character of the men sent out to rule than upon the nature of the laws. It was realized from the beginning that the fate of the American administration in the Islands rested largely with the judiciary; hence great care was given to its organization. As a result, it is now established on a broad and liberal basis. The salaries paid, with the exception of the Supreme Court, are fair, and the leaves of absence which are provided by special act are liberal. The salaries of the justices of the Supreme Court are only equal to those of the heads of bureaus. This is wrong for two reasons. First, it gives the Supreme Court a position in the Government relatively lower than it is entitled to under our system. A judge of the Supreme Court in the Philippines gets less than half the salary paid to a Commission, who holds a dual office, while in the United States the salary of a Supreme Court justice is nearly equal to the combined salaries of a Senator and a cabinet officer. Second, it is impossible, for the salaries paid, to attract and hold in the service Americans who are able to interpret and develop the laws of the Islands. Governor Taft, who has always been a strong advocate of a well-paid judiciary, both in the United States and in the Philippines, recommended at the beginning that the Chief Justice be paid $10,500 and the Associate Justices

each $10,000 per annum.* He is still endeavoring to bring this about.

Experience has demonstrated the correctness of his position. In less than three years three of the American justices have resigned, and the cause in each case, in a greater or less degree, has been the inadequacy of the salary. The result is that the judges resign about the time they master the language and the laws and thus become useful to the Government.

The policy of appointing Filipinos to judicial office has proven to be a wise one. Lawyers formed a larger part of the cultured class in the Philippines than the members of any other profession. The present Chief-Justice, Cayetano Arellano, and the present Solicitor-General, Gregorio Araneta, would be eminent at the bar of any nation.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing, however, that the Philippine judiciary is without its defects. While much has been accomplished, errors have been made and many difficulties and obstacles remain to be overcome.

The natives have failed, as a rule, as justices of the peace. The provincial fiscals, who are also natives, have succeeded only partially. One of the problems now confronting the Commission is, how to reform and improve these two branches of the service. While their relative position in the judiciary is low, yet their practical importance is great. The success of the constabulary depends largely upon the fiscal, who must, in order to make effective the work of the police, cooperate with them and prosecute the violators of the law with vigor and intelligence.

The courts of the justices of the peace are those which come in direct contact with the people and these tribunals are the ones to which they must come with their minor controversies and petty grievances.

The great difficulty in the Philippines is to get the natives to

* I should have been glad if the salaries of the chief justice and the associate justices could have been made $10,500 and $10,000 for several reasons. First, because it would properly exalt the judiciary in the Islands, an object that is of the utmost importance there, so as to bring the position that the judiciary occupy in the Government to the highest point possible in the eyes of the natives; and, secondly, because the work that is done is worth the money paid, and it serves to make contented men who, by the virtue of experience which they will attain and knowledge of the language which they now have, are most valuable to that commonwealth. (Governor Taft before the Senate Committee on the Philippines, February, 1902.)

go into court and assert their rights. This is due, in large measure, to the system known as "caciqueism," which is a system of boss rule by petty leaders and is the curse of the Islands. The effect of this system is to place nearly all the common people under the control of a few men, who exercise almost the power of life and death over them. The people can only be relieved from the burdens of this system by free public schools and efficient courts of justice.

Moreover, the native judges of the Courts of First Instance, probably as a result of their early training, have shown a disposition to decide in favor of the Government in cases in which the latter is interested. This, however, does not appear in the history of the present Supreme Court, which has repeatedly shown itself absolutely fearless and independent.

Another weakness which inheres in the present system arises from the fact that the Commission, which is the legislature, has the power to appoint, to promote, and to remove the judges of the Courts of First Instance. This fact may at any time give rise to the criticism that the trial courts are not free from the influence of the appointing power. While this practice is out of harmony with that most admirable feature of our Federal Constitution relating to checks and balances, it has been unavoidable, from the very nature of things. It has been suggested that this difficulty might be overcome by placing the appointment of the judges of the Courts of First Instance in the hands of the President, as in the case of the Supreme Court. This would only obviate it in a measure, as the President must necessarily depend upon the recommendations of the Governor and the Commission for all his appointments in the judiciary. Steps should be taken to remove this danger, because, under our system, a judiciary which is not independent is worse than no judiciary.

While the worst excrescences of the Spanish law have been removed, much work lies before the administration in the way of harmonizing and unifying the laws of the Islands. All legislation hitherto has been enacted by the Commission, which is at once an executive and a legislative body. By reason of its heavy executive duties, the Commission is seriously hampered in this work of revising and modifying the important codes which form the substantive law. The Commission is in a position to reform and build up the public law of the Islands, as contra-

distinguished from the Private Law, but the task of applying our method of procedure to local conditions, of changing the criminal law and the criminal procedure to meet the wants of the people, of modifying the commercial code to meet new conditions, and the general work of unifying and harmonizing the laws, will have to be performed by a body of men who are in a position to devote all their time to it and who have had experience in the judicial branch of the Philippine service. This is but natural. Reason and experience teach us that the work of writing the Private Law of a country is one requiring much time and labor. Macaulay and his associates spent five years on the penal code of India; Livingston three years on his code for Louisiana, and it is said that Napoleon required eight years, with the best talent of France at his command, to perfect the code bearing his name. Codification is possible and practicable in the Philippines and it should be accomplished, as far as possible, before the Philippine legislature comes into existence, which will be in about two years.

In view of these facts, it has been suggested that a separate and independent Law Commission be appointed, composed of natives and Americans who have been in the judicial service of the Islands, whose duty it shall be to codify and unify the laws and make such changes in the codes already adopted as the needs of the situation may require. The need of such a Commission has been illustrated by the history of the penal code. At first there was a general demand by Americans in the Islands for a new penal code, and Commissioner (now Governor) Wright drew such a law at the same time that Judge Ide drew the code of civil procedure. The consideration of this penal code by the Commission was delayed by other matter until November and December last. The public discussion of it then brought out the fact that a marked reaction had taken place in the minds of the American lawyers and judges, in favor of the existing Spanish code. This grew out of a better understanding of the usages and customs of the people and of the good qualities of the old code, gained by closer association with the Filipinos and a more accurate knowledge of the Spanish law.

The advantages of such a Commission would be twofold. In addition to unifying and welding into one symmetrical whole the codes which constitute the private law of the Islands, it would be in a position to make a complete revision of the public law.

This, in brief and general outline, is the New Philippine Judiciary.

Its organization and its success are accomplished facts. It is a going, working concern; justice is now being administered effectively and impartially throughout the archipelago, except in parts of the Moro Province.

It is a novel experiment in the history of our country and in the history of colonization. Never before has an Anglo-Saxon people attempted, in a Malay country, to engraft on a body of laws distinctly Roman a system of judicial administration of common law origin. The fact that the Filipino people have for centuries been under the influence of the Roman law and of Christianity differentiates them from all other Malay people.

The spectacle of Filipino judges, schooled in the principles of the civil law, sitting side by side with American judges trained under the common law and administering justice to Malays, Orientals, Europeans, and Americans alike, is certainly unique, and one which the students of history everywhere are interested in watching.

The judiciary is undoubtedly the new Government's main support. The Government could not long exist without it. All who have witnessed its organization and growth agree that it has been the most powerful instrument in the hands of the administration in the Philippines in establishing law and order, in safeguarding life and property, in overcoming racial prejudices, in strengthening the bonds of friendship and union between the two peoples; in short, in substituting the benign sway of peace and civil rule for the lawlessness and carnage of anarchy and war.

LEBBEUS R. WILFLEY.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COTTON-GROWING ASSOCIATION.

BY J. ARTHUR HUTTON, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

It is almost a truism to state that the question of the future supply of cotton is by far the most important problem before the world at the present moment. In Lancashire the much-debated "fiscal" question has receded into the background before the dangerous situation of the cotton trade. This is not a mere local question affecting the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of England, or of the millions of people who are directly or indirectly dependent on the English cotton trade; nor is England the only manufacturing country which is suffering from short supplies. Germany, France, the United States and, in fact, every country where cotton is manufactured, are to-day feeling the evil effects of this shortage in cotton. The present high price may be partly due to short supplies and to the fact that consumption has overtaken production, and partly to a singularly daring speculative movement of a group of American speculators; but the violent fluctuations from week to week and, indeed, from day to day, rendering legitimate business almost an impossibility, and at best more or less of a gamble, are caused in large measure by the manipulations of speculators, who have taken advantage of the misfortunes of their fellow men. This is not the place to argue the moral side of the question, but one would hardly envy the men who are willing to cause untold misery and hardship on the toilers of the world, in order that they may gather together a few more hundreds of thousands of dollars.

It is now an admitted fact that, during recent years, production has not kept pace with the increase in consumption. This

has been due principally to the want of elasticity in the United States crop. Five years ago 23,000,000 acres produced 11,250,000 bales of cotton, and, although the acreage this last season is twenty-five per cent. larger, it is doubtful whether 10,250,000 bales have been produced, and there are many who believe that, for want of labor and other reasons, there is little probability of any large increase in the immediate future in the production of the United States. On the other hand, it has been estimated that the normal increase in the world's consumption of cotton is 400,000 bales a year. This increase will undoubtedly be checked by the high prices now ruling; for the majority of the consumers of cotton goods are the poorest of the poor, whose income does not reach a shilling a day, and a considerable time must elapse before they get accustomed to dearer goods. But, even allowing for this, it is quite evident that, unless new cotton-fields are opened up in other parts of the world, most of the mills of the world will have permanently to work on short time, and many of them will be closed entirely.

The seriousness of the situation has been fully grasped in Europe, and during the last two years movements have been commenced by England, Germany, France and other countries for extending the growth of cotton in their tropical possessions. These movements, though modest in the earlier stages, have during the last few months been considerably enlarged, as there is a growing determination to be independent of American speculators. Some time must elapse before appreciable results can be obtained; but most strenuous efforts are being made, and as far as can be judged at present there is every probability that Europe may some day be able to regard the success or failure of the United States cotton crop with comparative equanimity.

One of the most serious points connected with the shortage of cotton, and with the high price of cotton production, is the hardship which is entailed on the ultimate buyer, who will be compelled to restrict his purchases, to such an extent in the poorer parts of the world that he will literally have to go without clothing.

Of all these movements, the most important is the British one, for the field to be covered is much the largest. The movement originated at the annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of Oldham, the great Lancashire spinning centre, held in

January, 1901, when a discussion took place on the question of future supplies of cotton. A committee appointed on that occasion at once proceeded to make inquiries into the possibilities of cotton-growing in the British Empire. The report of this committee was completed in November, 1901, and its purport may be summed up in one sentence—that suitable cotton for the Lancashire trade could be grown in various parts of the British Empire. A meeting was held at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on February 18th, 1902, when a large and representative committee was appointed. After several meetings, at which the question was fully discussed, on June 12th, 1902, the British Cotton-Growing Association was formally inaugurated, and it was decided to raise a guarantee fund of £50,000. Immediate steps were taken to gather information, and to initiate experiments in every part of the British Empire where cotton could be grown. These experiments have been so successful that it has now been decided, subject to the approval of the authorities, to constitute a large company under royal charter with an initial capital of £500,000. This company will absorb the original Association, and will carry on the work on the same lines, philanthropy worked on a commercial basis, and with the same objects, to promote the cultivation of cotton throughout the British Empire. No dividends are to be paid for five years; the surplus profits during that period, should there be any, are to be devoted to the cause of cotton-growing. The Association has a bright future before it; for the experiments already completed give every hope of ultimate success, and some of the shrewdest and most influential business men of Lancashire are at the head of the movement. Every possible assistance is also being given by the British Government. In his speech from the throne in opening Parliament on February 2nd last, His Majesty the King used the following words:

"The insufficiency of the supply of raw material upon which the great cotton industry of this country depends has inspired me with deep concern. I trust that the efforts which are being made in various parts of my Empire to increase the area under cultivation may be attended with a large measure of success."

Such a recognition of the work of the Association sets it above all ordinary commercial ventures, and it is no exaggeration to

say that the deepest interest and enthusiasm have been aroused throughout the whole of the British Empire.

One of the first fields which attracted the attention of the committee was British India. With its vast area and enormous population, there is an immense field for work, and there is little doubt that the present production, about 3,000,000 bales of 500 pounds, could be largely increased. Unfortunately, from an English point of view, the quality of Indian cotton leaves much to be desired, for it is shorter in staple than the American product, and not of much use to the majority of Lancashire spinners, whose energies are devoted principally to spinning finer yarns, leaving the coarser trade to their competitors. This cotton question, however, is an international one; and an increase in the production of the shortest stapled cotton is desirable, provided it is of usable quality, and even if it is shipped to Lancashire's competitors, for it will relieve the demand on the next best grade, and the extra supply of the better quality so released will relieve the demand on the next grade higher, and so on. *Vice versa,* if there is an increased supply of the best Sea Island, the spinners who can utilize the same will not be forced on to the market for the next lower grade. In connection with this point, it should be mentioned that the most cordial relations exist between the British and Continental movements, for it is fully recognized on both sides that, in the present troubled waters, England, France and Germany are in the same boat and must help one another. One might go further and suggest that American spinners are equally interested in the development of cotton cultivation in spheres outside the United States; for, if it be true that there is little probability of an immediate large increase in the production of the Southern States, their only salvation also lies in the development of other cotton fields. One cannot emphasize too strongly the international importance of this movement for the development of new cotton-fields. One might liken the cotton supply to a cistern filled by several taps, and emptied by several; and it does not matter to the English, French or American taps which are emptying the cistern whether it is refilled by a German or Russian supply, so long as there is a sufficient quantity flowing in to replenish the water in the cistern.

In addition to an increase in the quantity of cotton grown in India, it is thought that by careful selection of seed, and by

paying more attention to improvement of the methods of cultivation, much could be done towards raising the quality of Indian cotton. It is proposed to establish model farms in the midst of the cotton-fields as object lessons for the education of the Indian ryot in the most modern methods of cultivation. If such farms were established, not only would they have a most valuable educational influence, but they would also be the means of providing the natives with improved and selected varieties of seed and would probably be more or less self-supporting. Representations have been made by the Association to the Indian Government, urging that government to take up the work, and these have been most favorably received. There is, indeed, every reason to hope that in a few years' time we shall not only obtain largely increased supplies from this part of the world, but also cotton of greatly improved quality.

It is almost an irony of fate that Lancashire should again have to turn her attention to the West Indies for cotton. More than a century ago 40,000 bales, or about half the total of England's requirements, were obtained from those islands. It was not until the year 1802 that the imports from the United States first exceeded those from the West Indies. In 1902, the total imports into England from her old sources of supply were less than 1,000 bales. This, however, will soon be changed. Large quantities of the best Sea Island seed have been distributed, and cash advances are being made to indigent planters who have been more or less ruined by beet-sugar. Some beautiful cotton has been grown and sold in Liverpool at prices ranging from eleven to sixteen cents a pound, and there is every probability that in two or three years from now the West Indies and British Guiana will produce at least 50,000 bales annually, and that England will consequently be entirely independent of Georgia and Carolina for her supplies of the best qualities of cotton.

Although the Association was to devote its funds to the encouragement of cotton cultivation in British possessions, it was felt that the protectorate which England exercised over Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan would justify the committee in considering that part of the world as being within the scope of their mandate. It was soon discovered that in Egypt proper no action was necessary. The cotton crop is a most remunerative one, especially at the present inflated prices, while the Egyptian

Government and the Egyptian people are fully alive to the advisability of increasing the cultivation of cotton as much as possible. The present Egyptian production of cotton is about 1,000,000 bales of 500 pounds, and it is estimated that the new Nile dam at Assouan will make it possible to put under cultivation an additional acreage of fifteen per cent. In the Soudan, however, there are very great possibilities; new land is being put under cotton there every day; and, when the railway is opened from Suakim to Berber, it will be possible to cultivate cotton at a profit, even so far up the river as Khartoum. Quite recently a new field has been discovered at Tokar on the Red Sea, where it is said that the land available is capable of growing a crop as large as the present growth of the whole of Egypt. There is, therefore, every reason to hope that, within the next five years, the Egyptian crop may increase by 1,000,000 or 1,500,000 bales of 500 pounds.

It is a curious fact that, heretofore, most attempts at the acclimatization of Egyptian cotton in other countries have ended in failure. It has generally been supposed that this was owing to the fact that this quality of cotton required artificial irrigation. Recent experiments in German East Africa, in British East Africa, and in British Central Africa (Nyassaland), however, show that this hypothesis is entirely unfounded; and some cotton grown in German territory from Egyptian seed was reported on by competent authorities as fully equal to the best Egyptian cotton.

In East Africa, the work has now passed the experimental stage; and from Nyassaland alone 3,000 bales of 500 pounds will be shipped this season. In this colony there is plenty of suitable land and a good supply of cheap labor—about a penny half-penny to two pence a day being the usual rate of pay. The climate is not unhealthy, and many Englishmen have been settled there for years, growing coffee and tobacco. They are now all turning on to cotton as fast as possible, aided by the British Cotton-Growing Association, which is supplying them with seed and ginning machinery, and giving them financial assistance towards clearing the land. It is possible that in Nyassaland alone 50,000 bales may be produced in the coming season, and there is every probability that in a few years' time East Africa may produce at least 1,000,000 bales of first-class cotton.

To turn from the east of the Dark Continent to the west, we come to a field which offers immense possibilities. There are even some who think that the day may come when American spinners will have to look to West Africa for a portion of their supplies. West Africa is divided up between England, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, the Congo Free State, and Liberia. The portion held by Germany is but small; the Germans are, however, pushing on the cultivation of cotton as fast as possible, and they have already achieved some most satisfactory results. The territory under the sway of France is enormous, and in it large experiments have already been commenced. British West Africa has an area in round figures of upwards of 500,000 square miles, and, were it possible to get only one-tenth of this area under cotton, we should obtain 30,000,000 acres, which, at the rate of only one-third of a bale to the acre, would give 10,000,000 bales of cotton. There is no reason why the whole of West Africa should not some day produce 20,000,000 bales of cotton, for, in addition to the enormous extent of land, there is a large supply of cheap labor—the usual rate being from fourpence to a shilling a day. It is estimated that in British West Africa alone there are at least 20,000,000 inhabitants. And last, but not least, land can be obtained for almost a nominal rent. If the native were cultivating for himself, he would pay no rent at all, or only some small tribute to the chief of the community. Compare this with the condition of affairs in the Southern States, where many of the cultivators have to part with one-third of their crop in payment of rent. It has justly been argued that, should there be a large increase in the production of cotton, of which there is every probability, and should the price in consequence fall to an unremunerative basis, cultivators will suffer severely. If this should be the case, so far as can be judged now, West Africa will some day be able to produce more cheaply than the Southern States, and it will be the American farmer, and not the West-African, who will suffer most by the fall in price.

It can easily be understood that, there being amongst British possessions a field with such immense possibilities, early attention was given to West Africa. The sympathies of the Government officials were enlisted, experts were sent out, and quantities of seed supplied. Some excellent cotton has been grown and sold in Liverpool at prices about one-third of a penny a pound below

middling American. The probability is that, with better cultivation, as good cotton can be grown in West Africa as in the Southern States; and some native varieties have been discovered, and are now being largely planted, which will exactly meet the needs of English spinners, as the staple is long and silky, and of a good white color, while the quality generally is decidedly better than average American. From the very commencement, the Association decided on a line of policy in West Africa which they have never abandoned, and which they still believe to be the best—viz., the ultimate establishment of cotton-growing as a *native industry*. The large plantation system for coffee and other articles in West Africa under white management has generally ended in failure, and there is no reason why cotton plantations should be more successful. To get the natives to take up cotton-growing largely will, however, take a long time, but it is the surest method in the end, as exemplified by the old West-African proverb: "Softly, softly catchee monkey." With the object, however, of expediting matters, large plantations of 10,000 acres are being commenced in several of the British West-African colonies. They will probably be barely self-supporting, but they will have an excellent educational effect, and will serve as seed farms and enable large experiments to be carried on in hybridization and selection of seed. It is quite impossible to forecast how soon one may expect an appreciable supply from West Africa; but there is no doubt that in from five to ten years from now it will become an important factor in the world's supply of cotton.

If any one has to regret the vastness of the British Empire, it is the working staff of the British Cotton-Growing Association, for not a day passes without letters arriving from all parts of the world—from Queensland, from Cyprus, from Rhodesia, from Borneo, from Fiji, from Burmah, and from the many territories which make up "the Empire on which the sun never sets"—requests for advice, for seed, for experts, for financial help, and so on. It is unnecessary here to go into further detail as to what is being done; let it suffice to say that, wherever cotton can be produced, it is either being grown, or steps are being taken to commence its cultivation; and it has now been proved that the British Empire can produce an ample amount of cotton of every quality for the needs of Lancashire.

It will be gathered from the above that the deepest interest has been aroused throughout the whole Empire, and that all are determined to put forth every possible effort in aid of England's greatest manufacturing industry—one might say *the* largest exporting industry of the world. This movement will have the double advantage of procuring ample supplies for Lancashire cotton-spinners, and at the same time of largely increasing the prosperity and purchasing power of the Colonies, with a resulting demand for manufactured goods. Though there has been much difference of opinion and much controversy in England recently on the question of Tariff Reform, on the common ground of cotton supply all parties have joined hands—Free-Traders, Freefooders, Tariff-Reformers, Fair Traders, Protectionists, Little Piggers, Whole Hoggers. This unanimity is largely due to a growing fear of the immense resources now at the disposal of a few individuals, and the consequent terrible power of dislocating any market or industry; and, for this reason, the British Cotton-Growing Association can afford to regard the powerful speculators who have recently been manipulating the cotton market as benefactors in disguise.

J. Arthur Hutton.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.

BY FLORA McDONALD THOMPSON.

THE common assumption is that by engaging in men's work women secure independence. That there are upwards of 3,000,000 women wage-earners in the United States, that women have entered all classes of occupation, that women form seventeen per cent. of the industrial strength of the people, are facts popularly quoted as indicating the economic progression of the sex. Now, the truth of the matter, as statistics show, is that the woman wage-earner is under one aspect an object of charity, under another an economic pervert, under another a social menace.

As a charity, she is both costly and hopeless. Why she is a hopeless charity will appear later from a consideration of the working woman as she affects wages and society. That she is a charity, and a costly one, is shown by the nature and cost of all special investigations and remedial legislation in her behalf, not to speak of explicit private charity devoted to her needs—the numerous institutions in cities everywhere which provide cheap food and lodgings and otherwise assist the working woman in her desperate struggle for existence.

The great bulk of official statistics concerning woman in industry shows no more than a census of women workers. But when the statistician is moved to make particular inquiries concerning these workers, it is always in the spirit of pity and benevolence—a spirit of gallantry and compassion aroused by a spectacle of woman's misfortunes. A majority include women and children in the same category of physical and moral wrong, that is to be righted by the providence of men's legislation. The eleventh annual report of the United States Department of Labor and the reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics recognize that even a woman engaged in economic production becomes a definite

industrial factor; yet these eminently philosophical reports breathe the tender concern of good men for frail woman. They produce data not with reference to the volume of woman's production, its cost, profit or loss in relation to the wealth of the world, but rather to give official information that her work is proper, pleasant, profitable or otherwise in relation to her sex—always in relation to her sex. The statistician never forgets that he is dealing with ladies in production, and, like a true gentleman, he assembles facts accordingly. A report on the working girls of Boston tells us that "some of the girls say men placed in charge of them curse and swear at the girls and treat them very shabbily;" also, with pain vibrating between the lines, the same report states that "in some places girls employed are not allowed to see callers during working hours."

The report of a chief of a Western State Bureau of Labor Statistics shows, with especial clearness, how far apart from business interests the woman wage-earner appeals to the official mind:

> "I would recommend that hours of labor for women should not exceed ten hours per day, so that they should not be kept too constantly at work, but have sufficient time to do their sewing, and when work is slack, they might with propriety be let go home to do such housework or needlework as devolves upon them."

The law of the business world, to which woman is unavoidably subject on entering general industry, is not the Golden Rule. It is the law which demands the greatest production at the least cost. Strictly speaking, business has absolutely nothing to do with the humanities—absolutely nothing to do with the individual save as a contributor to the wealth of the nation. In so far as woman's work serves business interests, business conditions inevitably are adjusted to her interests. Injustice to her in this connection is business suicide; it is killing the goose that lays the golden egg. But in so far as she is of trifling importance to business, or in so far as she represents any sort or degree of loss to business, she necessarily is ground under the inflexible rule of business law.

Numerically, women wage-earners, including all above ten years of age, are 17.22 per cent. of the industrial population. This numerical strength, however, small as it is, is still less as a force in production because the industrial energy of woman is constantly depleted by marriage. At the age when maturity gives

the laborer most power in production, women are withdrawn from the economic into the domestic sphere. Says the Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics: "The great cause that reduces the number of women in industry is marriage. Thus, the permanency of woman in industry is as a class, not as an individual."

In consequence of this, the woman who is a unit of production has no effect other than to confuse economic problems. She eternally eludes classification with reference to the volume of her production and its cost by fitfully disappearing from the economic order as the attraction of sex makes demands upon her. Her aim in industry is not a livelihood, the laborer's aim and the basis of calculation from which economic equations are formed. She works as a makeshift pending marriage, and thus she tends always to sink to a level with the lowest order of labor, unskilled —the worth of which is reckoned not according to its power, but according to the shifting stress of the necessities of the laborer.

There are, however, other elements than wages which must be considered before we can determine what is the cost of woman's contribution to production and whether or not it pays.

At the outset, there instantly appears increased cost of production in the item of all the conveniences required for women working in factories and business houses. In the better mercantile institutions, these advance from bare necessaries to comfort, and even to luxury, in the matter of toilet rooms and lunch rooms, a few proprietors going so far as to serve hot tea, coffee and soup free to employees. These provisions are significant of their economy and purpose, as one is a familiar visitor in toilet rooms of mercantile institutions and daily witnesses one or more female employees stretched on a couch, worn out, sick—thus demonstrating that, as a class, women workers not only increase the cost of production, but diminish its efficiency. The cheapness of woman labor offsets in a measure the increased cost, but such are the demands of marriage, and such the physical unreliability of the sex that to substitute cheap woman labor for men is to substitute a less for a greater efficiency, a fluctuating for a constant force in production—it is, in short, mere money-saving, not economy.

Moreover, as women engage in men's work, they withdraw an indispensable force from household production, which has the

effect of increasing the cost of living while at the same time debasing the value of labor. The wages of women being fixed without reference to the cost of living, they tend, in competing with men, to reduce wages below what it costs to live. Thus, as they abandon the economy of the household for wage-earning, they put labor in the anomalous position of having living expenses increase in inverse ratio to wages. This is a perversion of the economic law of wages, which have always a tendency to increase as the cost of living increases. Women, however, disturb this relation by engaging in wage-earning, and in this instance they have the particular effect of depleting subsistence. Plainly, if wages are less than the cost of living, labor is poorly sustained—insufficiently nourished. Thus, both directly and indirectly, woman in industry, considered with strict reference to economy, operates both to increase the cost of production and to diminish the efficiency of labor.

Humanitarian reformers have regard only for the fact that sordid wealth and cruel corporations are so wicked as to pay women less wages than men. The economist perceives that women who are under no necessity to labor can be got to work for these small wages, and, knowing that the rate of wages proceeds not from the evil heart of capital, but from certain conditions fixed by economic law, he applies himself to inquire why the price of woman's labor is so low. The cause he discerns in the relations of the sex. By virtue of the legal provisions of marriage, precedent in the family relation, and an inherited aptitude for the work pertaining to the support of life, women can afford to receive less wages than men, because, as a class, it costs them less to live. That some individual husband fails to support his wife, that some individual girl has no father or brother or mother contributing to her support, that some individual woman is as helpless as a man in administering to her creature necessities, does not alter the fact that the wages of women are fixed by the privileges they enjoy under the marriage law, the family precedent and their natural skill in feeding and clothing themselves. A popular error made by persons impressed with the injustice resulting to men from the participation of women in general industry, is to consider this with reference to married women only. But, while marriage alone legally establishes this advantage, the other two factors I have mentioned are no less operative in removing the woman

worker from the necessity which governs men of receiving a wage equal to the cost of subsistence. In a report of a special committee appointed in New York to inquire into the condition of 100,000 families dependent in each instance on a woman's average earning of 60 cents a day, it was stated that "the prevailing low wage, inadequate to the support of labor, is due to the fact that, in the establishments employing woman labor, a great majority of the workers are only partly dependent on their earnings for a livelihood." So large a number as 100,000 women, by accident laboring under the necessity of earning a livelihood, were still outnumbered and had their wages fixed by the normal woman—the woman wholly or in part supported by others.

The effect of cheap woman labor is naturally to displace men. The report of the United States Department of Labor shows that exactly as the percentage of women increased in all occupations from 1887 to 1890 the percentage of men decreased. The apparent evil herein resulting is disclaimed by economists who adhere to the principle that cheap labor is to the advantage of production. Horace G. Wadlin, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, says:

> "Displacements of men in industry due to advance of women is similar to the effect wrought by the introduction of machinery. It is temporary, and the hardship resulting is also temporary."

This is an error, because woman's wage-earning offers no compensation for the hardship it entails upon men in the benefits of facilitated production such as follows upon the use of machinery. Woman labor has solely the economic effect I have shown—to increase cost and diminish efficiency in production. And this effect is permanent, Mr. Wadlin to the contrary notwithstanding. By marriage the industry of woman is rendered so fitful and elusive of adjustment to economic principle that it defies establishment as a constant force to be counted on, as labor may reckon with machinery. It appears to-day unexpectedly substituting the cheap woman for the higher-priced man, and to-morrow it disappears in matrimony, leaving both its employer and its male rival at a disadvantage, the only definite result it has accomplished being that it has attached a lower wage to the performance of a certain amount of work.

In addition to the evil which woman labor thus imposes upon men, the reduction of men's wages it brings about is attended with

no diminution of men's responsibility. The man remains liable for the support of the family, even though his wife and daughter, competing with him in business, should lower his wages to the starvation point. Woman labor is an economic element as abnormal as convict labor, and it is equally pernicious for the reason that legitimate labor is taxed for its support.

But are the woman's interests served? What has this industrial revolution accomplished for the sex?

It has secured her a competence averaging less than one dollar a day. It has undermined her health. It has trained her in the work of a machine, and made her unskilled in all the labor which supplements the office of wife and mother in the family. It has taken her out of the home.

The mere fact of the average woman's success in industry, as betokened in the wages she receives—less than one dollar a day—in itself is emphatic declaration of the futility of women's undertaking of men's work. The depravity of it appears in its effect upon the woman's physical organism. An exhaustive and scholarly investigation of the relation of men's work to the health of women wage-earners was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. In this report the conclusion is reached that immature girls should be prohibited by law from working in factories, stores, business institutions of all descriptions, and that the law should have jurisdiction over the labor of all women, to determine, as does the Council of Salubrity in France, what branches of industry a woman may engage in without detriment to her health. In other words, so ill adapted to men's work is her physical constitution proved to be by experience and scientific investigation that a woman's choice of occupation should be legally restricted. The economic reason alleged for this is that the reproductive organs in particular are injured by the strain of men's work, and the human race deteriorates in consequence of woman's impaired physical ability to perform the maternal function.

Beyond the physical ill which results from women doing men's work is an insinuating evil, conducing to economic confusion, which first of all has expression in the modern theory of education for woman. When it is assumed that her destiny is to be bread-winning, the aim is to fit her with knowledge and special training for men's work. Now, in the design of nature, which neither university courses nor political emancipation can overthrow, the destiny of

woman is wifehood, maternity. Abstract these offices from any calculation concerning the sex, and we have the end of the world. It is axiomatic that the first thing indispensable to even the progress of woman is the continuance of the human species. This unavoidable natural office in life determines woman's economic office.

In enumerating the consequences of woman's wage-earning I mentioned that it takes her out of the home. The full significance of this I have learned from my own experience. I can best describe it in egotistic fashion.

Trained to a profession and not trained in household industry, on entering the domestic relation I find my situation to be this: I know next to nothing about domestic economy; I have not money enough at my command to pay for my education in this neglected branch, so I do what seems the only thing possible. I hire a capable woman to manage my house, and by working at my profession I earn money that compensates my family for the money loss entailed by my domestic inefficiency. But when I have thus settled my financial accounts with my family, I am still the cause of irreparable loss to them, and thereby to society. This proceeds from my being under the rule of competition in my professional work. I am subject to business law. An editor will not wait for copy because my child is sick. A newspaper must go to press in spite of the fact that I have a baby in arms. Because I have been falsely educated in serving editors and writing for the press, instead of with a view to the fact that one day I would probably have a baby in arms and a child calling me to work by his bedside, I have had to organize my household labor on a scale of expense which compels me to earn money or precipitate the family into business confusion. Therefore, it is the editor and the paper going to press that I am bound to heed. My baby must develop in the arms of the most capable nurse I can hire; my sick child must do with the service of a hired attendant also. I am in industry. I must abide by its laws. If I neglect my work, there are others ready to seize it. And they will get it. The editor will not be touched by any exhibition of fine maternal solicitude that may be the occasion of my neglect of business. "Business is business."

This is the horror of wage-earning for woman—it reduces her office in the family to a convenience of business. It makes of home a limited, cooperative boarding-house, where the several

members of the family eat, sleep and are otherwise equipped and repaired for the pursuit of their individual interests in life outside. It subordinates the higher interests of the family to the end of money-making. Children are so many ethical problems that seriously embarrass the business success of the mother. They must be organized and disciplined accordingly. The arrangements for their development have always to include and provide for the mother's business obligations. Thus wealth comes to condition human character. Wealth is an indispensable element of human happiness, the acquisition of which is a legitimate, even a virtuous, end of the action of men. But the other elements of human happiness—health, good morals, the beautiful, religion—all these things, without which wealth has no practical value, accrue to society through the immunity from business law (the stress of competition) which woman enjoys in the domestic sphere; and the benefits of these higher elements of happiness are lost to humanity as woman is bound by the conditions of money-making. To be sure, a woman may be free from the necessity of wage-earning and still fail to promote health, morals, beauty and spiritual power. But it is directly in connection with this fact that the greatest evil of encouraging women in so-called economic independence in producing wealth appears. Under the influence of this modern propaganda, advocating "equal rights" to women to engage in men's work, the neglect of woman's naturally appointed sphere in life—the domestic—becomes a virtue. As she departs from the home, and labors outside, it is assumed that thus she enacts the progression of her sex. She thus becomes an item in statistics read before women's clubs to show how the down-trodden ones of earth are advancing. What, thus advancing, she leaves behind, what possibilities in life she forfeits, are questions that do not enter into up-to-date calculations of a woman's success; and thus, where one woman, seriously from misfortune or mistakenly believing it to be a duty, may undertake men's work without stopping to know what thereby the world loses, a host of women seize upon the theory she exemplifies as a warrant for merely escaping from the obligations of their sex. Married, they refuse to be mothers; mistresses of homes, they refuse to be housewives. All that sort of thing belongs to the lower walks of life for women. And so we get a general tendency in the sex that operates to the overthrow of the family, the destruction of humanity.

That child-bearing should be a reproach to a woman follows logically upon economic independence of the sex. The woman who aims to be a producer of wealth is justifiably to be blamed for bearing children. Maternity interrupts her "career," and the demands of business are such that chances are against her making a success of her children. Very reasonably, in the modern scheme of economics for women, maternity is ridiculous—a fault, an error, even almost a crime. Under normal conditions, however—assuming woman to be fulfilling her natural office in the family—what is the economic effect of an increase of population? The truth is exemplified in the boast of the nation. We take a census of the people, and the greatness of the nation is augmented if the population is found to have increased. Why? Because thus, under normal conditions, trade is stimulated. More units of consumption exist, the demand for production is greater; work increases. prices are better, goods cheaper, wages higher, and units of labor —that is, units of force of production—are also increased. In a word, increased population means increased prosperity.

I have indicated how the so-called economic independence of woman is an injury to business interests and a misfortune to the sex. There is still to be considered the effect of this boasted independence upon men. This effect is most significantly shown in the instance of the wife at work. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics has found that, when the wife earns wages, the husband earns less than other laborers. Seven thousand seven hundred and forty-eight men whose wives are employed earn less than fifty cents a day. In this comparison I noticed another fact involved, which my observation and experience had previously made known to me. That is, where both husband and wife earn money, the living expenses of the family are equal to the whole sum of the man's earnings. Here appears evidence of how the wife's devotion to business interests fails in conserving the husband's interests. Injustice to the man is clear, because while his wife's earnings may supply to himself and the family what the household loses by her want of application to household pursuits, this is entirely optional with the wife; and I have observed that in general she feels what she earns is her own, to the exclusion of her husband's right in it. She does not perceive that she is in equity bound to yield her husband a right in her earnings equal to the cost of her support, and the amount of the loss or extra expense

the household undergoes through her engaging in business outside. If she did so this would economically adjust one of the inequalities attendant upon the wage-earning of women.

But the most potent evil effect upon men resulting from women's wage-earning is described in a letter by a working woman in Rhode Island to the State Bureau of Labor:

"Because women will work for less pay than men, all about me they are employed to the exclusion of men. I often see the wife and mother at work, while the husband walks the street unemployed, manly pride gone, home and children neglected."

At once it will be urged by advocates of woman's right to all work that doubtless the lack of employment of the man was the occasion of the woman's going to work. Perhaps, but it nevertheless should be made clear to women that nothing but eventual disaster results from such a course; that it is better even for the family to suffer want than to entail upon the man the degradation of character imposed upon him when he becomes dependent upon a woman's earnings for support.

Since marriage is a state to which all women in the course of nature, barring accident, attain, it is to effects as determined by marriage that one must look in defining the principles which should govern the action of women. Facts concerning the wage-earning of wives, therefore, do not describe conditions of one class of women only; they represent the final equation of the matter in its bearing upon the sex. Therefore:

The practice of so-called economic independence has achieved for woman financial results indicated in the fact that her average earnings are less than one dollar a day.

The effect of the practice upon economic interests is to lessen efficiency and to increase the cost of production.

The effect upon the woman herself is to impair her physical fitness for the maternal function, and to subject her to a false system of education, which mentally and morally unfits her for her economic office in the family.

The effect upon society is to promote pauperdom, both by increasing the expense of living and by robbing men of the responsibility which gives them force and success in their natural office of dispenser of wealth to the family.

In a word, the truth about woman in industry is, she is a frightful failure.

FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

LONDON AS A MUSIC-CENTRE.

BY CLARENCE LUCAS, WITH NOTES BY DAVID BISPHAM.

As the preparation of the following article was due to a statement of my own—made, not at random by any means, yet without a very definite idea of its truth—I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of thanking the author for so ably marshalling such an extraordinary array of facts in support of my assertion that London is—notwithstanding the existence of many other centres of musical activity—the great centre of the musical world; and it gives me pleasure in my turn to add to what Mr. Lucas has written, a few memoranda and figures, and certain thoughts of my own, the result of several years of intimate personal experience of that of which I speak. DAVID BISPHAM.

HERBERT SPENCER tells of a foreigner who, immediately on landing, determined to write a book on England. After a few months he thought it would be wiser if he waited and collected data; and after a few years he decided that he knew nothing about his subject. Fifteen years ago, while I still looked on the world with American eyes, and my judgment, from Continental training, was warped by French and German prejudice, I thought that there was no music of any account in London; that the English were an unmusical race; and that the English climate was calculated to demusicalize any one who submitted himself too long to its chilling influence. I am not yet, and probably never will be, on friendly terms with the climate of England, but my observation during ten years' residence in London has modified many opinions.

Three hundred years ago, the glee and madrigal composers of Merrie England were the finest in Europe. There is no reason to believe that their descendants have not inherited their musical instincts. There has been no musical Inquisition in England to

kill off the intelligent and leave the stupid fathers to people the land. As a matter of fact, the English in the aggregate are as musical as any other nation, though the English temperament has characteristics which differentiate it from that of the Italians, French, Russians and Germans. For two centuries, the melancholy shadow of Puritanism has cut off the warmth from English music, and the hardy Elizabethan roots have produced but a pale and slender crop of church composers. It is true that the English church service requires a great deal of music,—more, probably, than any other church service in the world to-day. There are thousands of churches and scores of cathedrals in England*

* Nothing of the best of the English school of music has been lost;—much has been neglected, it is true, but the choicest is being revived, and is as vital to-day as ever it was, and being listened to with fresh interest and appreciation after its long rest. There is no shade of religious belief that has not its place of worship in London, and no effort is spared to bring forward in each the best music of its especial form of worship.

The average traveller goes only to St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, but besides these and the countless other churches of the Church of England whose surpliced male choirs are world-famed, there are the new Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster, the Oratory, and many other great churches of that belief where the masses of Byrd and Tallis are being revived, in addition to the Gregorian music so often heard, while in all the spirit of Purcell, Arne, Blow. and others of their noble day is more potent now than for a century or so past, and the best of the sacred music of Italy and Germany is ever present and to be heard. Händel is almost more English than the English-born composers; most of his greatest works were written in London (including the "Messiah"), and his greatest vogue has ever been in the British Isles.

What better church music can there be than that of the English composers of the more recent past? The names of Wesley, Crotch, Attwood, Horsley, and Sterndale Bennett are household words to-day, while the secular works of these and many others are, especially in the field of the part-song and madrigal, without an equal in modern music, though at present these are somewhat out of fashion.

Mendelssohn, with his music and his manner, was adopted by England, for whose great festival at Leeds both "Elijah" and "St. Paul" were written, and, indeed, both of these works are more frequently given in England than in Germany.

The oratorios, anthems, services, and hymns of Macfarren, Barnby, Tours and Sullivan are familiar to the entire English-speaking church-going world, while the operas of the last named are heard in every civilized country on the face of the globe.

The foremost composers in London to-day are sure powers to be reckoned with. Who among the intelligent public is not indebted to the great gifts of the late Goring Thomas, and his contemporaries who happily survive him — Stanford, Parry, Mackenzie, German, Coleridge-Taylor, and Edward Elgar? All of these and others of great ability too numerous to mention are hard at work, their productions finding delighted audiences not only in places of worship, but at the great festivals and among the hundreds of the choral societies of London and Great Britain.—D. B.

where the elevating influence of music is always to be felt. Puritanism, failing to prohibit the organ altogether, has at least been able to keep English musical thought from straying very far from the organ-loft.

A few decades ago, while Puritanism still kept the museums and art-galleries strictly locked on Sunday, and the only places open to the wayfaring man who quitted his own fireside on that day were the churches and the saloons, the Sunday League Society came into existence. This organization, which had for its object the development of a musical taste in the Sunday idlers who rarely had the chance of hearing any music during the week, has now become a very important factor in London's musical progress. During the past year this society alone has given a total of 381 concerts, mostly oratorio performances.

There are the districts of Leytonstone, Clapton, Finsbury Highgate, Hampstead, Willesden, Halloway, Highbury, Kingsland, Dalston, Bromley, Stepney, Ealing, Acton, Kensington, Greenwich, Blackheath, New Cross, Peckham, Camberwell, Kennington, Hammersmith, Chiswick, Lunnersbury, Brentford, Barnes, Richmond, Chelsea, Wandsworth, Putney, Clapham, Dulwich, Sydenham, Streatham, among the more important districts and suburbs of the vast city of London. Each one of these sub-centres has its Philharmonic Society or its Choral Union, which not only helps the local amateur to develop his latent musical ability as a choral singer or an orchestral player, but brings the art of the great metropolitan soloists to the very doors of the people. One of the finest performances of Berlioz's "Faust" I ever heard was rendered by one of these North London suburban choirs of a purely local character and reputation.

The Händel Festival held in the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, every three years, with a chorus, orchestra and organ—5,000 performers in all—affords one the opportunity of hearing the most massive choral effects. The London Choral Union, conducted by Arthur Fagge, gives its concerts in the Queen's Hall.* More

* The celebrated veteran conductor, August Manns, has for twenty or more years directed the Händel Festivals, the greatest musical gatherings of the kind the world has ever known, but he has of late handed his bâton over to the younger arm of Dr. Cowen, who each season leads similar large forces of massed choral and orchestral players at Crystal Palace.

This surprising list—surely already more extensive than any other community in the world can boast of—is not complete, however, with-

satisfactory, however, is the regular season of eight concerts of the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, Kensington, where as successor to the late Sir Joseph Barnby, Sir Frederick Bridge directs a choir and orchestra of 1,000 performers.

During the past season there have been 80 performances of grand opera at Covent Garden Royal Opera, of which the most important were three performances, under Hans Richter's direction, of Wagner's complete "Ring" without cuts,—requiring 12 days. The Moody-Manners Opera Company also gave 35 performances of grand opera in English in the same theatre, later in the same season.*

There are usually from six to ten theatres in London devoted to comic operas and musical plays. During the past season there have been about 3,000 performances of these at the Savoy, Gaiety, Terry's, Daly's, Prince of Wales's, Lyric, Apollo, Shaftesbury, Adelphi and Vaudeville theatres. For the dramatic productions of Sir Henry Irving, Beerbohm Tree, George Alexander and other leading actors, the foremost composers are requisitioned to write appropriate music for an orchestra numerous enough to pass muster as a symphony orchestra in the provinces. The Palace, the Alhambra, and the Empire variety theatres boast three of the finest orchestras in London. The humble artisan who pays his modest sixpence for a gallery seat can hear these superb bands of

out a few additions; there are in and around and about the London of which the ordinary sight-seer knows nothing flourishing choral societies at the great popular resorts of the lower classes at Alexandra Palace in the North and the People's Palace in East London, and excellent choral bodies in Central and South London, St. Margaret's, St. Martin's, Finchley, East Finchley, Hatcham, Lewisham, Marlborough, Streatham Hill, Willesden Green, besides the Loughton Choral Society and Mr. Croager's Musical Society; added to which the following districts, Bermondsy, Bishopsgate, Borough, Brixton, and Manor Park, support—and entirely by the efforts of local amateurs—not only choruses, but orchestras as well, for their annual course of concerts.

The constant visits of bodies of singers from foreign countries to the great halls of London are supplemented by frequent opportunities of hearing in the metropolis the choirs from native towns, such as Leeds, Birmingham, or Sheffield, three of the finest festival bodies in existence, who may be brought to London for especial occasions.—D. B.

* Whatever the reason may be, operatic conditions are practically identical in London and New York. For years the two cities had the same grand opera—management, artists, conductors, chorus, and ballet—but of late a differentiation has become apparent; yet London, notwithstanding the efforts of the Carl Rosa Company and Mr. E. C. Hedmondt to cultivate the popular taste for grand opera in English, has been even less successful than New York.—D. B.

sixty skilled performers six nights in the week all the year round. All the many music-halls (variety theatres) of London possess good orchestras, but the Empire and Alhambra are distinguished for the brilliancy of their elaborate ballets, for which Sir Arthur Sullivan and other famous composers have written music.

The "chamber concerts," so called, including string quartets, violin, piano and other solo instrumental recitals, can literally be counted by hundreds. The most important quartet in London at present is Johann Kruse's,—an organization which gave some forty concerts last season.* Not long ago, I noticed nine piano recitals announced for one day. It would be almost impossible to give the exact number of organ recitals. Baedeker says that London has 1,400 churches, and it is probable that most, if not all, of these places of worship add something to the vast total of the musical influences of London.

A popular, though not very elevating, form of musical entertainment, is the ballad concert. These concerts are organized and financed by some of the wealthier publishers of cheap sentimental songs, for the exploiting of their wares for the ubiquitous musical trifler. The performances as a rule are excellent, for the best artists are engaged; but the programmes are of the flimsiest nature. It is an unfortunate contest between commercialism and art, in which art, as usual, is worsted.†

* First and foremost among the factors for good in the musical instrumental world of London must be placed the great violinist, Joseph Joachim, whose visits to England have continued for over fifty years, for over half of which time he headed, as in Berlin, his celebrated quartet at the Saturday and Monday "Popular Concerts" at St. James's Hall, where, seconded often by Lady Hallé and the great 'cellist, Alfred Piatti, he reigned supreme, and still holds his place in the affectionate admiration of every music-lover. "Imitation is the sincerest flattery," and the result is a gratifying increase in the number of organizations for the cultivation of chamber music. The following are the principal among a number: Miss Sloman's, Mr. Barnes's, and Mr. Phillips's Chamber Concerts; the Century Concerts; the Wesley String Quintet; the Chaplin Trio; the Mozart Society; the concert parties of Miss Thomas and Miss Marshall and Mr. Clinton. The twelve "Broadwood" concerts yearly bring out the finest pianists, instrumentalists, and vocalists in music of this character. To these must be added the suburban districts of Surbiton, Crogdon, Woodford Green, and West Norwood, where organizations exist for the express purpose of enjoying each year a series of concerts of string quartets played by artists of repute.—D. B.

† Among singers of distinction Georg Henschel and his talented wife led the way out of bondage to the ballad into the loveliest pathways of the ample fields of song, and were followed erelong by the younger vocal artists who brought forward not only the classics, but the best of contemporary music.—D. B.

Then there are "The Magpies" and other small choirs and part-song singers; and antiquarian societies which strive to resuscitate the lute and virginal and perpetuate the tinkling harpsichord.*

A more reassuring feature of London's musical activity is the enormous number of orchestral concerts. Mention must first be made of the venerable Philharmonic Society, organized in the year 1813, and including in its list of conductors the names of Cherubini, Spohr, Weber, Mendelssohn, Wagner, to say nothing of the later-day celebrities. Dr. Frederic Cowen at present conducts the Philharmonic Society's eight annual concerts. Though of recent origin, the Queen's Hall Symphony Orchestra, so ably conducted by Mr. Henry J. Wood, is the most potent factor for musical good in London to-day. This magnificent orchestra gives Symphony Concerts on Saturday and Sunday afternoons throughout the season. During the late summer season, the season when Londoners speak of London as "empty," the Queen's Hall Orchestra gave a series of Promenade Concerts nightly, Sundays excepted, from about the middle of August to the end of October,—concerts of the highest excellence, at which all the great symphonies, overtures, suites, and symphonic poems were to be heard for the ludicrously low price of about fourpence a concert, by subscription for a season ticket. Then there are the Richter orchestral concerts, for many years held in St. James's Hall, but transferred to the Queen's Hall since Dr. Richter took up his residence in England and began to bring his Manchester orchestra to London. Last season there was the Beethoven Festival, conducted by Felix Weingartner of Berlin; and the Strauss Festival, for which the Concertgebou Orchestra of Amsterdam was brought to London, conducted, for the greater part of the Festival, by Richard Strauss himself.

* "The Magpies" is a unique body of amateurs, ladies and gentlemen of the highest social standing, who give concerts of the most exacting class of ancient and modern music for mixed voices before an audience which for brilliancy and intelligence cannot be equalled in the world.

In Upper Norwood there is a club for the study of the same class of music; while the Stock Exchange, West London, and Munro Davidson's male voice choirs do excellent work in that field, and the Meister Glee Singers hold the foremost place as entertainers among the numerous male quartets to be heard in London.

Antiquarians are well acquainted with Mr. Dohnetsch and his old instruments, while the Plain Song and Crystal Palace Historical societies do much to keep alive an interest in artistic conditions of past centuries.—D. B.

The famous Manheim Orchestra recently gave a series of splendid concerts in St. James's Hall, consisting principally of works by Brahms. The Parisian orchestras of Lamoureux and Colonne are familiar friends and welcome visitors of the London musical public. During the past few years there is hardly a conductor of note who has not had the opportunity of wielding the batôn in the British metropolis.*

The amateur orchestras of London are numerous and excellent. The Royal Amateur Orchestra, conducted by Ernest Ford, is under the patronage of the King.

The Strolling Players' Amateur Orchestra, conducted by the well-known vocal authority, William Shakespeare, has enough patrons to fill the Queen's Hall six times a year. The Westminster Orchestral Society, which I have the honor of directing, is under the patronage of Queen Alexandra. This society has recently been transferred from the old Westminster to the more musical Kensington. The North London Amateur Orchestra, conducted by Lennox Clayton, taps a district untouched by the other orchestras. The same may be said of the Stock Exchange Amateur Orchestra, conducted so excellently by Arthur Payne, the concert-master of Henry J. Wood's Queen's Hall Symphony Orchestra. Herr Sach's Amateur Orchestra affords admirable opportunities for students seeking orchestral experience. The influence of these orchestral rehearsals for good on the musical understanding of the participants in them cannot be estimated.†

The open-air concerts are equally numerous. Statistics concerning the Royal parks—Hyde, Regent's, St. James's—and a few others, are difficult to obtain. In these three most important

* Among the number of celebrated conductors are also Tchaikowsky, Grieg, Mottl, Levi, Nickish, Paur, and Siegfried Wagner, and others from every country of Europe, with or without their own orchestras, and including our own Mr. Sousa and his band, and Strauss, the waltz king, with his instrumentalists. The English Channel has but small terrors in its two hours' passage, and London holds out its lures more than ever to the foreigner.—D. B.

† The grand work done for London at Crystal Palace for many decades by August Manns and his splendid orchestra, at his Saturday afternoon and other concerts, must not be forgotten because the veteran is taking his well-earned repose after half a century of noble effort; but the scene of Mr. Manns's labors is now filled with the sound of Mr. Hedgcock's amateur orchestra, and in other districts of suburban London orchestras are supported by Brockwell, Muswell Hill and Woolwich; and in London proper the Saturday orchestral concerts conducted by Mr. O'Brien continue through six months of the year.—D. B.

parks of London, the military band concerts are certainly not proportionately less numerous than are the band concerts in the many parks under the control of the London County Council. During six months of last year the Council provided 1,250 band concerts in the parks and open spaces of London.

The requirements of the student of music are amply provided for. There are about a dozen musical academies; and the usual number of pretentious and more or less meritorious small colleges and academies; and an imposing army of private teachers.*

Prophesying is futile. But when the English Beethoven arises, the Emerson of the future will see in the seething activity of the musical life of to-day sufficient cause for the appearance of the great man.

CLARENCE LUCAS.

What constitutes an art-centre? Sufficient interest in art among a sufficient number of people whose work it is, as creators or exponents, to attract others like-minded as coworkers or disciples and so to form a nucleus of enthusiasts whose influence carries a more than ephemeral conviction into the great world of art. Weimar was such a music-centre; Florence in painting and Boston in literature hold enviable reputations, while Paris and certain cities of Germany are undoubted centres of dramatic and operatic art.

After reading Mr. Lucas's remarkable article it were, indeed, well-nigh impossible for the veriest partisan to ignore the astounding mass of facts he brings to our notice, or to refrain from according to London, the capital city of the greatest empire the world ever saw, the recognition which is its due of its true place as the principal centre of the musical life of our times.

Mr. Lucas has confessed to me that though immersed in music as composer, teacher, conductor and critic of one of London's

* There is scarce an end to the list of private schools of music in the great metropolis, but it is well to enumerate some of the more important public schools of the minor grades. The Royal Military School, Trinity College, London Music School, South London Institute of Music, Tonic Sol-Fa College, Crystal Palace School, Virgil Piano School, Royal Normal College and Academy for the Blind, the Victoria College, Incorporated Staff-sight-singing College, and the Goldsmith's Company Institute all do good work, but the Royal Academy and Royal College not only uphold the highest standards, but send examiners each year all over the world-wide British dominions to select for admission, after exhaustive examination, only the most talented pupils from whatsoever land they may come to these great schools.—D. B.

great daily papers, he was nevertheless quite unaware of the musical growth of the metropolis until he began, at my suggestion, to test the accuracy of my pronouncement as to London's supremacy. He had been in the position of the man who "could not see the forest for the trees"; but a few excursions out of the beaten tracks of Piccadilly, Langham Place, and Covent Garden gave him a wider view of the subject, and led him into regions practically unexplored yet replete with interest and unadvertised but none the less high art. How truly has it been remarked that there is many a delightful evening passed which is not mentioned in the newspapers!

He was familiar with the doings of the Händel Society, the festivals of the Bach Choir at Queen's Hall, which a few seasons ago brought all musical England together, and appreciates without doubt the necessity for the cultivation of the classics and the reason for the existence not only of interest in every phase of musical life of the past among amateurs of wide knowledge, but of such organizations as will bring the simpler forms of the art to the understandings of the general and less musical public who are unable to digest the complications of the later-day composer; but it remained for him to point out how deeply the love of music of which we read as pervading England of the olden-time had continued and been handed down to the descendants of the Elizabethan age.

Time was when, as we read, every person of culture was expected to be able to take his or her part in the glee or round or catch, and though this form of after-dinner amusement no longer subsists, the custom of domestic music of some sort of an evening remains in most middle-class English families. God save the mark and the family! But this only shows the inherent desire on the part of the populace to give vent to a natural impulse not quite as spontaneous as that of Italy, or as finely developed as that of Germany, but for that very reason it is that for two hundred years the best talent among singers and instrumentalists has been imported from foreign lands to feed the insatiable craving for music in London, where, nevertheless, there is no more than the average proportion of untuneful souls who never could enjoy a concourse of sweet sounds though the angels struck their immortal harps till Gabriel's final fanfare.

The famous advice of Lord Chesterfield to his nephew, "if you

wish to hear music by all means pay some one to fiddle for you, but by no means fiddle yourself," is in these days a dead letter; ladies and gentlemen of the best families in the land not only fiddle, but sing and play the piano and other instruments in public, one of the late Queen Victoria's daughters appearing in the chorus of a celebrated vocal society, and another of her kinswomen being a semi-professional vocalist. A great lady of title had until recently a very fine orchestra of amateurs, her personal friends, which gave excellent public concerts. The private entertainments at which every available musician from celebrated operatic stars and musicians are welcomed and received as friends are literally uncountable.

The musical libraries and collections at the British and South Kensington museums and the Royal College of Music are world-famed; indeed, all that is and has ever been in her history is dearly prized and belongs to England forever, and London is the Mecca of every English and Colonial mind throughout the world. What Jerusalem was to the Jew, and Rome to the Roman, so is London to the Briton of to-day. Beneath its murky pall lies a heart throbbing with the sense of the beautiful and good; the spirit of England's governed crop of musical souls shall never depart, and her worthy husbandmen are working harder than ever in the fallow field and lovingly sowing the seed which will bring forth a still larger and more highly cultivated harvest in the time to come.

DAVID BISPHAM.

WHY IS AMERICAN LITERATURE BOURGEOIS?

BY GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

American literature after its first natural imitation of Old-World standards showed for a time a disposition to take its cue from the Declaration of Independence. In reading the state papers of the great men of the first era of the Republic—Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and the rest—one sees plainly the influence of the "Spectator"; and even Hawthorne and Poe, to say nothing of the Boston groups, and Washington Irving, might never have breathed the free air of a young republic. Cooper was American in nothing but choice of subject. But when Mark Twain and Bret Harte appeared, then indeed we had produced two authors who could have been born and nourished nowhere else on the planet.

Mark Twain, in particular, was so intensely individual, so rampantly—one may say without disrespect—American, that it must have seemed, to those watching what was then the lawn rather than the field of literature in the United States, that the new force was destined to redirect the whole course of American letters. He might indeed have been apprehended as a mighty hose or hydraulic pump, washing the very earth out of the carefully trimmed beds on the lawn. As one looks back to-day, it seems almost incredible that his uncommon and instantly popular methods, his quite unconscious disdain of petty conventions, his convincing expression of the best as well as the most salient of our national characteristics, did not immediately found a school. Even the facts that the true greatness of his intellect was not appreciated, and that he let Cupid severely alone, are not a sufficient explanation of the riddle of his standing apart to-day. Neither does his originality ex-

plain it: other original writers have founded their schools. At least his triumphs might have encouraged the young to be as free and individual as himself, even if more slenderly equipped as to creative power: it is not the imitators, of course, who count in the final summing up of literary achievement, almost sure as they are to win temporary success by adhering to the footprints of some leader whom the critic knows it is safe to praise. If Twain ever had so much as an imitator—barring mere humorists —I never heard of him. Harte had many, but they are forgotten. But that is not the point. What is truly remarkable is the fact that the brilliant success of these two men did not remind others that originality is the final and supreme touch which secures an artist a permanent position on the heights, which commands forever the attention of the intelligent masses below.

As a rule, originality has a hard fight, for those who write of writers are, necessarily, unoriginal, and, therefore, no matter how conscientious, timid about endorsing a bold deviation from long established standards. But Twain and Harte had no struggle for recognition, from the public at least. No one remembers to-day what their critics wrote; all the world knows of their success. Undoubtedly, there were reasons for this, quite aside from their worth, and it would be unfair not to state them: Twain published his first books by subscription, and was already a personality; Harte published in his own magazine, "The Overland Monthly." Both from the start were independent of editors and reviewers. But if this explains their skilful avoidance of the average great author's weary bystanding at the public portals, it by no means explains their failure to encourage others.

American literature to-day, taking it as a whole, taking no account of its strangely few exceptions, is the most timid, the most anæmic, the most lacking in individualities, the most bourgeois, that any country has ever known. There is not a breath of American independence, impatience, energy, contempt of ancient convention in it. It might, indeed, be the product of a great village censored by the village gossip. How utterly unrepresentative it is may be seen by holding it up to contrast with the general trend and conduct of American affairs, political, financial, commercial, with all that is typical of what has come to be recognized as the genius of the American race. Compare it with the bold defiance of the weak and scattered colonies who

rose against a mighty nation; with the group of men who literally evolved another nation out of their own brains; with the fierce love of liberty and determination to realize their unique independence which has characterized this country for a century and a quarter. Compare it even with the enterprise of the four men, who, with a few thousand dollars in their pockets, projected and carried to triumphant conclusion the great Central Pacific Railway. These four men have been accused of all the crimes, and perhaps they were guilty of them; but the fact remains that they were men of a magnificent audacity, and that they conferred an inestimable blessing on the United States. Compare our literary intelligence with the boldness and dynamic energy of the American race in general, and of thousands in particular, who in the last thirty years alone have made the progress of this country phenomenal in the history of nations. To-day, we are more feared, hated, and admired than any country on the two hemispheres — with the possible exception of England. We are a synonym in Europe*—which knows little of our literature and cares less—for cleverness of a new order; for all that is unique, startling, unexpected; for dangerous and unfathomed power; for a personality so original that we are thought of as a mass rather than as individuals of varying mental and social degree. Above all, we are envied because of our personal liberty, our divorce courts, our notorious attitude of standing on our own feet and bidding the rest of the world like us or let us alone.

Up to a certain point they understand us; and they have not derived their enlightenment from our fiction. European women sneer at American women, but envy them. The women of the upper and professional classes of the Old World may be more deeply educated, more elaborately accomplished than ours, more intellectual, through their life-long association with men of affairs, through dwelling in an atmosphere where cleverness and intellect are the final seals of distinction; but the dash of the American woman, born of the spirit of independence, too often puts them out of court. Full of knowledge, as distinct from mere information, they sit dumb and discontented before the rush of the American tongue—when unaccented—and, no doubt, long for the time when Europe shall be quite Americanized.

* Geographically, Europe may include England, but to the modern habit of thought, at least, it is "England and Europe."

It would seem almost superfluous to wonder what would be a European's reply if one asked him what parallel he found between those of our men whom he regards as typical—such men as Roosevelt, Pierpont Morgan, Yerkes, Cleveland, or even Croker—between our imminent financial supremacy, our devouring commercial inroads, our gigantic trusts violating many laws, our colossal strikes, our utter contempt for the survival of the monarchical superstition in the Old World—and our literature. Where *is* the parallel? And where shall we seek the cause of this temporary misrepresentation of the most original and audacious country the world has ever known? I use the word temporary with aforethought, for phenomena have appeared recently which would have been quite impossible a few years ago. The public would seem to be disentangling itself from leading strings, rebellion is in the air, much that provoked loud protest a few years ago is now accepted as a matter of course, and there are signs everywhere that, in the course of another generation, we shall have discarded our Puritanism, and have grown into a broad tolerant, and no less virtuous race. But habit is hard to kill, and we may count upon a persistence of the present order of things for some time to come, and in spite of the occasional success achieved without the sanction of the American literary powers.

In the late eighties, when I began to indulge in coherent dreams of the literary career, I cut from some weekly newspaper, or magazine, a picture of Mr. Howells's study, pasted it on cardboard, enthroned it upon my desk. At this time he was the controlling force in American letters—James was a sort of wayward younger brother; and although Mr. Howells's novels dealt too much with the small side of daily life to appeal to my temperament and demands, I read them dutifully, with becoming humility; for California—when you are there—seems a planet away from the great centres, which loom, with their famous ones, high in the glowing fancy. I had made no study of literary conditions at that time—enthusiastic young writers who are equally sincere never do; but I caught the Howells fever and was even a little awed. Alas! my first book, written on that very desk, written in the very shadow of Mr. Howells's study, was perhaps the wildest contribution which has been made to American fiction. I shall not mention its name, and I sincerely hope it is forgotten.

But it convinced me that I should waste time did I indulge in the hope of becoming a member of the Howells school. Its four years of wandering before it reached a doubtful haven, the universal disapproval it provoked, the frank statements that I was not wanted, and had best leave the field at once, before my battered remains were removed to potter's field, the widely copied paraphrase of a line of George Eliot: "If this is originality give us 'the millionth book in superfluous herds,'" failed to transplant me into the straight and narrow way; for the one good reason that with this track nothing in me claimed affinity. Even had I been so poor-spirited as to make the attempt, certain literary phenomena would have called a halt, bidding me meditate upon the fallibility of the powers. In the first place, several novels, notably "The Story of a Country Town," hailed as little less than great, were even by this time quite forgotten, and their authors already mute. In the second place, my book being a tale of metempsychosis had been refused, many times with manifest annoyance, on the ground that the public would not for a moment consider such a preposterous subject; yet, shortly after its appearance, the market was flooded with the "reincarnation novel"; and even my own nameless attempt sold some ten thousand copies on the strength of its theme. These other books, so quickly does the human mind readjust itself, were treated by the reviewers as a matter of course, and even my own effusion was no longer held up to anathema.

Nevertheless, the main current of Realism—or would it not be better to call it Littleism? — flowed placidly on. There was nothing in the reincarnation outburst, including my own performance, or in other outbursts, such as are always bubbling on the surface of letters, to deflect its course or dispute its empire. Its first serious blow came at the close of the war with Spain, when an apparently insatiable demand arose for history and romance, fighting men and picturesque women, incident, adventure, a total repudiation of the little and the obvious. This new drove of literary sheep has been almost invariably without style, distinction; it has been more lacking in the deep personal note than the work of the Littleists, it has been full of exaggeration; it has even been ungrammatical. Nevertheless, it has done a good work in rousing the public to demand in their literature that which is not familiar to them from their uprising to their chaste

retiring. The right medium will be reached, but the time is not yet; for the average new writer comes apologetically to the field, stiff with the old superstitions: the influential newspapers of the better class will praise nothing which the big magazines and their publishing-houses have not approved—and approval is dear to the heart of the young aspirant to literary honors; reverence for the critic is planted in his soul. The big magazines and their houses will publish nothing that does not conform to the standard which has weathered other upheavals; and the authors who have defied the powers and won an honorable position independent of any temporary demand, are so few in number that they rather terrify than encourage the youthful aspirant: their fight has been too long and arduous, and that other way lies sure, if no very brilliant, success.

It is safe to say that it is the ambition of every new writer to "get into the magazines." Perhaps the grim necessity of daily bread demands immediate recognition, but I fancy it is more in the nature of an obsession. The magazines are taken in every well-conducted household, so carefully has the public been educated, and the aspiring young mind is trained by this eminently correct fiction—which it reads long before novels are permitted. It is natural, therefore, that those who have the creative gift in an attenuated form should not only admire but emulate. And although it may be difficult to "get into the magazines," it is still more difficult to get out. Indeed, if we may judge by the results, that has never been attempted. So great has the power of the magazines been that they have convinced half the world they stand for the true aristocracy of letters, that he who ignores their canons must withdraw, and forever dwell, beyond the pale. The newspapers have taken their cue from them; it saves thinking; and there is, beyond all question, a certain public which will not recognize the existence of an author who has not been bred in one of the magazines or launched by one of the associate publishing-houses. To be a pariah is not a pleasant thing in this world, particularly if there was a moment when you dwelt with the elect. It is safe and pleasant to be consistently approved; moreover, it is profitable. Not recklessly so perhaps, but it is agreeable to look forward to a nice little income for a reasonable number of years. All this begets timidity; and timidity is a leech at the throat of originality.

Let us examine the canons which govern the "aristocracy of American letters." Originality, except in the mildest form, we have seen is proscribed. "What never has been done never can be done" may be said to be the motto of American literature. If this statement be thought to stand in need of corroboration let the reader invest not only in the best of current novels, but in two bound volumes of any one of the big magazines and examine the fiction. In two such volumes that I have under my table at the present moment there are a number of stories which are still fresh in my mind. One, by a popular magazine writer of long standing, is about a girl who went from San Francisco to Chicago in a Pullman car and returned. That is all that happened. Another is about a married woman who flirted platonically with an actor, and upon his death received her effusive, but presumably virtuous, epistles from the hand of his wife. Another is an interminable "study" of a dressmaker. One by Gelett Burgess is quite unworthy of him; it contains not an echo of his eerie talent. Not one, possibly with the exception of Burgess's story, is redeemed by a single grace of phrase, a fine thought, careful or distinguished writing. Indeed, I have more than once found the most serious grammatical offences in these magazine stories. The majority, however, are guiltless in this respect, cleverly written, if without individuality. There are perhaps four or five regular contributors to the magazines who write with distinction, and conform admirably to all the canons of the short story. But each year they manifest more plainly that they have relinquished all intention of attempting to rise above the high-water mark of mediocrity—the pink-and-blue signal of the magazine. They are something to be grateful for, however; and are as salient a credit to these periodicals as the beautiful illustrations, typography, and paper, which make a sumptuous whole of which any country might be proud.

The second canon is firm adherence to the most curious convention that has ever been insisted upon in any country: that this world is not as it is, but as it ought to be. The sole taboo is not sex by any means; many another tendency of the human mind, many another exposition of life, must be forever ignored and denounced. Whether or not this convention originated with certain men, powerful in shaping American literature, who had seen nothing of the world, or whether there was a deliberate concerted at-

tempt on the part of the literary powers to make American literature "refined," aristocratic, undemocratic, a rarified thing in the third stratum above mortals, it would be hard to say. The result, however, it may be observed here, is not aristocratic, but distinctly middle-class. It is the expression of that *bourgeoisie* which is afraid of doing the wrong thing, not of the indifferent aristocrat; of that element which dares not use slang, shrinks from audacity, rarely utters a bold sentiment and as rarely feels one. It is as correct as Sunday clothes and as innocuous as sterilized milk, but it is not aristocratic. The natural result of its success is, that American writers feel no necessity to see the world. Too much knowledge, indeed, would upset the prescribed poise, and they spend their years comfortably describing the little life about them, adding nothing whatever to the knowledge of mankind. Their utmost range is after dialect—*i. e.*, illiterate phrases—and local color. They mildly interest people who are used to them and can get nothing else.

A third canon, which is indeed but a part of the second, is that fiction to be literature—American literature—must be anæmic. Vigor, vitality, richness, vividness, audacity of thought or phrase, any quality in short which is distinctively American, must be weeded out, bleached out, of the ambitious author, would he receive recognition as an American of letters. Here again, if they are trying to be aristocratic they are making a curious blunder. The qualities I have enumerated as anathema distinguish the aristocracies of all nations, and, as your true democrat is an aristocrat, therein lies the close relationship between the high civilization of the Old World and the superb Americanism which laughs at ancient forms and superstitions, goes its own gait with apologies to no one. Our literature fairly represents the bourgeois spirit of Europe, but it does not represent the United States in anything but matter of a sort.

A fourth canon, still to subdivide the second, is what might be called the fetish of the body. Magazine editors, their confederate publishers, their writers and readers, deify the body, grovel in the dust before it. It never has done and can do no wrong; at all events it must be protected at every hazard and cost. Let the brain rot. The brain is invisible and insignificant. Let the mind close its doors to the best of literatures, to the immensity of life, but let it keep its physical frame-work even as a little

child. That the body was materialized for no other purpose in the world but for reproduction, and as a more tangible expression for the mind, and that the mind is given us that we may put into it all the knowledge that can be found in this world, has never occurred to any of these teachers.

A fifth canon is that sleep must not be disturbed nor even the nerves titillated. Some years ago there was an institution in New York known as "Uncut Leaves." Before its assemblages authors read stories, articles, and poems, designed for the magazines. The tickets sold at a high price, the gatherings were attended by the demi-fashionable. At one time they were almost as notable as Bagby's Monday Mornings. A young author who had not made her *début* in the magazines, but had attracted considerable attention, was, with rare audacity, invited to read—but with prudent reservation she was asked to submit the MS. first. The story the writer selected was impeccable in its morals, but it was extremely, though briefly, tragic, and its climax was rather terrible. It was submitted, and returned—kindly and politely—with the excuse that there "might be sensitive ladies present whose nerves would be distressingly affected." The obvious reply, that women whose nerves were in a delicate condition had better stay at home, may or may not have been made.

It is this curious shrinking from the larger life that is most characteristic of what at present stands for American literature. It is quite true that the magazines and the publishing-houses may retort that they are money-making institutions, and that the great body of the people are commonplace, narrow, and prudish; also that the great majority of readers are women. This is quite true. It is also true that the genius of any race is determined by the thousand active exceptions, not by the million vegetables—what Clarence King calls "the vulgar fractions in the census"; also by the men, not by the women. But if no educating force is applied to the million, how are they to advance? If their literature—which, being sheep, they meekly accept—tells them only of their own life and kind, if not a hint from the real great world ever reaches them, how are they to deepen and augment their spots? If American middle-class human nature is like other middle-class nature, commonplace and narrow, they owe a large percentage of the infliction to the levelling influence of the literary powers, for there are natural promptings in their blood

to help them—other assistance being equal—to quicker understandings.

As for the authors these powers have educated and encouraged, their writing conveys the impression of having flowed forth in snug studies, between a well-filled stomach and an ear cocked to catch the prattle of the nursery. There is not one of these arbitrary creations of the leading publishing-houses and their magazines who reads as if he had ever suffered a pang, ever descended even in chaste thought to the vast underworld where the greatest writers of the earth have found their inspirations, ever travelled except in a sublimated Cook fashion, ever—alas never!—heard of Dickens's advice to a young author. They are all good family men, who eat well, rarely drink, are too dull to be bored with their own wives, but who have reached a certain perfection of literary phrase and construction which would be a credit to any country. As well-drilled brains, finished, acute, and polished, they are above reproach. But there is not an ego among them. Each could do the other's work and never be detected.

It is almost an unpardonable lapse into the obvious to remark that such a school will never produce even one great writer. To be great, it is above all things necessary to develop your ego, your power, and there is only one way to do it: by divorcing yourself from all that is smug, that is easy, that is comfortable, that is orthodox and conventional, by seeing life from its peaks to its chasms. No writer with a real gift and with a real ambition has any business with a home, children, the unintermittent comforts of life which stultify and stifle. If a man has the gift to write, to create,—the greatest of all gifts—what more does he want? To insist upon the right to lounge amidst the commonplace comforts, and the mild distractions of "society," is not only ungrateful but fatal. Art, the most jealous of all mistresses, is always prompt to desert him of the divided allegiance, and leave him to finish his career with the husks, with the shell from which the soul has gone. Even the writer who has no inclination to deal with the great passions—which the fastidious American calls "temperament!"—should study unceasingly the great map of life. He has no right to ask people to buy his books if he cannot tell them something they did not know before. To be great, you must know as much as one can learn in one life, and by experience, even if you never intend to use one-third of your knowledge.

He of the slender equipment is always running about looking for copy, for local color, but his eyes are closed to the great things. I do not mean to intimate that any one of our prosperous family authors would in any condition be great; had they had greatness in them they would have broken loose long ago, and snapped their fingers at the powers—Henry James is a case in point—but they might be improved.

I should never venture to admonish women in any such fashion, for very few women know how to use their liberty, above all how to take life impersonally, to regard all life as a spectacle, to disassociate the mind from the body. Where one develops the strength of brain and ego triumphantly to override every convention and always remain high and dry, always the spectator, whom no circumstance can affect, the great number, indubitably, are the miserable victims of their own personalities; which in their turn are the victims of tradition. It is more than probable that the next fifty years will see the highly civilized woman as truly emancipated as man—as a very few women have been in the past; those who have genius needing nothing else to encourage and advise them. But there is no such excuse for men of genius or of talent. They should be content with their art, gratefully demanding nothing more, developing their ego in that service and absolutely indifferent whether the world approves of them as citizens or not. A writer who is singled out to create—to be useful to the race — owes all to that gift, nothing to his trifling self. Who cares to-day that Poe was a drunkard, Coleridge an opium-eater, that Byron had forty mistresses and Georges Sand forty lovers? Not that excess is necessary, not by any means; many of the greatest men in literature have been sane, and careful of themselves; the temperaments that demand artificial stimulation pay a bitter price, and, what is worse, limit their contribution to art. Alcohol, stimulant of any sort—even strong coffee—in nine cases out of ten, and particularly in the case of women, who have active nerves enough, scatter the brain, weakening its coherence and logic long before actual decay sets in; or pitches it a note too high, so that the effect is bizarre rather than original.

There is only one way in which man or woman can develop real strength, and that is to fight unceasingly and to stand absolutely alone.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART V.

XXIII.

After Mrs. Enderby went out Dr. Anther remained in a silence which the rector could not quite bring himself to break. He thought that his visitor looked fagged, and that he looked even more sad than fagged. He would have liked to ask Anther about Hawberk, in the way of a beginning, but somehow he did not, though he had heard that Hawberk was holding up a little, and he was interested in the experiment of his physician, as it was known to any one who cared to listen to Hawberk's sanguine prophecies of the outcome.

Mrs. Enderby, lingering honorably out of intelligible eavesdropping, but not out of earshot, was disinterestedly impatient of the interval before Anther spoke.

"What do you think," he began, and at the sound of his voice she fled from temptation, "of evil done in the past, and so effectually covered up, except from two or three people, that for the public generally it never existed: should you think it the duty of the two or three, or any one of them to make it known?"

"I'm not quite sure that I follow you," said the rector, but confessing his interest by his look of prompt animation. He was seeking, as he professed, a stronger light upon it, but he could not feel that Anther cast this light upon it by what he said next.

"Take the case of ——," the doctor resumed, and he named a famous case which once agonized the public with a curiosity still unsatisfied. "He must have known, and a few others must have known quite as well, whether he was guilty or innocent in that business. Do you believe it would have been to the advantage of religion or morals to have had the fact generally known; or was it just as well to have had it hushed up forever, as it apparently was?"

"I don't see what advantage the common knowledge of it would have been," the rector said, still feeling his way rather blindly. "I can't see what use it would have been as concerns this world, to have had the fact known. If the fact would benefit some one,

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save some one from unjust suspicion, relieve some burdened spirit, yes; but otherwise not, I should say."

"You think the truth itself, merely as truth, has no claim upon our recognition?"

"What is truth?"

"Ah, that's what jesting Pilate asked!"

"Isn't the truth," the rector pursued, "that absolute entirety of fact which includes not only every circumstance, but also every extenuation in motive and temperament?"

"Well?"

"That sort of truth can never be made known in this world, and the brute fact doesn't express it."

"You remand it to the Last Day?"

"I leave it to God. The Searcher of hearts can alone find it out, and judge it. If we press for judgment here, we are in danger of becoming executioners. But I am never able to deal with abstractions, such as this case has become. You can't lay down any rule that will fit an abstraction. I don't like to lay down any rule at all, except such as I find given us. If there were any particular case—any concrete instance—"

"There is a particular case," the doctor said, "a concrete instance, but I'm afraid that the lapse of time has rendered it as much an abstraction as that other case, in fact has outlawed it."

The rector could only answer at first, "I should like to hear anything you have to tell me." But he added, "Why are we fencing?"

"Are we fencing? I didn't mean it," the doctor said with his fagged look and his sad look possessing the rector again with compassion. "I'll lower my point, anyway. I'll go back to the beginning. If a man had so successfully lived what they call a double life, that he had kept each life largely a secret from the other, and kept everybody but those he had most wronged altogether out of the secret, and there were but one impartial witness of the facts, would it become the duty of that witness to make the facts known, when the man was dead, and the evil he did had not apparently lived after him?"

"I think you'll have to be a little more specific."

"Have we no such thing as a duty to justice? Is there no such thing as justice?"

The rector looked grave. "I have never seen any instance of justice in the world. I have seen many instances of mercy. I should say we have a duty to mercy. We are warned more than once to make sure first of our own sinlessness before we offer to judge the sins of others."

"But imagine that the guilt of the man I am imagining had imposed itself upon the public for virtue, and was apparently left to the Last Judgment, as so many things—most things, in fact, as I agree with you—seem left, and time had gone on till it became, by this chance and by that, the question of recognizing a cruel

miscreant as a public benefactor, and holding him up as an example to the young, and celebrating some tuppenny munificence of his as an act of characteristic virtue, of habitual greatness and goodness—"

The rector rose, and his face whitened, as the doctor's had reddened with the rush of feeling into his voice. "Are you talking to me of Royal Langbrith?" he asked.

"I am talking to you of Royal Langbrith," Anther replied. "And ever since I heard that you had been asked to take part in this preposterous business, I 've been talking to you about Royal Langbrith. Not to your knowledge, of course, but in those one-sided colloquies which, I dare say, you hold as well as I when you are working up to face some one whom they concern. When Mrs. Enderby first told me you had been invited by Langbrith's son to join in honoring his father's abominable memory, my impulse was to come at once and tell you what the man had really been. But when that impulse passed, I said to myself that I would think it over; and I have thought it over and thought it over, but never with so much justification in paltering with my duty as you have given me by the things you have just said. It seemed to me, on one side, that it was an outrage upon your own purity and uprightness to let you go on and unwittingly praise that infamous scoundrel. It seemed an atrocious invasion of your rights, an abuse of your ignorance as well as an insult to your office. Then, on the other hand, I asked myself what harm would be done if I let you go on, compared with the harm I should do if I stopped you —the pain I should needlessly inflict; for the truth would now probably never come out, and in the interest of public morals had much better remain hidden. I recognized this long ago. I saw that the time for a public exposure of the man's evil had apparently passed; that it had paralyzed those who had left it hidden; but when I heard that you had been asked to eulogize such a miscreant in public, I felt a new responsibility. I realized that if I let you do so, I should be guilty toward you; yet, if I spoke, I should be putting my burden upon you, and compelling you to the sophistications with which I stifled my own conscience. You could not then stand up and declare the truth before the people: you could only reveal it to that miserable boy; or, if you had not the heart for that, you must stultify yourself and wound him with lying excuses. I paltered with my duty, and I have come at the eleventh hour to do what I ought to have done at once, or never done at all."

Anther told his story with a fulness which he had wanted even in telling it to Judge Garley. In the sympathy which he felt Enderby was giving him, with that instant self-forgetfulness natural to the born priest, there was invitation which the legal mind could not give him, with its concurrent criticism of his facts and motives. He was dealing now with a man who could appropriate his facts and realize his motives to their remotest intimations and finest

significances. Science and religion met in the study of the life laid bare between them. At any detail from which Anther faltered, Enderby prompted him, and, in the end, nothing was left untold.

"Besides Hawberk, and Mrs. Langbrith and yourself, is there any one knowing to the facts?"

"John Langbrith; but how intimately he knows them I can't say. We have never exchanged confidences. He was on the train with his brother when Royal Langbrith died. Didn't I say? Yes—he died in the smoking-car coming up from Boston, but so suddenly, so secretly, that John Langbrith did not notice anything till he put his hand on the dead man's shoulder to arouse him from his nap when they reached Saxmills. He had died as secretly as he had lived."

"What has become of the woman?"

"Who ever knows what becomes of the woman? Perhaps in this case John Langbrith does. I ought to tell you," Anther added, "that I have put the case to Judge Garley."

"How long ago?"

"Several weeks—a month."

"And knowing the truth, he let me accept a part in this commemoration!"

"You might say the same of me."

"No, I couldn't say the same of you. I can understand the stress there has been upon you, and your reluctance—your fear of being misunderstood—misconstrued. But if Judge Garley had given me a hint— No, I don't blame him, either! I mustn't be cowardly."

The rector sat with his elbow on the arm of his chair, and his head propped on his hand, thinking. What he found first to say, with a sigh, and a forlorn smile was, "It's part of my cowardice that I could wish *you* hadn't told me."

"I was obliged to do it. In this, at least, I have had no selfish motive."

"Of course not. But I must go on all the same, you see." Anther said nothing, and Enderby asked, "The boy is without the least suspicion, the slightest surmise?"

"Absolutely. He was not purposely kept so. But the time for telling him never seemed to come. Who could tell him?"

"It may never come," the rector mused aloud, and he said to Anther, "It hasn't come now."

They were silent together, but the doctor spoke first: "It did cross my mind that you might feel authorized to—"

"No," the rector stopped him; "we must leave it all to God now, as it has been left hitherto. He will know when the son can best bear his father's shame. He will know how to do justice, and when, on the memory of the dead; but until now, in mercy to the living, He has forborne. The circumstances will arrange themselves; the atoms will fall into the order of the divine scheme. We must keep our hands off. *De mortuis*—you know the saying: there

is as much wisdom as kindness in it. There is a feeling—it is mostly a vengeful feeling, I don't know why—that men's evil deeds must not be suffered to lurk in the dark; but perhaps they should, for this life. What would it avail to have them dragged into the light? Everything shall be made known, but perhaps not on earth. Whoever wished to hasten the knowledge of hidden evil, here and now, might well beware of forcing God's purposes, as we understand or misunderstand them. It could not help this community to know the truth about that wretched man. It would only render it cynical and deprave it. But I am not concerned about the son, primarily, I am afraid; or about our fellow citizens. I have the selfish concern of keeping myself clear from falsehood in what I have to do. At present, I don't see how I can, but I shall try; and, meantime, between the two evils before me, I will choose that which seems likest virtue."

Anther was struck with the similarity in the conclusions of the priest and those of the judge, but he did not comment on it. Enderby himself offered none of the reflections in which he seemed lost, and Anther, after a little longer stay, in which nothing suggested itself as a solution, took his leave, without protest from the rector. He carried with him, capriciously, the vision of the rector's neatness, as to the black waistcoat buttoned to his throat, which was without suspicion of those droppings from the rector's full beard such as the doctor remembered noting on the vestments of some clergymen less conscientiously benzined by their wives.

Enderby's wife was otherwise so conscientious that she would not join him in his study, after he returned from seeing Anther to the gate, till he called to her, "Come here, Alice." Then she rustled down-stairs and entered to him with a face eager for the account of his talk with the doctor. At sight of his face, looking up at her from the chair into which he had nervelessly dropped, hers fell.

"Dearest!" she said.

"I am in trouble," he answered. "I want you to help me."

Though a woman whose chief delight was, ordinarily, in the expression and examination of her emotions, she now postponed them, as she was able to do in great emergencies, and closed so promptly and directly with the trouble he owned to her, that he was able after an hour to say, "Well, then, I will do it."

"It's the only thing you could do, and it's the thing you *must* do. It's what suggested itself to you at first; and *I* call it an inspiration."

The notion of an inspiration was something left over from her Unitarian nurture, which she would not deny herself in the present exigency. It had a literary rather than a theological significance, and was less an article of faith than of critical appreciation. Then the rector went to bed, and instead of harassing his worn-out brain by vain dramatizations of the predicament, surprised himself by falling almost immediately asleep.

It was for Dr. Anther to lie awake after he had driven home through the dim Saxmills streets, usually so quiet at half past ten, but to-night only quiescing, after a tumultuous evening of last details in preparation for the morrow. His course lay by the open square on which the library faced, and he noted that the platform built up around the doorway, below the bas-relief, for the invited guests had been draped, since he passed earlier in the evening, with American flags. The tablet was veiled in white cotton cloth, which, in its association with the dead, gave Anther the sense of a shroud, so that he started at the light, gay laugh which burst from the lips of a girl pausing with a young man, and looking up at the platform from the square below. He recognized the voice of Hope Hawberk in the laugh, and in the young man beside her he recognized James Langbrith, and he imagined her teasing him.

He smiled to himself in the prevision of his absence from the group of the invited guests who were to occupy that platform the next day. The committee of arrangements had promptly sent him an invitation; and a second card had come later, under a cover addressed in Langbrith's hand-writing, as if he were not willing that Anther should by any chance be passed over. So far, indeed, Langbrith had subdued his rancor with his old friend. But Anther had determined, from the first, not to be present at the dedication, and he had not faltered since.

The figure of a woman, imaginably some patient who had waited for him in vain, slipped from his gate and went down the obscurity of the street, in the opposite direction, as he drove up to Mrs. Burwell's darkened house. He put his horse and buggy into the barn, and then came round and let himself in at the front door. On the threshold within lay something white, which he felt to be a sealed letter; and, when he had turned up his office lamp, he found it addressed to him, in a hand which he knew. "Dr. Anther," he read, "I want you should not fail to accept James's invitation for to-morrow. He is feeling very anxious you should be there, though he will not say so. If you don't choose to do it for his sake, do it for mine. I would give anything to have you. AMELIA."

He turned it over, as people turn letters over, rather when they have got everything out of them than when they have not, and he knew that the woman he had seen coming away from his gate was Mrs. Langbrith. Her anxiety must have been great to bring her from home so far at that hour, and she must have wished to keep her writing him a secret from her household, if she could not send the letter. She might have hoped to see him, and carried the letter to leave in case she should not find him.

"Why," he asked himself bitterly, "should *we* be doing things by stealth? We hide our affection, as if it were something to be ashamed of. We behave like guilty persons, but you are the most innocent of victims, and I am to blame only for not forcing you to right yourself. I can't stand it, Amelia!"

XXIV.

Langbrith had at first meant to dedicate his father's memorial on grand terms. It had seemed to him not out of scale with the merit of such a man to have the Governor and his staff in full uniform present at the ceremony. But a few drops of ridicule sprinkled on the notion by Falk extinguished it, after an angry sputtering; and he reasoned that to confine the civic interest to Saxmills would be to intensify it, and to appeal still more strongly to the local pride. In his illumination, he declined the offer of even a band from the next town, when it was submitted to him through the committee of arrangements, and decided to have no music but such as the fifes and drums of the Saxmills cadets could make in their march through the streets. This, with the singing of the public-school and Sunday-school children, ranked below the platform where the invited guests were to be seated, before and after the unveiling of the tablet, would be tastefully sufficient in Langbrith's more tempered ideal of the affair.

The cadets looked very well as they paraded, and the children, marshalled by their teachers, looked charming — the larger boys bearing school banners, supported by smaller boys holding the tassels on each side, as they marched to the library and formed themselves in the appointed order. They counted in their number all the children in town, except some inveterate truants in whom the Fourth-of-July excitement was beginning to work, and who opened their celebration at daybreak with the explosion of cannon crackers. Throughout the morning, the sound of their torpedoes broke upon the more ceremonious sounds of public rejoicing; and, when the procession formed, they made themselves its straggling escort, and followed it in the mixed admiration and derision of boyish outlawry. It had been proposed, at one time, that the mill hands, men and women, should join the procession, in such gala as they chose; but John Langbrith had passively disfavored the plan, which had not found acceptance with the hands themselves. When it was brought to James Langbrith's knowledge, he decided against it, as something perfunctory and out of keeping with the voluntary spirit of the affair.

Falk, who stayed over the week as Langbrith's guest, praised his decision as a stroke of surprising wisdom. He mingled with the operatives, on the rear, where they formed the great mass of the spectators, and was able to report to Langbrith a satisfaction with their unalloyed holiday which he was sure they would not have felt in the procession. He himself refused any share in the ceremonies by refusing a seat among the invited guests; and when he was not going about and feeling the public pulse in Langbrith's interest, he amused himself by making the three young girls under his charge laugh, or try to keep from laughing, at his remarks on the general and personal aspects of the occasion, especially on the activities of Langbrith, as host, and Matthewson, as chief-marshal. Susie Johns was not concerned in either of them, and could laugh

at both, without the fond misgiving of Jessamy Colebridge or the perverse delight of Hope Hawberk, as Falk made them note the majesty of Matthewson in ushering the invited guests up the stairs of the platform, and the urbane hospitality of Langbrith in receiving them at the top and appointing them their seats. The girls laughed so much, and Falk kept so grave, that glances of reproval for them and sympathy for him were shot from neighboring eyes, while the band brayed on, and the crowd packed into the square before the library, cheered each guest as he mounted and took his place.

They were, first of all, the oldest employees of the Langbrith paper-mills, women as well as men, who were given the seats next the speakers; veterans of the Civil War had the seats behind them; and then the village dignitaries, the selectmen, the high-school principal and the Sunday-school superintendent, with citizens of no official quality, but eminent in business, or entitled to recognition by their age or social standing. Before all sat Judge Garley, Mr. Enderby, Father Cody, the orthodox minister, and John Langbrith. At the last moment, Matthewson was seen receiving Dr. Anther at the foot of the steps, and then Langbrith, with a forward start and a flush of surprise, greeted him at the top. The young man's face was lighted with a joyful smile, as he clung to Anther's hand and bubbled an incoherent welcome, looking round to see where he should place his father's old friend. He restrained a movement of Anther toward the rear seats, and led him forward and put him between the judge and the rector, who made room for him with dumb shows of courtesy. The band brayed out afresh, and the general applause of the crowd rose in such personal cheers as: "Hurrah for Dr. Anther! Hurrah for Dr. Anther!" Hope took out her handkerchief and waved it, and then Jessamy and Susie took out their handkerchiefs and waved them. The doctor sat down abashed, and his lowered gaze fell upon the veiled face of a woman sitting in the foremost row of chairs, placed in the little square before the library. At sight of Amelia Langbrith, a sad smile overspread Anther's reddened visage, and he did not again lift his head till the orthodox minister had ended his prayer. Between this and the oration of Judge Garley, there was a little interval which was filled with a tumult caused by some unexpected event at the foot of the steps. The tumult passed with the slow mounting of a figure to the platform, and its momentary hesitation at the top; then the gaunt shape and blotched, brown visage, with the deeply sunken eyes of Hiram Hawberk showed themselves spectrally to the crowd. Inarticulate cries and gasps broke from it, and shaped themselves in derisions like "Three cheers for Hawberk!" "Hurrah for Hawberk!"

Langbrith turned from whispering to Judge Garley; at sight of Hawberk, he flashed a silencing glance at the crowd, with a scornful lift of his young head, and hurried toward him with outstretched hands. He seized Hawberk's trembling hand as he had seized An-

ther's, and then, placing it under his arm, led him forward. There was no place among the front seats, but every occupant of them rose, and offered his place to Hawberk. Langbrith waved the others down, while he spoke to his uncle. Then John Langbrith, chewing the splinter of wood on which he had been sardonically working his jaws from the first, shook hands with Hawberk, and pulled him into his place, where he took Anther's hand, proffered across their knees, and remained dimly looking out over the people.

"Why, I thought your father wasn't coming, Hope," Jessamy Colebridge said.

"I suppose he changed his mind," Hope answered quietly. But she dropped her veil as she rose with the rest at the uplifting of Father Cody's voice in the words of the invocation.

The priest had been chosen for the opening ceremony to satisfy him in certain scruples with reference to his association with the Protestant clergy, which the committee treated with the large indulgence of an underlying indifference in sectarian matters. But afterwards their choice was felt to be almost providential. The dignified form of his words and the sort of sarcedotal authority with which he pronounced them, struck a note fortunate for the after proceedings, which these obeyed. It did not, indeed, form a law for the excursive generalities of the oration which Judge Garley delivered, but it tempered him to perhaps greater simplicity and directness than he would otherwise have had. He paid a tribute both to the secular and sacred character of the priest, which gathered all Father Cody's parishioners to him, and carried them attentively with him wherever he strayed. But no one followed him so closely, so curiously, as Dr. Anther, who was, as anxiously as he was unwillingly, alert to see what course the legal mind would take among the difficulties so evident to him. It could not be said that Judge Garley made light of the difficulties; lightness was not a thing imaginable of him; but he won his way among them by leaps and bounds, which, if ponderous, certainly got him over the ground, and by turns which, if not agile, were undeniably effective. He made a background of the history of Saxmills, from the earliest Colonial period down through the old French War, the Revolution, the last war with Great Britain and the invasion of Mexico, to the great civil strife for the maintenance of the Union; and then, in the middle distance, he sketched the rise of the manufacturing interests of New England, with their share in the immense expansion of industries throughout the country, after the pacification of the South and the establishment of the great principle of manhood suffrage on the rock of the Constitution. Such, he said, was the time, such the place, such the situation that confronted the man whose far-seeing enterprise had given Saxmills its unsurpassed prosperity, and whose munificence, in one of its many instances, they were tardily recognizing to-day. They all knew *who* that man was; but *what* was he?

Anther held his breath as he watched his old friend standing before the impressive canvas he had prepared, and wondered what manner of heroic effigy he would paint upon it. From where he sat, beside Hawberk, feeling the tremor of his limbs when they chanced to touch his own, and breathing the narcotic odors that exhaled from his person, he could not catch the eye of the orator, which presented itself only in profile, as he shook his head in challenge and pounded the air with his fist in accentuation of his appeal. Except that he knew the judge to have justified himself invulnerably through his professional conscience, he might have thought that he kept his face purposely averted, and he held his breath when Garley resumed. "I never spoke with the man, I never saw him, I never heard his name till I came to live among you here. He was no friend of mine, not even my acquaintance, yet from his works I *know* him." But when Garley reached the end of his characterization of Royal Langbrith, Anther laughed in his heart, with no wish to utter its bitterness to his old friend, as he resoundingly closed with the words: "Such was the man, such was the character, such was the personality, whose counterfeit presentment shall be revealed to us this day, and each day shall show him to others after we are dust, as long as stone and bronze shall endure."

On that magnificent background the scenic artist had really painted nothing: nothing but what might pass for one enterprising and successful American as well as another: the mere conventional outline of a face or a figure which a thousand names would fit as well as Royal Langbrith's. He had carefully avoided not only distinctive traits, but he had, with purpose evident enough to Anther, kept a surface as impenetrable as it was shallow. He had given this surface a glare which dazzled the eye and distracted the thought from the performance to the performer; and Anther judged him less and less harshly as he considered that Garley had discharged a duty which he could not shun as guiltlessly as it could be discharged. No one but the brother and the widow of Royal Langbrith knew how false an impression he had made; for it could not be said that his narcotized victim realized it, and none save the rector, who was to follow him, knew how false he had been in making it. Anther did not condemn him. Garley, too, was in the grip of that dead hand which seemed to clutch every one by the throat, and his severest feeling toward him was for the deceit which he had practised upon the son of Royal Langbrith. He could see James Langbrith where he had retired from the platform to the place beside his mother, watching the speaker with what Anther felt a piteous intensity, and hanging upon every empty word. With tender compassion Anther wondered if he felt the hollowness of the tribute paid to his father's memory. He was touched for that poor, generous boy, and ashamed more than he was amused for his old friend in the success of his fraud. When the applause swept the orator to his seat, and then refluently bore him, bowing and smiling,

back to the front of the platform, the young fellow started forward, and, all glowing with tears and smiles, stretched his hand up to the judge and the judge stooped down to take it. Anther dropped his eyes and hung his head, and he had not the courage to look up again till he heard Enderby beginning, very gravely and measuredly, the address which the dead man was requiring of him, in his turn. Then Anther's pity was no longer for the trusting boy, but for the good man, compelled to this office, and he wondered how he would reconcile it with his conscience.

Enderby stood clutching the scant lapels of his clerical coat, and looking pale above its black. He said that he had been asked to speak some words concerning the ethical significance of the business they were about, and he would now only suggest a few general notions in regard to the respective attitudes of giver and receiver, in the matter of public benefactions. Such benefactions were likely to be more frequent in the future than in the past, when the town had become debtor to one of its citizens for this library, the most useful of its possessions, and the most sacred, after the houses of God; and they must be more and more impersonally regarded. The town was here in its collective capacity to make acknowledgment of the gift, tardily, it was true, but not the less gratefully; for, in the years that had elapsed, the people of Saxmills had fully experienced the great advantage bestowed upon them. It might, perhaps, have been wished, it might, perhaps, have been more graceful in some aspects if the town itself had offered the memorial it was accepting; but in that case it would have anticipated the act by which the son renewed, as it were, and confirmed the father's deed. For himself, the rector said, he was more interested in this renewal and confirmation of it, than in the fact of the original gift. It spoke well for the young man whom in different ways they all knew, that he wished to testify his reverence for his father's memory by doing again one of the best things that his father could have done. In this he had not only testified his reverence to his father's memory, but had borne important witness to the imperishable vitality of a good deed in this world. It was not only the evil that men do which lived after them, but the good also lived, laying upon the future a more powerful obligation to virtue than any bond to vice that evil could impose. God had apparently willed that the good should continually and eternally show itself, and the evil should hide itself, for evil, brought into the light of day, corrupted, and good, whenever manifest, purified and restored and strengthened all men for good. Such, in fact, was the potency of a good deed that, if done from the most selfish motive, it took no color from the motive. It returned through its beneficent effect upon the world to the God of goodness. But they who were assembled to receive from the son the evidence that he renewed and confirmed his father's gift to them, had really nothing to do with the character of either. They had only to do with the good-will

expressed in what was now their joint gift, and they were to honor neither of those men but only their good deed, which was not of them, but of God. Few present had known the elder of the two; all present had known the younger, and it was he who stood for both before them. Every heart must respond to the impulse which had governed their fellow townsman in his filial devotion to his father's memory, and must rejoice with him in the beauty and fitness of the tribute he had paid it. If either were to be known by the other, though it was not necessary, for the present purpose, that either should be known apart from his gift, let the father be inferred from the son, and let them not be separated in the public acceptance of their benefaction.

The rector would have sat down; but James Langbrith, who had remained on the platform after Judge Garley's oration, prevented him. He seized Enderby's hand, and Anther heard him say, while he clung to it, "You have spoken just as I feel my father would have wished you to speak. He was the most reserved, the most impersonal of men, and I thank you, thank you, thank you for him as well as myself."

"Oh," the rector groaned, in a sort of protest; but before he could say anything, the leading selectman rose in his place, and commanded, "Three cheers for both the Langbriths!" James Langbrith stepped forward to acknowledge the applause, and Anther felt Enderby's eye seek his own.

There was no defiance in the rector's asking look, but a sort of entreaty, as if for the effect his words might have had with the man who knew how, primarily, they had been spoken to him. Enderby's back had been turned to Anther while he addressed them to the people, but it had not needed the comment of the speaker's face to convey all their latent meaning to Anther, whose eyes were as troubled as his own. He put out his hand and sadly pressed the hand of the rector, who miserably smiled a little.

"You did the best that any man could, in the circumstances," Anther said, under cover of the uproar.

"Now, friends," said the selectman to the crowd, when the cheering had died away, "the tablet will be unveiled."

At the moment James Langbrith stepped back to perform the office, Anther saw Hawberk put something into his mouth and heard him huskily explain, "Thought I might need some, and brought along a little of the gum."

Langbrith pulled at the cord which had been contrived to separate the white curtains veiling the tablet, and slip them to the sides on the wire from which they hung. The contrivance would not work, though he tugged and twitched, and there began to be some nervous laughing in the crowd, which had its effect with him. He gave an impatient pull and the whole contrivance came away, dropping to the ground behind the platform. A girl's hysterical cry went up, and the people began to clap and cheer. Langbrith had

turned an angry face toward them, but their good-will was so manifest, their laughing had been clearly so helpless from the sense of humor which any unserious mischance appeals to in a crowd, that the anger went out of his face, and he, too, was smiling, when the voice of the selectman announcing that the Rev. Mr. Alway would ask a blessing recalled him to the necessity of a more appropriate expression.

While the people were stirring vaguely from the attitude in which the benediction had left them, Langbrith came forward and shouted, "Friends, ladies and gentlemen, there's a lunch at my mother's, and everybody is invited—everybody!"

The crowd cheered and the band played and the square emptied itself in the direction of the Langbrith homestead.

XXV.

The last of the guests had got themselves away from the Langbrith grounds late in the afternoon, with the difficulty that people unaccustomed to social rites find in taking their leave. It was half past four o'clock when Langbrith stood, with his mother, in the porch at their front door, looking down, over the trampled lawn and dishevelled decorations, at that fellow citizen who managed all the public functions of Saxmills, rushing about in his shirt-sleeves and directing his shirt-sleeved helpers in the work of dismantling and removing the long tables of rough board at which the hungry throng had lately joked and shouted and rioted.

The son noted the knot between his mother's eyes, and laughed. "You'd like to go out there and take a hand, mother," he interpreted; "but you'd better leave it to Danning. It 'll suit him better." He sighed deeply. "It's been perfect, mother, beyond my dreams. It's been beautiful, ideal. I couldn't tell you *now*, without disturbing my sense of it, how happy it's made me. It's made me feel as if the people here loved me, and I do like to be liked, though I don't know how to show it, and that they cherish my father's memory. How good everybody has been—how kind! It was awfully sweet of the old doctor to come and sit on the platform after his reluctance. I won't forget it." Langbrith gave a short laugh. "He knew father better than I do, and he probably felt for him against the affair; but if father had cared to look down on it to-day, I can fancy his being pleased with it in some shy, reticent way. I wish the doctor could have come to the lunch."

"He said he had a patient—over at Wakeford," Mrs. Langbrith said. "I asked him to come."

"Yes, I know. I hoped he might have got back. Well, now, you must go in and lie down, mother. Take a good rest." He put his arm round her waist and pressed her indoors, and got his hat in the hall. "I'm going to pick up poor old Falk somewhere. I shall probably find him at the Johnses' unless Jessamy got away with him."

He kissed his mother and left her, not to lie down, but to go and take counsel with Norah about the things that Danning's men would be bringing in to be washed up and put away. He saved his conscience with respect to Falk by walking past the Johnses', and looking in over the fence, but he did not stay to ask for his friend on his way up to the Hawberks'. He did not know whether he had seen Falk sitting with Susie Johns at her door or not. Every sense of his was full of Hope Hawberk. Except as she was related to them she pressed even the facts of this happy day out of his consciousness.

Hope's grandmother came to the door, and said with grim directness, before he had asked, "She's round in the garden."

"Oh!" Langbrith answered, and he took the little path in the grass that the feet of the household had traced round the corner of the house.

Hope was sitting in a low rocking-chair, by the dial, which the sun had relieved from duty for the day by getting down among the tops of the pines on the hill. She was reading a newspaper, but she was not so absorbed in it that she did not hear his step sweeping over the grass. As she looked up, she laughed quietly, and in her laugh he felt a peculiar note of welcome. "Well, how did it go off?" she asked, and she let fall her paper, and rocked back in her chair.

"Don't let's talk of it," he said, and he crouched at her feet, with his back against the base of the dial. "Let's talk of ourselves."

"Well, what about you?"

"Nothing about me. When I say ourselves, I mean you, for you are ourselves. At least I am nobody without you."

She laughed again, but her derision was full of the love which she did not try to keep out of her eyes. His own eyes glowed upon her. Neither felt the need of speaking, till she turned her head away with a little difficult motion, almost as if it hurt.

"Then you will?" he murmured from somewhere deep in his throat, and she answered low:

"Yes."

He bent forward, and put his head on her knee.

"Don't be silly," she said, with a catching of the breath, while she smoothed his hair with her hand.

There was no other demonstration between them, because he knew that she liked best that there should be none, and it was a moment before he lifted his head, with a laugh of the joy otherwise unutterable: "I knew you would say yes, now. But why now? Why never before?"

She looked at him with the glowing eyes which she could not keep from his face, but it seemed to him that she no longer saw him so distinctly, for a mist that veiled their glow. Her lips twitched so that she could scarcely form the words: "Can't you think?"

"No. What have I done?"

"You want to make me tell you! How you acted to father—when —when they laughed—I said that I would do anything for you, then; I said that I would do anything you asked—"

"Hope!"

"Don't make me cry! I shall hate you if you do. When I need all the strength I have, so!"

"No, Hope; but listen to me. I must be honest. I didn't do that for *you*. I did it for *him*. I like your father; he was my father's friend; and I had nothing in my mind, but the thought of their old friendship. That needn't make you cry, or if it does, it needn't weaken you. Hope!" he kept getting her name in as often as he could, for the pleasure of speaking it, "I am not going to ask any promises of you, now. We will let the future take care of itself. But I want to tell you; I haven't told my mother yet; I am going to Paris to study; to study the stage, and learn to write for it; I believe I can write plays, and Paris is the place to study the stage. I thought I should ask you to go with me; but I see I can't"—she shook her head in affirmation of his words—"but if I can take your love and leave you mine, will you—will you—wait?"

"Yes."

"Oh, Hope!" he sighed.

"Oh, James!" she sweetly mocked him.

"Where was I?"

"You had left me waiting."

"Well, that is all, then."

They both laughed.

"Of course," he took up the broken thread, "I shall tell mother."

"You couldn't go without."

"Oh, I mean about you. She will be glad. She likes you so much, Hope."

"Well, I like her, too."

"And you will go to see her often, Hope, won't you?"

"Not often enough to cause remark," she drolled, and he laughed, and said:

"How funny you are, Hope! Falk thinks you are the wittiest girl he ever saw."

"Well, you've always told me Mr. Falk hadn't been in society a great deal. There must be lots of funny girls in Boston."

Langbrith thought that droll, too. "I believe I love you more for your fun than your beauty, Hope."

"Perhaps there's more *of* the fun."

"No, I don't say that. You are the most beautiful creature in the world to me. And Falk thinks that your dark style—"

"Well, I always thought Mr. Falk was pretty, too. So it's an equal thing. Now, we won't talk of that any more; it's too personal. We will talk about Paris. I shall never dare to tell grandmother that you are going to write plays. She thinks I'm bad enough as it is, and if she knew that I was engaged to a person who

wrote plays, she would certainly give me up. Does Mr. Falk know about your plan?"

"Why, he's going with me! Hope! May I tell you a secret?"

"Well, if it isn't a very large one."

"It's nothing. You know he is going to be an artist, and Paris is the place for art as well as the stage, and I am going to lend him the money. I'd give it to him, if he'd let me. What better use could I make of it? But of course Falk won't stand that."

"No, I wouldn't, in his place."

"Does he care for—I mean does Susie Johns care for him?"

"She never said so. Perhaps she hadn't been asked. She's rather queer, that way. She never answers till she's been asked. She's very secretive."

He laughed, and began in another place. "I wish I could have you with me to keep me from playing the fool."

"Why, I'm the greatest fool myself," she explained.

"No, you're not. You're the very soul of common sense. But I shall keep writing to you, and consulting you about everything, and that will make me sensible. And perhaps—in about a year—"

She mocked, "I was just waiting to know how long!"

"Hope," he asked at another tangent, "Dr. Anther *does* think your father's getting better, doesn't he?"

"He thinks his will is getting stronger."

"I understand you can't leave him, Hope, and that's why I don't ask *you* to go with me to Paris as well as Falk; but when your father is all right, and he *will* be, I *know* he will—then we will go out together—my mother and your father, as well as you."

"What a beautiful vision! And what about grandmother?"

"Oh, we would take her, too."

"I should like to see you getting grandmother on a steamer! Why, she thinks going on the cars is as much as her life's worth."

"We can manage, somehow." They laughed together at his optimism, and he asked, "Do you know what I liked best in the whole thing to-day? I mean besides your father's coming. Dr. Anther's being there. He didn't like the notion of the tablet at the first, and he let me feel it; but it was just his way—working round, and giving in handsomely in the end, without saying anything. My heart was in my mouth till he came on to the platform. It wouldn't have been anything without him."

"Of course, it wouldn't. But, of course, he was sure to come. He's grand."

"Yes, after my own father, as I imagine him, there's nobody equal to Dr. Anther, as I know him."

They talked rapturously away from themselves, and they talked back in ecstatic return, and an hour passed before he reverted to her with impatience of anything but her in her relation to himself. "What made you cry out that way?"

"Me? How did you know who it was?"

"Don't you suppose I should know your voice, in the dark, anywhere in or out of the world? What made you do it?"

"As if you didn't know! I was so worked up by those curtains not coming apart, and thinking how you felt, that I couldn't help it, though I wasn't sure but it was somebody else. If it had gone on much longer, I should have got on to the platform and married you on the spot."

Langbrith jumped alertly to his feet, and Hope rose, too, laughing. He put out his arms toward her. "Now I think it's full time for you—"

She did not try to escape, but a sound of lamentable groaning came between them, and she called out, "Oh, poor father!" and whirled from her lover into the house.

He stood dazed by the ghastly interruption, and remained bewildered when, a little after, she returned to him, somewhat paler, but not looking as distressed as he looked, and dropped again into her chair.

"Isn't there anything I can do? Go for Dr. Anther?—"

"No, no! It's all right, now. He was just dreaming—he has awful dreams, but they are only dreams."

"Oh, Hope!" He stood before her, not offering to take his place at her feet again, but aching, as she saw, with pity for her.

"You mustn't mind me. I'm used to it. And it isn't anything real you know."

"It seems terrible. I don't know how to bear it for you."

Hope smiled. "Well, you don't have to, and I can bear it for myself as long as—as long as father must bear it. Are you going away?"

"Yes, I must go back to mother—"

She rose, and without his advance, put her arms round his neck, and kissed him, and then began to cry against his cheek. It was not the passionate embrace with which he had often, in his burning reveries, sealed their betrothal, but it was something sacreder, sweeter, and he seemed purified and uplifted, as if her arms were raising him into heavenlier air. He knew now what misery and sorrow, what squalor, even, he was making his part; but he thought only of her with whom they came, and he was richly content.

"Your trouble shall be my trouble, after this," he began, but she would not let him say more.

"Yes, yes! Don't talk!" and while she brushed the tears from her eyes with her handkerchief, she pushed him from her with the other hand.

He accepted his dismissal. "I shall come back after supper," he said, and she neither invited nor forbade him. He did not go home; he could not, without first using the new authority which her love had given him, and he went round by Dr. Anther's office, to ask him if nothing, nothing could be done for her father. He tried to think about it all, and how he should press the doctor to some con-

clusion, to some definite promise, to some clear prophecy of a fortunate end; but it was confused in his mind with his love, and he was so lost in the sense of that as it concerned her and him alone, that from step to step, he forgot what he was about, and had to recall himself to his errand. Once he went down a wrong turning, and when he came to Mrs. Burwell's at last, he recognized the house with a kind of astonishment.

"The doctor ain't here," Mrs. Burwell called down to him from the window over the door as he stood with his hand on the bell-pull. She had her head tied up in a handkerchief, as if she had been sweeping; the impression of this was strengthened by her having a broom in the hand that supported her on the window-sill. "He hain't got back from that patient—dreffful sick crittur, *I* guess—to Wakeford, and I'm givin' the place one last dustin'; I don't know when it 'll get another. I was *ril* sorry I couldn't come to the ceremony, to-day, but I got my mind set on finishin' my movin', and nothing couldn't seem to stop me. I feel bad about leavin' the doctor here, alone like a cat in a strange garret, as you may say, but I guess I got to. I don't know who he'll get in to care for him. As far forth as I can make out, he ha'n't even thought of anybody."

"He'll be in after supper, I suppose?" Langbrith said, with an imperfect sense of the words spilt on him, as in a stream, from above.

"Yes, if he *gets* any supper," Mrs. Burwell responded with mystery lost upon Langbrith's abstraction. "He's always in nights, you know, without he's got a call."

"Then I'll come round again, later."

"So do!" Mrs. Burwell called after his averted figure as he stepped down the two yards of path to the gate, and moved away with feet that wandered with his wandering thoughts.

Something had penetrated the whirl of his mind which centred around the idea of Hope all kindly and pleasant things, and he was afterwards aware of some meaning in Mrs. Burwell as to Dr. Anther which he had not taken at once from her words. Had she meant that the doctor had bought her house or hired it? He had lived there a long time, and it might very well be. But a magnificent scheme now suggested itself to Langbrith, which he would consult his mother about, and then propose to the doctor, if she approved. He would offer Dr. Anther his father's office, standing apart from the mansion, if he found he had not taken Mrs. Burwell's house; it would be more convenient for him, and it would be near the hotel, where the poor old fellow could get a meal at any time without being subject to such severities as Mrs. Burwell had practised with him, and as he must fall under again if any village person took him to board. Langbrith himself would feel so safe, having him there near his mother, for all advising and helping in any sort of exigency. With that lifelong friend near her, he would not feel as if he were leaving her alone for the year he should spend in Paris, before he brought Hope home to the old place.

He glowed with the thought of what motherliness and daughterliness there would be between those dearest women, and how he would protect and cherish them both in their common reliance upon him. He wished Falk was there. He would like first to consult Falk about it. Falk had so much sense, and would put his finger on any weak spot in the plan and laugh him out of it if it would not do. He felt the need of Falk so much and the desire of immediate action so greatly, that he turned from going home and walked rapidly up the hill toward Susie Johns's. He wished he could go and ask Hope's counsel, too, but it would be silly—he feared her thinking it silly—if he went back to her so soon; and if Falk approved, he knew that she would, and his perfected plan would be such a pleasant surprise for her.

He could make an excuse with Susie Johns, that he had come to fetch Falk home for tea; but, when he knocked at her door, the Irish girl who answered him said that Mr. Falk was at tea within.

"Oh, then, don't bother him," he said, and got quickly away, lest Susie should run out and hospitably seize upon him for another guest. "Don't say who it was," he called over his shoulder to the Irish girl, as he fled.

It would only be postponing the matter a little while. He could see Falk before he saw the doctor, which would be before he saw Hope again, and with the affair settled in his mind, he pushed down the side-hill street up which his own house looked. He had not reached the bottom when he foreboded a temptation beyond his strength at sight of the doctor's shabby old buggy and his sleepy horse, slumped before the gate. But now he suddenly recurred to the thought of bringing him to book about Hope's father, and getting his mother help to get something like a promise of Hawberk's recovery from him. He fancied first telling his mother and their old friend together of his authority for anxiety in the matter. Both these things must come before the offer which he wished to make, and which he now knew he should make without asking Falk about it. But which of the two pleasant things in his mind should come out first was the happy question with him, as he entered the wide-open front door and pushed into the twilighted parlor.

(To be Continued.)

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DOES RUSSIA REPRESENT ARYAN CIVILIZATION?

BY KARL BLIND.

I.

For the purpose of putting Europe on the wrong scent, Russian statecraft, in its dealings with Japan, has sought to raise the bugbear of the "Yellow Peril." Yet, the very first successes of the Japanese on sea were jubilantly celebrated, as far away as the United States, by Polish emigrants who belong to a white race—and more truly so than many of the Muscovites themselves?

The Poles in Russia, as well as various other nationalities within the overgrown Empire of the Czar, would certainly show similar signs of joy, if they had not the horrors of Siberia, of Blagovetchensk, and of Kischineff before their minds' eyes. When they read, on the outbreak of the war, in the *Novoe Vremya,* the cynical avowal that "Russia, in beginning and continuing negotiations with Japan, had only one intelligible object in view—namely, to gain time, and to take advantage of the time for getting her army and her fleet into readiness," the feelings of Poles, of Finns, of Armenians, of inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces, and other downtrodden populations, may be easily imagined. It is true that the fleet and the army of the would-be aggressor were

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not ready when Japan at last struck a blow in defence. Despotism, as is so often the case, had had inefficient or faithless servants.

Under these circumstances, Muscovite diplomacy, driven hard by the first issues of the armed encounter which it had hoped to delay yet for a while, exerts itself to enlist sympathies by assuming the part of "Champion of the Aryan Race." In France, where there is such an enormous number of holders of Russian bonds, pens have easily been found for writing up the "Yellow Peril" and denouncing the "Pan-Mongolism" of the Kingdom of the Rising Sun.

The efforts of those writers were somewhat awkwardly supported by a not very clever and rather incongruous argument of a prominent adherent of the Russian policy. He declared that Manchuria must be retained by Russia, and still further Mongol territory be annexed to her, because she herself contains already so many peoples of Mongol—that is, yellow—kinship! It is an argument we have heard before. It was used on the occasion of the inroad made by the Cossacks upon Afghanistan, in 1886, when a good bit of the territory of the Ameer was torn away and added to the Czar's Empire. The Russian plea brought forward at the time was, that the Turcomans inhabiting a portion of Afghanistan were of the same race as the Turcomans whom Russia had already conquered in the neighboring Khanate. Hence the Afghan Turcomans were also to be laid hold of!

Who can say, if this ethnological game were to go on, what limits there could be to it at all? It is literally a plea for the universal dominion of Russia in Asia.

However, the Russian annexationist writer before alluded to was quite right in avowing that there is much Mongolism in Russia herself. In saying so, he unwittingly let two cats out of his bag. Ethnologists are well aware that his assertion is true in an even far larger sense than he meant to convey.

Polish writers on race questions, such as Duchinski, have often protested against the claim of the St. Petersburg Government to be a Slav Power, and to be entitled, therefore, to assume the leadership over the various Slav nations outside the Autocrat's dominions. The Poles say—and their statement cannot historically be denied—that, when the Russian Kingdom was founded, in the ninth century, by a conquering Warangian clan of Scandinavian and other Germanic warriors (Swedes, Norwegians, An-

gles, and Goths), under Rurik (Roderick), the great plain was mainly peopled, in the north, by Ugrian, Finnish, and Tatar tribes, kindred to the Turanian or Mongol stock. Only here and there, towards the west, did a sprinkling of Slav tribes exist. The Slavonization in speech of that non-Aryan racial element was but slowly carried out in the course of many centuries.

It is now many years ago, when a bitter controversy raged between Poles and Muscovite Panslavists, that I received a closely written letter of fifteen pages from Duchinski, in which he contended with all his might against Russian hegemony over the Slavs. In these days, the French writer, Delamarre, seconded him by writings of his own. All this seems at present to be curiously forgotten—more especially in France, where there are still so many worshippers of the strange alliance between the Phrygian cap and the knout.

Historically speaking, there dwelt immediately east of Moscow, a people of non-Aryan origin and non-Slav language, for hundreds of years after the establishment of the Russian Kingdom. Catharine II., in a well-known ukase, acknowledged the fact that the inhabitants of real Muscovy were of a different descent from the Russians. The very name of Russia, I may add, is clearly proved to have been given to the country by the conquering Germanic Warangians. It is not a Slav, but a Germanic, Norse word. It was applied to the country in the same way as Gaul was called Frankland, or France, by the conquering Teutonic tribe of that name.

When the Warangians founded the Russian Kingdom in the ninth century, a Turkish nation, the Khazars, had an empire of their own in what is now southern Russia. Mongol by origin, they adopted partly the Mohammedan, partly the Jewish, creed, and had many flourishing cities with a culture of Byzantine connection. This Turkish nation was gradually overthrown by the Warangians and their Finno-Slav retinues. The blood of the Khazars, however, became mixed with that of their conquerors. So we have, here again, a Tatar element added to the ancient non-Aryan, Finnish, population of Russia.

II.

Originally Ugro-Finnish and Tatar, and but slightly Slav, in the north, the peoples in Russia had scarcely time to become

amalgamated, when there came, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the terrible invasion of the Mongol "Golden Horde."

Russia, weakened by internal feuds among the descendants of Rurik, and by a territorial splitting-up into small principalities, was conquered by Batu, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan. It remained under the yoke of the Golden Horde for nearly 250 years. Politically, and partly even racially, the populations of the great plain, which in the east and the southeast of European Russia had remained Tatar even before the irruption of this enormous Mongol wave, now became doubly Mongolized. As a sign of subjection, the Grand-Princes of Muscovy had for centuries to make their annual obeisance to the Great-Khan, into whose camp they had to travel, and to whom they were compelled to present, on their knees, a cup of mare's milk. In customs and manners, as well as in institutions, Russia was thus fully changed, between the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, into an Asiatic dependency.

Mainly through internal quarrels, which broke out, at last, among the Golden Horde itself, the country was slowly relieved from this Mongol dominion. On the ruins of the latter, Czardom arose, as a continuation, so to say, of the despotic rule of the Khans. For a long while Tatardom characterized the policy of the Czars. With the aid of Tatar auxiliaries, Ivan the Terrible conquered the free city of Novgorod, which had in the mean time grown up, and had formed a connection with the German Hansa.

The remnants of Tatar dominion in what is now southern Russia were only overthrown under Catharine II. But, even to this day, both in the southeast and in the northeast of European Russia, Tatar and other kindred races still partly dwell. Not a few Cossack tribes are mixed with them. Farther east, in Asia, we come again upon non-Aryan populations in Siberia, as well as upon Kalmucks, Bashkirs, and so forth—all of Turanian, Mongolic, yellow affinity.

And yet we are told that Russia is the Champion of the Aryan Race against the "Yellow Peril!"

III.

I have stated all this with no invidious racial purpose, but simply as historical and ethnological facts. What has been men-

tioned about the Turk nation of the Khazars, shows that culture is not the privilege of a white race only. The Moors in Spain might be cited also in this connection.

It is little known, but a positive fact, that Verestschagin, the famed Russian painter who found his untimely end in the terrible "Petropavlovsk" disaster, had Tatar blood in his veins, from the mother's side. When I met him—during his first visit to England for the purpose of exhibiting his striking pictures concerning the horrors of war—I did not observe this strain of Tatar kinship in his face or figure at all. Nor had he the appearance of a typical Russian, but rather that of a man of Germanic origin; for instance, of a Swede. He is said to have hailed from an old noble family; and this, in Russia, often means a descent from the early Norse founders of the Russian Kingdom. For all that, even he had a Tatar strain in his body composition.

Those who talk about the "Yellow Danger" might take note of this twofold racial origin of the great artist, who was also a good and humane man. The very names of many Russians prove a similar affinity with non-Slav, Tatar, Mongolian races. Bashkirtseff, Tatarcheff, Alikhanoff, Sibiriakoff, and numerous other names, point that way significantly enough.

All I wished to show is, that, with such facts before us, the Russian Government has the least claim to the part of Defender of the Aryan Race and of European Culture.

The hollowness of the assertion of writers who would fain denounce all non-Aryan races as natural enemies of European culture, could not be more clearly proved than by a reference to the treatment of Finland by the present Autocrat. The Finns do not belong to the Aryan stock. They are of Ugrian, in other words, of Turanian, blood, with which the Turks and the Tatars have some kinship. Only on the sea-coasts of Finland is there a Swedish, Germanic, admixture through the former political link with the Scandinavian Kingdom on the other side of the Gulf, which was robbed of its eastern possession by Muscovite aggression. The speech of the Finns is non-Aryan, even as is that of the Magyars in Hungary, the kinsmen of the Turks.

Now, like the Magyars, who are the political mainstay of the Hungarian Kingdom,—and, it may be added, like the modern Japanese,—the Finns are given to the cult of parliamentary institutions. The Finnish nation in general is more highly cultured

than the mass of the Russian peasantry. But what does the St. Petersburg Government, the professed champion of European culture, do? Unmindful of his sworn oath, the text of which can be seen in every church of Finland near the altar, Nicholas II. has laid violent hands on the rights and liberties of that cultured people; thus acting, not like the constitutional ruler, which by public law he is in the grand-duchy of Finland, but like a tyrant of some Mongol Khanate. Yet he is to shield Europe, according to ignorant or interested writers, against the peril of Pan-Mongolism! Could hypocrisy further go?

It is an imaginary danger, this bugbear of Pan-Mongolism. The real danger is, the aim of Czarism, or of that military and bureaucratic ring which surrounds and often controls it, a universal dominion in Asia—to be followed by a similar attempt in Europe.

Yet those would gravely err who think that the Russian nation at large could be made answerable for that baneful ambition. A St. Petersburg letter, written a few days before the "Petropavlovsk" disaster, contains this assertion:

"In this present war, there is not a trace of patriotic enthusiasm among the people; on the contrary, the masses are perfectly apathetic, not understanding in the least the occurrences in the Far East, whilst the cultured part of the population is directly hostile to the Government policy in Manchuria."

Lest this statement should be doubted, I will give specimens of Russian press utterances in an even stronger sense. They are all the more characteristic, considering under what difficulties of censorship they were published. From the beginning, periodicals, like the moderately progressive "*Westnik Europy*," were averse to Government procedures. It said:

"Our national honor by no means demands that we should definitely annex Manchuria. Moreover, the economic condition of Russia in no wise permits her to take upon herself the heavy burden of sacrificing, year by year, many millions of roubles for the sake of maintaining order in a Chinese province. The two Manchurian railway lines have cost already about 500,000,000 roubles; and if that part which belongs to the Siberian line cannot be given away, this may very well be done with the other line. It was a mistake to connect the coast territory (the province of Vladivostok) with the Siberian railway through a foreign country, seeing that the coast territory not only does not bring in any profit, but

had to be subventioned in a previous decade, from the Exchequer, with 150,000,000 roubles. Russian commerce in the Far East is utterly insignificant, and has no prospects whatever of being increased."

It would lead too far to give more extracts from that prominent periodical. Be it only still said that the "*Westnik Europy*" denies the possibility of Russian competition, in the Far East, with the merchandise of England, America and Japan, in spite of the high tariff imposed by Government. Says the "*Westnik Europy*":

"People in that part of the world, being dissatisfied with the inferior Russian produce, still continue as customers of the countries mentioned. Our own commercial policy in Manchuria has merely the effect of creating a race of *chevaliers d'industrie*, who have already been nicknamed 'Manchurians,' and who, supported by the so-called patriotic press, exert themselves very successfully to get money from the State Exchequer into their own pockets. The sounding phrases about Russia's greatness and glory are simply a mask for the purpose of getting quickly rich at the expense of Russia."

Severe as these strictures are, they were still exceeded by those in the more advanced periodical, "*Russkoje Bogotstwo.*" In its opinion, "the whole of Corea and Manchuria are not worth the life of a single Russian soldier." Even Prince Uchtomsky, who for some time was an intimate personal friend of the Czar, whose travels, during which he had accompanied the Czar, he described in a book, had said in a series of articles, the conclusion of which was published after the beginning of the war, that the best policy for Russia in Asia was a peaceable one. "Assuming the case," he wrote, "that we defeat Japan. In that case, China would *de facto* become a Russian province. But how should we then accomplish the task of administering, and finally assimilating, a country whose population is three times as numerous as our own?" Certainly, such statements are a strange commentary on Russian governmental policy; and who knows what tone they would assume if great defeats were to come?

IV.

The far-reaching aims of Russian policy in Asia may be gathered from a curious conversation the English ambassador at St. Petersburg had, in 1881, with the representative of the Foreign Office there.

A report of it is contained in a despatch to Earl Granville, dated July 27. Its contents are characteristic of the ironical manner the diplomatists of St. Petersburg often adopt for covering a serious intention of theirs.

It is within the remembrance of older men that, in their earlier years, Russia had not penetrated much beyond the Caspian Sea. Now this is what in July, 1881, the English ambassador wrote:

"With reference to my despatches of the 20th instant, I have the honor to report for your Lordship's (Earl Granville's) information, that I asked Baron Jomini to-day (M. de Giers being absent from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs), if he could give me an idea of what the territory was, which was termed 'Trans-Caspian.' His Excellency replied that it was '*All the territory beyond the Caspian.*' 'But,' I said, 'can you give me no idea as to where it ends?' To which he said that he *could not.*"

I think such a mocking answer should have been met by a strong warning hint in calm, yet significant, language. The inference from Baron Jomini's words is obvious. They contained a veiled programme of the future. "All the territory beyond the Caspian!" Why, that could be made to cover India!

There is still more of that scoffing manner in the report of Baron Jomini's answer. The English ambassador wrote:

"His Excellency said that their farthest point *now* was Askabad, but that General Skobeleff had *discovered some very fertile country farther south*, where a complete state of disorder existed; that there was *Sarakhs* also to be considered, and whether it was Persian or not remained to be verified. If Persian, that then it would remain so; but if not, that it would then be necessary to establish some regular form of government *there, as elsewhere;* and that the frontier negotiations would probably *extend to territory beyond the Attrek as far as the confines of Khorassan*, over which Baron Jomini to-day threw doubts as to the sovereignty of the Shah of Persia being more than nominal."

Here the intended aggression in the direction of Persia was clearly foreshadowed.

Another specimen of Muscovite ironical treatment of the vital interests of England is to be found in the previous "Memorandum of a Confidential Conversation of Count Schuwaloff with Lord Derby" (June 8, 1877). When that Memorandum came to light, it was asserted that the Russian ambassador had given "categorical assurances" of a satisfactory character. Now look at the text of those satisfactory assurances! A child might have

seen through the hollowness of the pledge. This is what Count Schuwaloff said:

"England appears to fear lest the spreading, or consequences, of the war (of Russia against Turkey in 1877-78) should lead us to threaten Bassorah and the Persian Gulf. It is not at all to our interest to trouble England in her Indian possessions, or, consequently, in her communications with them. The war which is *at present* going on does not demand it; for its objects are clearly defined, and matters would be *complicated rather than simplified by so vast an extension of the struggle.*"

Here I may remark that, in the English version of this conversation, the expression "at present," which I have put in italics, is rendered by "actually." It is evidently a wrong translation of the French "*actuellement,*" which does not mean "actually," but "at present," or "just now."

In other words, what Schuwaloff had in his mind, or up his sleeve, was this: "We must settle Turkey first. After her power is broken, then, and then only, we may trouble England as regards her Indian possessions. Not before; or else England might make common cause with Turkey."

It pleases Russian diplomacy enormously to give such categorical assurances of a satisfactory character, and at the same time to make, in sarcastic phrases, a hint as to its future intentions, which afterwards would enable it even to claim for itself a character of consistent truthfulness.

V.

However, it is not always by veiled sarcasm that the Government of St. Petersburg gets the better of a Power it has to reckon with. On other occasions—and they are by far the more frequent ones—downright deception, by falsely given pledges, is practised without compunction.

A quotation from a despatch of Lord Granville to Lord Loftus, of January 8th, 1873, may here be of use. It contains an early instance of a perfect series of wilful deceptions concerning Russia's gradual march from the Caspian, through the once independent Khanates of Central Asia, to the very confines of, nay, even into, Afghanistan, the bulwark of India.

This is what Lord Granville wrote:

"Count Schuwaloff, a statesman enjoying the full confidence of the Emperor of Russia, confirmed the fact that it was by the Emperor's de-

sire that he sought a personal interview with me. It had caused great surprise to his Imperial Majesty to learn from various sources that a certain amount of excitement and susceptibility had been caused in the public mind of this country on account of questions connected with Central Asia. With regard to the expedition to Khiva, to give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four and a half battalions. *Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it.* He gave me most decided warrant that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on the matter."

Earl Granville acted on this warrant in Parliament. Then His Majesty Alexander II. quietly annexed Khiva.

Similar pledges, one after the other, were given in the case of Merv, Sarakhs, Afghanistan—in one instance even on an Imperial word of honor to the English nation and to Queen Victoria in person. They were all openly broken. These records of violated pledges look to-day like the overthrown mile-stones of Muscovite progress towards India.

Can we wonder that Prince Dolgorukoff, a moderate constitutionalist, should have written, when living abroad in 1860, the following words in his book, "The Truth about Russia."

"Russia has, from the time of the Mongol invasion, in the thirteenth century, down to our days, been nothing but an immense pyramid of oppression. In this vast edifice, slavish subjection and arbitrary force reign from the bottom to the top; and from top to bottom there is developed, in formidable proportions, the *official lie, the lie erected into a political institution.* . . . This despotism, hideous in itself, exercises an eminently deleterious influence. It dries up noble and elevated sentiments; it degrades the soul; it corrupts, perverts, and lowers the character, even more among those who exercise that despotism than among its victims."

It will be useful, here, to refer to the secret convention between the Russian Government and Shir Ali, of Afghanistan.

Since 1869, there has been no lack of the customary Russian "assurances" in regard to Afghanistan. One of them dates back to the early seventies. It runs thus:

"The idea expressed by Lord Clarendon, of keeping a zone between the possessions of the two Empires in Asia, to preserve them from any contact, has been always shared by our august Master. You may assure Lord Clarendon that nothing could better suit the views of the Emperor" (Alexander II.).

Again:

"His Imperial Majesty looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence. *No intervention or interference whatever, opposed to the independence of that State, enters into his calculations.*"

How was this pledge kept? Only a few years later, the same imperial Majesty entered, through a secret envoy, into negotiations with the Ameer Shir Ali. Their purport is contained in a "Confidential News Letter from the Government Agent at Peshawur," dated June 18th, 1878, and printed in a Blue Book.

The Ameer was asked to allow the location of Russian Agents at Kabul and other places; to accord permission for the quartering of Russian troops in Afghanistan; to let roads be constructed by the Russian Government from Samarkand to Kabul, from Kabul to Herat, from Herat to Kandahar; to allow passage, when necessity arose, by routes it may be desirable to follow, to *Russian troops proceeding to India;* to set up telegraph wires wherever Russian troops or agents were to be stationed; and to furnish supplies to the Russian troops on payment, if it became desirable that the Russian Government should send an expedition to *wage war in India.* On these conditions, the Russian Government would allow the continuance of the administration of Afghanistan to the representatives, successors, and heirs of the Ameer.

The detection of this enormous intrigue finally led to the fall of Shir Ali. The only man to whom I have recently spoken about the occurrence, who at once caught up the allusion, was the young Chief Secretary of the late Ameer, Abdur Rahman, during his stay in England. He knew every detail.

Having been foiled, at the time mentioned, through the discovery of these secret negotiations, Russia, nevertheless, made a new attempt only a few years afterwards, in 1885. This time, she contrived even to tear away, and to retain, a portion of Abdur Rahman's dominions. She did so after having consented to a Frontier Commission, to which the English General Lumsden was appointed as a delegate. When he arrived, he was driven away by a Cossack troop! All this was evidently done with the fell purpose of humiliating England, and so impressing the various and somewhat discordant races that dwell within the "bulwark of India" with the rising power of Czardom.

KARL BLIND.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN OUR CIVIL WAR, AND THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

THERE has recently been much discussion relative to the attitude of England and Russia towards the United States during our Civil War. This was provoked by the war between Russia and Japan, which caused the partisans of Russia here to contend that Americans ought to sympathize with Russia in the contest. They argued that Americans should do this because Japan has an alliance by treaty with England, and English sentiment was a good deal against the United States in our struggle, or rather in favor of the South as against the North, whereas Russia was on our side, and made us, in 1863, as they erroneously claim, an offer of naval assistance in the event of intervention by England and France.

It is very easy to assert, as it has long been asserted and by many believed, that Russia, in 1863, offered the United States Government the use of her ships of war that then came to the port of New York, and that this prevented, or may have prevented, England and France from recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. But we have yet to learn that there is any record of such an official overture by Russia, either at St. Petersburg or at Washington; and there certainly would be one in both countries if the assertion was a fact instead of being wholly mythical.

Would Lincoln or Seward have left the country in ignorance of such an affair, or of any suggestion in that direction, if it had been officially made? It is a myth that hardly calls for contradiction. Such matters between nations cannot be kept secret, and the lapse of forty years since 1863 without revealing anything concerning the alleged orders, goes to prove that there were none

of the kind, and that there was nothing to reveal. The Russian ships came here in 1863, just as the Russian fleet with the Grand-Duke Alexis came to New York in 1871, merely on a cruise.

That sentiment in England during the war was largely pro-Southern among the wealthy mercantile and manufacturing class is not to be disputed. But this resulted from the interruption of the cotton supply by the war and the blockade of the Southern ports, and from the loss of the South as a customer for British manufactures, involving much depression and distress. The shoe pinched very severely. Liverpool and Manchester, in particular, were great sufferers by the war, and smarted under the extinction, for the time being, of their Southern cotton supply and connections, and they were against the North largely because it had choked off this trade.*

But this sentiment, this irritation, due to business conditions growing out of the war, was merely personal, and in no way involved the British Government, or reflected its leanings, opinions or future policy. Liverpool and Manchester were, not unnaturally, sentimentally against the North, because it was, under the necessities of war, preventing the South from shipping its produce to England or importing British goods. That feeling of irritability against the North would have disappeared at any time with the resumption of trade with the South; and it did disappear as soon as the war ended and the Southern ports were reopened to commerce.

England's American trade up to that time had been very much larger with the South than with the North, for cotton was much more truly "king" then than it is now; and, apart from grain and provisions, the export trade of the North was very small in comparison with its present great extent. Moreover, the wealth of the United States was small in proportion, and our social relations with England and the rest of Europe were not nearly as intimate and extensive as they have since become. We have learned to know each other much better in the interval.

* I except, of course, the great excitement and commotion created in England by the seizure of Mason and Slidell, on November 7th, 1861, by Captain Wilkes of the U. S. S. "San Jacinto," when the British Government demanded their release and an apology; but that was because we had violated the rights of a neutral vessel by taking them from the "Trent," flying a British flag. We released them on that ground, and so at once ended the trouble that had threatened war. This was a special case of our provoking.

We had not then begun to export beauty and fashion, largely in the shape of American heiresses, for the delight and enrichment of the aristocracy of the Old World, and we could boast of no such colossal individual fortunes as we can now.

When, however, the British Government did, on one occasion, consider the question of recognition of the South and intervention in the war, it was solely on the proposition of the French Emperor, Napoleon the Third, who wanted to break up our Union in order to promote his scheme for planting the Latin race in America, by establishing, under French protection, an empire in Mexico, with Maximilian on the throne. But his proposition was at once unanimously, emphatically and unconditionally rejected by the British Cabinet.

We have this on the highest official authority, that of Mr. Gladstone himself, who, in a letter to me dated May 30th, 1889, speaks thus positively on the subject:

"26 James's Street,
"May 30, 1889.

"Dear Sir:—

"Having expressed my interest in the portions of your work which I read on the day of its arrival, I think it would be less than ingenuous if I did not, after reading what relates to the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, on page 56 and in the following chapter, make some reference to it.

"Allow me to assure you that, so far as that Cabinet is concerned, you have been entirely misled in regard to matters of fact. As a member of it, and now nearly its sole surviving member, I can state that it never at any time dealt with the subject of recognizing the Southern States in your great civil war, excepting when it learned that proposition of the Emperor Napoleon Third, and declined to entertain that proposition without qualification, hesitation, delay or dissent.

"In the debate which took place on Mr. Roebuck's proposal for the negotiation, Lord Russell took no part, and could take none, as he was a member of the House of Lords. I spoke for the Cabinet.

"You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that there is no foundation for a charge which, had it been true, might have aided in keeping alive angry sentiments happily gone by. You are, of course, at liberty to publish this letter.

"I remain, dear sir, your very faithful servant,
"W. E. Gladstone.

"Henry Clews, Esq."

In this letter, it will be seen, Mr. Gladstone, the Grand Old Man, as England called him, a member of the British Cabinet

during Lord Palmerston's administration, which extended from 1859 to 1865, more than covering the period of the war for the Union, assured me that the Cabinet never at any time dealt with the subject of recognizing the Southern States, except to decline to entertain the proposition of France, and this "without qualification, hesitation, delay or dissent."

What could be more positive and emphatic than this? What more unequivocal, explicit and direct? It is an unqualified statement that the British Government had never during the war in any way considered the question of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, except on that one occasion, and England was the first nation to which the French proposal was made. Had England joined France when Napoleon made his proposition, which she was the first to reject, that conspirator against us would have tried hard to help the South to succeed in disrupting the Union, for the purpose of regaining possession of Louisiana, and capturing as much additional territory as possible in order to annex it to the empire he expected to found in Mexico. He wanted a weak neighbor. We were saved from his machinations, and this great danger, by the resolute course of the British Government; and Napoleon thereafter sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind in Mexico. He consigned poor Maximilian to disaster and an inglorious death, after his empire had fallen like a house of cards when the French troops, that had bolstered up his throne, were withdrawn.

This positive testimony from so high and competent an authority as Mr. Gladstone ought to be conclusive in effectually disproving the unfounded "cock and bull" story that England, at one time, contemplated the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and that she was prevented from moving in that direction, and led to reverse her policy, and prevent the escape of the Confederate cruisers from Laird's shipyard at Birkenhead, by the arrival at New York of Russian war-ships.

The fact that a Russian squadron, commanded by Admiral S. Lessoffsky on his flagship "Alexander Nevsky," did come to new York late in September, 1863, and that its officers were very hospitably received and entertained, is the peg on which this story is made to hang. I have good reasons for saying the ships came here with no such object, nor with "sealed orders" to take an active part in the war, if required. New York was merely a port

of call for them, and no doubt their officers were glad to get here and be fêted, as they were. They also, it is safe to assume, appreciated the courtesy of William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, who afterwards told me that, when he heard of their arrival in American waters, he invited them to accept the hospitalities of the port of New York. He, of course, foresaw that their coming here would, or at least might, have a good moral and political effect in our favor both at home and abroad, by depressing the South and encouraging the North, and causing any foreign Powers that might have been considering the advisability of recognizing the Southern Confederacy to postpone action under the impression that we had, or might have, Russia for an ally.

He was astute enough to see that this visit of the Russian squadron might seem to be what it was not, particularly to foreign eyes. Appearances, we all know, are often deceptive, yet they sometimes exert great influence. The visit of this squadron was a case in point. It was a splendid "bluff," at a very critical period in our history. Its coming was all the more desired by Mr. Seward because, on the 3rd of February, 1863, he had received a despatch from the Emperor Napoleon offering to mediate between the United States and the Southern Confederacy, to which he replied three days later, absolutely rejecting the offer, in very positive terms. After that, early in July, the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, and Northern prospects had brightened very materially. Nevertheless, the coincidence of an arrival, about the same time as the Atlantic Squadron came, of more Russian war-ships at San Francisco, under the command of Admiral Popoff, added to Secretary Seward's gratification; and, when the Russian officers of the Atlantic Squadron went on to Washington, he kept up the festivities to which they had been accustomed in New York by giving them a grand dinner. He was a fitting host, as he had originally invited them to come here.

The Grand-Duke Alexis when he came to New York, with another Russian squadron, under another Admiral, in 1871, practically verified, in reply to my inquiries in conversation while I was acting as one of the Russian Reception Committee, what Secretary Seward had previously intimated to me—namely, that there was no foundation for the story that the Russian squadron of 1863 had come here to help us in warfare, if needed. Mr.

Seward told me this very definitely on one occasion when I met him at Washington. But that its officers enjoyed themselves here very much socially was evident from their profuse expression of thanks, and acknowledgment of obligations for the favors received, before they took their departure, and also from the fact that, when they got back to Russia, they called in a body, with the Emperor's approval, on Mr. Cassius M. Clay, the American Minister at St. Petersburg, to return thanks more formally for the courtesies and kindness of which they had been the recipients here.

Now, it is clearly to be inferred that, if they had come here to serve us at a grave crisis, by offering to take part in our war, they would not have felt themselves under such obligations to us; on the contrary, we should have been under very great obligations to them, which would have called for public acknowledgment. Moreover, if the Russians had come on any such mission as naval co-operation in actual war, if needed, it would not only have been a matter of official record in both countries, but it would have immediately become known, not alone to the public here, but to the world. It would have been simply impossible to keep the news from the press; and the government at Washington would have had no object, no good purpose to serve, in concealing such an alliance, for alliance it would have been of great international importance, and one which would have tended, still more than the activity of our own navy, to show Europe and the South the hopelessness of the South's struggle with the North. Russia was friendly to the United States, of course; but this friendship between the two countries was very different from an offer, or a willingness, to help us by armed intervention in our favor. Russia has never intimated that she had any such intention; and, indeed, such intervention on her part would have been folly, as her navy was then very small after the destruction of the Crimean War, and would have been powerless against England or France.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the sympathy with Russia in its present war with Japan, which many in the United States are endeavoring to stimulate on the strength of this Munchausen story of proffered war-ships, is based on a mere assumption. Just as in the case of one of Dickens's characters, "Mrs. Harris," there was "no such person," so in the case of this visit of Russian

cruisers, there was no such offer of these by Russia to the United States, nor any evidence of any intention to offer them by Russia. On the contrary, Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, repeatedly said to our Minister at St. Petersburg, and in despatches to the Russian Minister at Washington, that Russia greatly favored peace, and wished for its speedy return; but would never take sides in the controversy between North and South.

Finally, as to England, we have the word of William Ewart Gladstone that the British Government was not unfriendly to us throughout our Civil War, inasmuch as it was absolutely and entirely opposed to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and instantly and effectually checkmated the French Emperor when he tried to make it swerve from its consistent course of neutrality. Had the British Government been unfriendly, it would have jumped at this chance to join France in recognition and intervention. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

There is no reason in what I have said, however, for an anti-Russian and pro-Japanese feeling in the United States, or an anti-American feeling in Russia; and it is much to be desired that friendly feeling towards each other should prevail in both countries, but not at the expense of truth. Even Japan, while fighting Russia, is showing good-will and generosity towards Russian officers and men, and treating them with uncommon courtesy and consideration.

My only object in thus writing is to present the matters referred to, involving the relations of the United States with England, France and Russia during our Civil War, in a true and proper light, and so to correct prevailing misapprehensions. Russia's course in Manchuria, however, by which she tightened, instead of releasing, her grip upon it, as she promised to do, sufficiently accounts for our lack of sympathy with her in her war with Japan.

While professing friendship for the United States, she has acted in bad faith, and by her restrictions ruined our growing trade there; and all the specious arguments put forward by Russia through the Russian Ambassador at Washington will not make the American people believe that Russian success in this war would be an advantage to the United States.

Hence, American sympathies are not generally on the side of

autocratic and grasping Russia, with its closed door, but with liberal Japan, and its open door. Moreover, it is to be hoped that Russia will find her so-called "special position" of exclusiveness and monopoly in Manchuria untenable, and be compelled to abandon it, to evacuate that country, and leave its trade open to all the world. Then the now idle and ruined factories, built there by Americans, could be turned to profitable account again.

Although our relations with Russia have always been friendly, past friendship does not justify present injustice. The retention of her foothold in Manchuria, which she was to have held only until the country was pacified, and her obvious and avowed designs upon Corea, evidently aim at the acquisition of their territory, and point to similar ultimate designs upon China and Japan.

Such being the case, we may well sympathize with Japan in her struggle with Russia. We owe nothing to Russia because some of her ships came to New York in 1863; but we are indebted to England for having peremptorily declined the proposition of France to recognize the Southern Confederacy.

Moreover, England is our natural ally, as we are allied to her by an affinity of race, language, religion and free institutions. As for "the Yellow Peril," of which so much has been said, especially by the Russian Ambassador, as something to be feared by the Western nations, it is purely imaginary and chimerical. There is no more danger of China and Japan, if successful in war at home, invading and overrunning the rest of the world at any time in the future, near or remote, than there is of the man in the moon coming down and invading us with an army of moonshiners.

HENRY CLEWS.

THE NEW AMERICAN NAVY.*

BY SIR WILLIAM H. WHITE, K.C.B.

I.

In two handsome volumes, Mr. Long, Secretary of the United States Navy from 1897 to 1902, has given a readable and complete account of work that has been done during the last twenty years in the creation of the new American Navy. His opportunities have been exceptional for tracing the history of that Navy; and his period of office covered the stirring events of the war with Spain, when the modern United States Fleet received its "baptism of fire" and practically determined the issue.

Remarkable vicissitudes have marked the history of the United States Navy during the past forty years. When the Civil War broke out, that Navy was weak and inefficient. Little had been done towards the reconstruction rendered necessary in all navies by the introduction, first of steam propulsion, and subsequently of armor-plating. This naval decadence was due to political causes and not to any loss of American skill in ship-building. The steam frigate "Niagara," which was employed in carrying one-half of the first transatlantic cable, was a proof to the contrary; but public interest was wanting in naval affairs, and no sufficient motive for increased expenditure on the Navy was found during a period of enormous internal development. When the depredations of the "Alabama" on American commerce and shipping, the necessity for establishing a blockade of the Confederate coast, and the conduct of naval operations against fortified ports in the Southern States, made action imperative, the world once more witnessed a wonderful example of the energy and resource of the American people. A great fleet sprang into being in an incred-

* "The New American Navy." By John D. Long. The Outlook Co., New York.

ibly short time. It was, of course, to a great extent improvised; but it contained novel types, such as the "Monitor" devised by Ericsson, the shallow-draught ironclads built for service on the great rivers and coast waters, and various classes of unarmored cruisers, some of which were the progenitors of corresponding classes in other navies. Over 600 vessels were built or bought during the war, about one-third being of new construction and many of these being left unfinished on the stocks when the Civil War ended. For a time it seemed possible that the United States would maintain its war fleet in a high rank amongst the navies of the world; but, in the reaction consequent upon the enormous exertions and vast expenditure incurred in the Civil War, the Navy was once more neglected, vessels were permitted to decay on the stocks, and the naval force was allowed to diminish gradually but surely, no sufficient grants being made for its maintenance or extension. Now and again efforts were made to remedy this state of affairs, but until 1883 no notable advance was effected. The cruisers "Chicago," "Boston," and "Atlanta" were then laid down. "These ships," says Mr. Long, "were the nucleus of the new American Navy"; and it is interesting to know that, in their design, an important part was played by two young naval constructors who had been trained in England as my pupils at the Royal Naval College. One of them (Rear-Admiral Bowles) subsequently became Chief Constructor of the United States Navy; a position which he resigned recently after a distinguished official career.

This new departure was based on the recommendation of an Advisory Board appointed in 1881, in which were included eminent naval officers, marine engineers and naval constructors. The Board reported that of the sixty-one unarmored cruisers then on the Navy List, only thirty-two were available for service; and it recommended the addition of thirty-eight modern cruisers, as well as thirty smaller vessels for coast service, rams, gunboats and torpedo craft. The immediate result of these recommendations was small, but their report was followed by others from Naval Committees of Congress, and public opinion in the United States was gradually influenced in favor of a strong Navy. This policy has been since enforced by the remarkable writings of Captain Mahan; and has been made permanent by the additions of over-sea possessions to the territories of the United States, as a

result of the war with Spain. President Roosevelt has been throughout a strenuous advocate of the need for a strong Navy, and his influence counts for much.

Systematic development of the United States Navy really commenced under the administration of the late Mr. Whitney, who became Secretary of the Navy in 1885. His policy has been well described as embracing the reorganization of the administration of the Navy Department; the construction of a new Navy including every improvement in offensive and defensive power; and the production of all materials used in building war-ships, as well as the construction of the vessels themselves, within the United States. In short, his aim was not merely the development of the United States Navy, but of all home industries connected therewith. Mr. Whitney realized at the outset that it would be advantageous to acquire full particulars and working drawings of modern types of war-ships built or building in Europe; and, after inquiry, he authorized the Naval Attaché in England to purchase designs for protected cruisers prepared by the writer during his connection with Messrs. Armstrong. These designs were acquired in 1885: one of them was that of the Japanese cruisers "Naniwa" and "Takachiho," which were then approaching completion; the other was a new design for a larger and more powerful vessel, subsequently named the "Baltimore," which took a prominent part in the battle of Manila. Not long after, competitive designs for small battle-ships were invited by public advertisement; and the prize was awarded to a design prepared by the late Mr. William John, who was at that time the manager of the Barrows Ship-building Company. On the basis of this information, contracts were awarded to American firms for the construction of ships which in their structural arrangements, machinery, armament, and equipment compared favorably with corresponding and contemporary classes in European navies. Even when thus limited, it was a bold undertaking to attempt to rival, at one step, in American shipyards, results obtained in other navies after years of continuous effort which had furnished training for skilled workmen. Allowing for the fact that many British ship-builders were engaged by American firms, and that British experience in shipyard machinery and equipment was made available, it is impossible to leave unrecognized the remarkable success which was achieved by American manufacturers.

From that time on, the Navy Department has relied upon American talent for the design as well as the construction of the war fleet. No doubt the closest attention has been given to what has been done in Europe, and particularly in England, in the development of types of war-ships. In many classes the influence of action taken by the British Admiralty on designs prepared in the United States has been both obvious and considerable. It is, however, equally true that in many particulars American designers have made important new departures, and shown the courage, as well as the skill, which is their traditional possession.

The development in the United States of ship-building and engineering establishments of the first class has been a feature of the last ten years. In regard to machinery and mechanical appliances for lifting weights, or transporting materials, many novel arrangements have been introduced by American engineers, and some of their devices have been adopted in Great Britain.

It is a notable fact that the new American Navy has for the most part been built by private firms, some of which have been practically created after orders have been secured for large and costly vessels. The dockyards belonging to the States have been chiefly devoted during this period of development to repairs of ships and machinery, but quite recently it has been decided to build a battle-ship of the largest class in New York Navy-Yard, in competition with sister ships building by private firms.

Remarkable advances have been made also in the creation of manufactories for armor-plating, ship-building materials, ordnance, and projectiles. The "Harvey" process of making armor was brought to a successful issue in the United States, and has been the basis on which subsequent improvements have been made. Altogether, the energy and resource of the American people have been equal to the task imposed by the erection of the new Navy, but, in certain departments, and particularly in regard to the production of armor and armaments, serious delays have occurred, and the completion of ships has been hindered.

It is not possible, nor is it desirable, to trace in detail the history of the new Navy. According to the latest official annual reports, at the end of September, 1903, there were 252 vessels fit for service (including those under repair); in addition, forty-five vessels were under construction or authorized to be built. Of the completed vessels ten were battle-ships of the first class, and one

of the second class. The latter ("Texas") cannot be regarded as fit for the line of battle under modern conditions. Two completed vessels are classed as "armored cruisers," but the thickness and extent of their vertical armor on the sides hardly justify their ranking with modern armored cruisers, in which hull-protection is more highly developed. Fourteen protected and three unprotected cruisers of modern types make up the sea-going force now available. In addition, there are ten vessels of the "Monitor" class, some of great age, and one armored ram, useful for coast defence; sixteen torpedo-boat destroyers, twenty-nine torpedo-boats, and eight submarines constitute the torpedo flotilla. The submarines are of the "Holland" type, which was adopted also in the British Navy after successful trials had been made with it in the United States. There are also over forty gunboats of small size and fighting power, and more than fifty auxiliary cruisers, colliers, supply and hospital ships and converted yachts, most of which were added to the Navy by purchase during the recent war with Spain. Tugs and special non-combatant vessels make up the grand total of 252 ships fit for service.

Vessels under construction, or authorized to be built, in September, 1903, represented an enormous relative additional force, including fourteen first-class battle-ships, eight splendid armored cruisers, and nine protected cruisers. Six torpedo-boats appear on this list and three gunboats, but no torpedo-boat destroyers or submarines.

The first battle-ships, worthy of that designation under present conditions, were authorized in 1890; they are three in number and are known as the "Oregon" class. The "Iowa," built two years later, is a distinct improvement upon them. In 1895, two others were authorized (the "Kearsarge" and "Kentucky") in which the novel and much-debated feature of "double-storied" turrets was introduced. In 1896, three vessels of the "Alabama" class were authorized; in 1898, the construction of three others was approved by Congress, including the "Missouri," which has quite recently been the scene of a terrible disaster during target practice with her heavy turret guns.

II.

The war with Spain naturally quickened public interest in the Navy, the value of which was demonstrated in the actions at Manila and Santiago. Five battle-ships of the "Georgia" class

were authorized in 1899-1900, and were followed in 1902 by two other vessels of the "Connecticut" class. In 1903, five other first-class battle-ships were authorized. In the present year (1904), the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives has authorized the laying down of another battle-ship, so that eleven first-class vessels are now building.

It is interesting to note how the size and cost of American battle-ships have increased since 1890. The "Oregon" has a displacement of 10,250 tons, and a speed, on trial, of 16¾ knots, with about 11,000 horse-power. The "Vermont," of 1903, has a displacement of 16,000 tons, a trial speed of 18 knots, with about 16,500 horse-power; while the vessels of the "Virginia" class, also of 16,000 tons, are to have engines of 19,000 horse-power, giving a speed of 19 knots. Advocates of ships of more moderate dimensions and cost have not been wanting in the United States, any more than in England. The dangers of putting "too many eggs into one basket" have been enlarged upon, with the result that Congress, against the advice of the technical authorities, insisted, in 1903, upon the building of two battle-ships of 13,000 tons displacement and 17 knots. The balance of naval opinion is undoubtedly against that course, and in the latest battle-ship of 1904, 16,000 tons has been adopted again.

It was intended that the present year (1904) should have witnessed the commissioning of a large number of these powerful battle-ships. Owing to various circumstances, and largely to delays with armor and guns, it is now anticipated that they will not be ready to enter service for another year and a half, or two years. This delay is recognized by the naval authorities at Washington to be very serious. It has been made the subject of a special investigation; and it is believed that the arrangements now made for the supply of armor and guns, as well as for perfecting the plans before the work of construction begins, will prevent a recurrence of this difficulty.

One condition having great influence upon the designs of United States battle-ships, is the comparatively shallow draught necessary for their service. This necessitates greater length than has been adopted hitherto for British battle-ships. The "Vermont" class, for example, are 450 feet long as against the 435 feet of the "King Edward" class in the Royal Navy; and, allowing for differences in weight of armament, equipments, and

coal, carried on the trials, they are of practically equal displacement.

"The "armored-cruiser" class of the United States Navy constitutes a very powerful force, to which there is not, in fact, an equivalent, even in the British Navy. No less than eight vessels are now building of about 500 feet in length with displacements on trial from 13,700 to 14,500 tons; whereas in the Royal Navy we have only four vessels of the "Drake" class of about the same length and approximately the same displacement. It is the fashion to speak of these cruisers in the Royal Navy as if they stood alone; but the United States authorities, in taking action at a date subsequent to the construction of the "Drake" class, first of all ordered vessels which, under similar conditions, are of equal length and displacement with the "Drake," then supplemented these by two vessels 500 or 600 tons greater in displacement than the "Drake," and in 1904 seriously considered the construction of two other first-class armored cruisers, of 16,000 tons, but eventually decided to adhere to 14,500 tons. It is anticipated that by the end of 1904 four of these powerful cruisers will be ready for commission, that two others will be completed in 1905, and two more in 1906.

The estimated cost of the latest type of United States line-of-battle ship is $7,775,000, including an armament estimated to cost $1,500,000. The hull, machinery and armor are estimated to cost $6,200,000, or, say, £1,250,000 sterling. For the first-class cruisers, the estimated cost of hull, machinery and armor is about £1,200,000 sterling, and of the armament about £176,000.

Of protected cruisers, there are twenty-three shown on the United States Navy List, and to these may fairly be added the "New York" and "Brooklyn," classed as armored cruisers. It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed description of these vessels, which are still of considerable value. It is interesting to notice, however, that the "commerce destroyers" or "corsair cruisers," "Columbia" and "Minneapolis," which were built about ten years ago and then reckoned as pioneers of a new and important class, are now reported to be under conversion into training-ships for the engineer corps. Their distinctive features were high speed, light armament, and moderate protection; but subsequently it has been concluded that greater fighting capability is essential and the type has not been multiplied.

From the foregoing statements it will be obvious that the United States Navy, although its development was long deferred, has already attained a commanding position; and that, within the next two years, its relative standing will be enormously improved by bringing into line many powerful vessels, battle-ships and armored cruisers, now under construction. There is every reason for believing that this great naval development will be consistently maintained, and that the nation is in strong sympathy with the declared opinion of the President that, under existing conditions, a first-class Navy is essential to the well-being of the United States, to the maintenance of its over-sea possessions, and to the full development of its trade and manufactures.

Publicity in regard to naval affairs is the rule in the United States. In official documents are to be found the fullest details of designs for ships built and building, not even excluding submarines. There is much to be said in commendation of this practice. Secrecy is not easy to maintain; and, in regard to British vessels, information with respect to classes which are treated as strictly confidential can be, and is, acquired by those who are interested in knowing the trend of our naval policy. Without discussing whether the American model should be adopted in England, it is certain that the free publication of reports by the chiefs of the various bureaus in regard to the work proceeding under their direction, the hindrances that have occurred, the new departures that are contemplated, and the actual performances of vessels, have resulted in awakening and maintaining public interest in the United States Navy; and so have furthered the object which those directing its affairs have had most at heart, by rendering possible the provision of large sums required for the creation of a modern fleet.

Certain adjuncts, essential to the maintenance of the fleet, have, as yet, been dealt with only partially in America. The fact is fully recognized by those in authority. Docking facilities, for example, have not kept pace with the increase in the size and numbers of ships. The Navy-yards have not been equipped in the manner requisite for the proper performance of their duties in the repair and maintenance of recent ships, or in the construction of new vessels. No doubt, these requirements will be met in the near future.

The question of manning the American Navy is one of no small

difficulty. It was long a reproach that native-born Americans formed only a small proportion of the crews of commissioned ships; and Mr. Long gives amusing illustrations of what formerly occurred, although he takes credit for marked improvement in recent years. He naturally dwells upon the excellent work done by the Navy in the war with Spain, and the ready response then made to the exceptional demands for officers and men. But he recognizes also the necessity for better organization and larger provision in future if the Navy is to be fully efficient.

There is every reason for satisfaction in Great Britain at the position which the United States Navy has attained, and the brilliant prospects for its future. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the well-known fact that there is no disposition in the United States to look upon the British Navy as a possible foe when regulating its programmes of new construction. When dealing with the standard of power requisite for the Royal Navy, it is not usual to attach great importance to the vigorous action taken by the United States in recent years. There are, however, considerations of great moment affecting the relations of the United States to other Naval Powers, especially those who are making strenuous efforts to reach a commanding position in naval force. In considering the "balance of power" for the navies of the world, Englishmen are disposed to believe that every increase made by our transatlantic cousins in their naval force is an additional guarantee for the maintenance of the peace of the world, and the freedom of the sea, and so to welcome the policy which now finds favor in the United States.

WILLIAM WHITE.

RAILWAY RATES AND THE MERGER DECISION.

BY CHARLES A. PROUTY, OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

Now that the effervescence succeeding the Northern Securities decision has subsided, it may be proper to inquire just what has been accomplished. What danger has been averted, and how?

The decision is treated as a blow at railroad monopoly. In just what way does railroad monopoly injure the public? Said the majority opinion of the court: "If this combination is legal, then all the railroads in the United States might be combined under one management." Suppose they were so combined, what harm would ensue?

The answer is obvious. The business of railroading is, next to agriculture, the most important in our country. The gross revenues of our railroads are nearly $2,000,000,000 annually, and this vast sum is in the nature of a tax laid by that species of property upon almost every other species. Transportation by rail is something which must be had upon any terms that are exacted; there is little opportunity for bargaining. If one man controlled all the railroads in this country, he could not impose whatever rates he saw fit, but he could impose rates which might be unjust and extortionate. Here lies the chief danger. It is mainly through the exorbitant price that this and every other kind of monopoly harms the public. The popular apprehension is that the Securities decision, by preventing the combination of competing railways, and thereby necessitating competition between them, will protect the public against unreasonable transportation charges. It is this claim which I wish to examine briefly. The evil has not been, and cannot well be, over-stated; to what extent does this decision tend to prevent it?

In order to appreciate the effect of the present decision, some

reference must be made to previous decisions upon the same general subject. The first application of the Anti-Trust Act to railroads was in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case, to the understanding of which a word of history is necessary.

Most kinds of freight, under most circumstances, will move by the cheapest route. The greatest inducement which the freight solicitor can offer a shipper is a lower rate. Hence, in the strife for business, there is always a strong temptation to reduce the rate. A reduction in rate does not, however, proportionately stimulate the movement of traffic. Still further, it does not in the long run much affect the division of business between competing lines, since a reduction by one line is promptly met and usually improved upon by its competitor. It is evident that the common interest of all competing lines demands that the same rate shall be made and maintained by all.

These considerations, very early in the history of railroad operations, brought about attempts to agree upon competitive rates. As railroads multiplied, arrangements of this sort increased, until, at the time of the passage of the Act to Regulate Commerce, in 1887, almost every competitive rate was the subject of agreement. The means usually resorted to, previous to that date, for maintaining the agreed rate was pooling, a division of either tonnage or earnings. The Interstate Commerce Act prohibited pooling, but did not forbid agreement. The result was to do away, at least professedly, with the pool, but to intensify the idea of united action. The Associations which had grown up were continued, others came into being, and much thought was devoted to the ways and means by which competitive rates could be controlled. While the methods employed in different Associations were somewhat different, the essential feature was the same in all. A governing body was created, composed of the representatives of the different railways that were members of the Association, and this governing body determined what the rate should be. No rate could be reduced by a member of the Association, so long as it continued to be a member, if a majority of this board voted against it. The effect was to substitute for individual action the combined will of the Association, and to eliminate all competition from the making of competitive rates.

The Trans-Missouri Freight Association was one of these

bodies, having jurisdiction of traffic to the southwest. Suit was brought to dissolve it, and this proceeding was sustained by the Supreme Court. It was held that the Sherman Act applied to railways; that an agreement touching the rates of freight charged for the movement of interstate traffic was an agreement in reference to interstate commerce; that, if the effect of the agreement was to restrain competition in the making of these rates, that was a restraint of interstate commerce; and that it was entirely immaterial whether the rates made and put into effect under this agreement were reasonable or unreasonable. In a single word, it was held that railways had no right to *agree* with respect to the making or maintaining of competitive rates applicable to the interstate movement of freight or passengers.

To this decision the railways at first refused to be reconciled. There was then in force what was known as the Joint Traffic Association, covering trunk-line territory and embracing some of the most important railway systems of the country. The scheme exemplified in this Association had been worked out with great care, and was supposed to represent the highest state of the art of controlling railway competition. Suit had been brought, prior to the decision of the Trans-Missouri case, to restrain the operation of the Joint Traffic agreement; and this, notwithstanding the decision of that case, was proceeded with before the Supreme Court. It was said that the Trans-Missouri case had not been properly presented to the court. No such mistake was made a second time. An ex-minister to England, a former chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, the leader of the metropolitan bar, to say nothing of a galaxy of inferior suns, any one of whom would alone have fully illuminated an ordinary case, appeared. Volumes of briefs were filed, and hours of oral argument employed, in the hope that the court, when confronted with the appalling consequences of its decision, might be induced to reconsider. In vain. The former holding was adhered to, and the Trans-Missouri decision became the settled law.

These decisions at the time produced almost as much commotion as the decision in the Northern Securities case has to-day. Upon the one hand, they were proclaimed as the death knell of railroad property. If railroads could not agree as to competitive rates, nothing remained but continual warfare and final destruction. Only the prompt intervention of Congress could avert

these dire consequences. Upon the other hand was corresponding jubilation. Here was an end of railway monopoly. Competition must now resume its legitimate sway.

Such was the prediction; what was the result? Absolutely nothing. The opinion in the Joint Traffic case was promulgated on October 24th, 1898, and no corresponding period in recent years has seen fewer destructive rate wars than the one since then. Instead of railway disaster, there has been a continuous era of increasing railroad prosperity. Rates have not declined; upon the contrary, they began to advance soon after this decision, and they have been steadily advancing ever since. What is more to the purpose, the thing which this interpretation of the law was supposed to prohibit has, in fact, existed all along. The Trans-Missouri and the Joint Traffic Associations have ceased; the word "agreement" has been stricken from the articles of confederation between railways; in theory, each carrier acts independently of all others, but in practice there has been no considerable time, in any portion of our country, since the rendition of these decisions when competitive rates have not been, in fact, the subject of concerted action. Within the last five years, rates upon every important commodity in every section have been advanced. In no instance could the advance have been made by one line, unless a corresponding advance had been made by all competing lines. In many instances, the rate in one direction could not have been increased unless the corresponding rate in the opposite direction had also been increased. These advances have been made by all lines interested, have uniformly been for the same amounts and have generally taken effect upon the same day. I do not intimate that this has involved any violation of law upon the part of the carriers. About that, there may be a difference of opinion. Traffic officials insist that they are within the law. The important thing to be observed is, that advances in rates have not been prevented, nor reductions induced, as a result of the Trans-Missouri decision.

It may, however, be urged with some force that this arises from the fact that combination has taken the place of agreement. The attempt all along has been to find some method for controlling railway competition. At first the pool was resorted to, but this was taken away in 1887. Then came the agreement, and this was denied to railroads in 1898. Railroad operators were

thus forced to look for some other method of accomplishing the object in view, and this has been found in the combination of recent years. The extent to which this process of combination has proceeded is well known. It has been repeatedly shown in detail that, to-day, of the 200,000 miles of railroad in the United States, approximately 125,000 miles are controlled by a half-dozen individuals.

Now, have not the advances in rates been due to these combinations? And, if the combinations are now dissolved in pursuance of the Securities decision, will not the previous decision in the Trans-Missouri case then have effect and produce the result originally predicted? This plainly involves two questions: First, will the effect of the Northern Securities decision be to dissolve other combinations? Second, if it does, will there result such a condition as will prevent unreasonable railway charges?

The nature of the Northern Securities Company is well known. The Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railway Companies had together purchased the Burlington road, embracing some 8,000 miles of railway. Mr. Hill and his friends owned a controlling interest in the Great Northern, while Mr. Morgan and his associates held a corresponding interest in the Northern Pacific. The harmonious relations which this state of ownership induced had added largely to the market value of the stocks of those companies. So long as Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan lived and controlled each his respective property, there was small danger that these relations would be disturbed; but, in these days, it is not always possible to say in the morning who may control a given railroad in the evening. The problem presented was to substitute certainty for this uncertainty, and to turn the certainty into cash by merging the two competing lines in such a way that the thing when done should be permanent. To this end, the Northern Securities Company was organized, with a capital stock of $400,000,000; and its shares were exchanged in certain proportion for the shares of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Companies. Let it be carefully noted that the Securities Company was not created for the purpose of buying and operating railways. The total amount of cash paid in was but $30,000. It was a device, pure and simple, for merging these two rival lines. The Supreme Court has finally held, by a majority of one, that this transaction was in violation of the Sherman Act, and has

enjoined the execution of the project. How far does this apply to other railway combinations?

The Northern Securities Company was unique in the method of combination employed. It was, in effect, an agreement between owners of competing railroads to merge those roads into a single corporation. Most, if not all, other combinations of importance have been effected by an actual purchase of stock or the actual lease of property. Consider, for instance, the operations of the Pennsylvania Railroad in obtaining control of competing lines.

About one-third of the entire tonnage of the Pennsylvania Railroad is bituminous coal, and that same commodity constitutes an even larger percentage of the tonnage of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Norfolk & Western, and the Chesapeake & Ohio. These last three lines are in competition with the Pennsylvania in the carriage of this coal, not in the sense that they reach the same mines, but because they transport to common markets coal of the same quality, mined at substantially the same cost. These lines are also in competition with the Pennsylvania for almost all traffic between the West and the Atlantic seaboard, including export and import traffic through the Atlantic ports. The greatest difficulty had been experienced in controlling the competition between these lines, which were regarded in the traffic world as the most persistent disturbers of rates. In order to protect itself, the Pennsylvania went into the market and bought a sufficient amount of the capital stock of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Norfolk & Western Companies to dominate those lines. It does not, on the face of the record, own an absolute majority in either case, but it has enough to enable it to control any election, and since it became such owner, it has directed the policy of those companies. The Pennsylvania and the New York Central systems together occupy the same relation to the Chesapeake & Ohio. Is this proceeding upon the part of the Pennsylvania illegal?

By the first section of the Sherman Act, "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States," is made illegal. Plainly, the Northern Securities Company fell within that definition; it is equally plain that the Pennsylvania combination does not. That was no contract or agreement or conspiracy; it was a purchase of property in the open market. The seller probably neither knew nor cared how the stock was to be used.

The second section provides that, "every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, . . . any part of the trade or commerce among the several States" shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. Apparently the Pennsylvania Company has violated this section. It intended to, and did, monopolize a part of interstate transportation. It intended to, and did, restrain competition in the making of rates applicable to that transportation. It would, therefore, seem to be in contravention of law, provided Congress has the constitutional right to make the purchase of stock, when bought for that purpose, a crime. Whether the Supreme Court will so hold is still doubtful. Justice Brewer, in his concurring opinion, states that Mr. Hill might have purchased a controlling interest in the Northern Pacific stock, although he also owned a controlling interest in that of the Great Northern, and although he thereby acquired control of these competing railroads. If an individual may do this, because of his inalienable right to buy and sell legitimate property, why may not a corporation having authority thereto? If Mr. Cassatt, the President of the Pennsylvania Company, might purchase a control of the Norfolk & Western and the Baltimore & Ohio, owning at the same time a control of the Pennsylvania, why might not the Pennsylvania itself make that purchase?

Without attempting to forecast future decisions of the Supreme Court upon this subject, it is not too much to say that, in all human probability, the Northern Securities decision will not result in the dissolution of a single railroad combination now existing, except the Northern Securities Company itself, nor seriously interfere with the formation of other combinations. For fourteen years, this Government has been attempting to regulate railway rates by enforcing competition. At the end of that period, after two epoch-making decisions, we are confronted with increasing monopoly, with advancing rates, and with no probable relief in sight. Let it be assumed, however, that upon the strength of this present decision every combination is dissolved; what then? What protection would that afford?

Competition, as applied to private business operations, is well understood. Competition between rival railways, whose operations are not hampered by legal requirements, is possible in theory at least. It is difficult to see just what is meant by competition

in the rate between competing railways which observe the Interstate Commerce Law. Let us stop for a moment and think.

The Act to Regulate Commerce provides that every railroad shall file with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and post in its stations, the rates at which interstate traffic is transported; and these rates cannot be advanced except upon ten days' notice, nor reduced except upon three days' notice. Take two points like Chicago and New York City, which are connected by, say, a half-dozen lines of railway, all of which transport grain. The rate on this commodity must be the same by every line, for a difference of any appreciable amount would divert the traffic to the cheapest route. If one of these lines reduces the published rate, every other line must immediately reduce its rate. Now, assuming that the published rate is 20 cents, why should any one of these six competing lines reduce that rate? A reduction will not divert traffic to its line, because the reduction will be met by every other line. A reduction by all lines will not increase the amount of grain grown, certainly not in proportion to the loss of revenue. It might be thought that a reduction would induce the movement of grain by that route rather than by others; but there is an established relation between all routes, and a change in rate from Chicago to New York would be at once followed by a corresponding change from St. Louis to Baltimore and from Kansas City to Galveston. I am utterly unable to see, therefore, what should induce any one of these carriers to reduce its published rate, *so long as the law is observed.*

But, it is objected, there certainly has been such competition in the past. It has been stated that the Pennsylvania bought up parallel lines to prevent this very competition. All this is exactly true, but the nature of that competition should be carefully observed and remembered. It has consisted in the first instance in a violation of law, in secret reductions from the published rate. Very seldom has any competing line reduced the open tariff until it had reason to believe, or at least did believe, that its competitor had departed from that tariff.

This fact cannot be too emphatically stated, nor too carefully noted. Every person having acquaintance with actual conditions will recognize its truth. It is idle to say, as writers upon the railway side so often do, that there can be no such thing as railway competition in rates. Nothing more effectively disproves that

statement than the history of the rates themselves. Such competition has meant preference and discrimination; since 1887, it has been in violation of the statute; but it has been effective. It has reduced the published rate for the time being, and the reductions have often been permanent. Even when altogether illicit, it has cheapened the cost of transportation. Secret concessions in the rates on bituminous coal have reduced the price of that commodity to consumers by millions of dollars annually, and the maintenance of those rates is to-day costing those same consumers a corresponding amount. This dilemma confronts us: Shall we have an observance of law and the high rate, or a disregard of law and the low rate? To put it in another form: Shall we adopt a system of railway regulation, in which the breach of one law is relied upon to secure the benefit of another?

But all this is theory and sentiment. The inquiry is: What would be the effect if every railway combination formed within recent years were dissolved? Would that induce the same competitive conditions, with the same effect upon railway charges, that formerly existed? In my own opinion, it would not; and, in support of that opinion, attention is called to the two following reasons:

First. It has never been difficult to secure the publication of any desired rate. The trouble has been found in maintaining that rate when published. The ideas of railroad managers upon this subject have undergone, within the last seven years, during which I have had a practical acquaintance with the matter, a material change. Formerly the traffic man most sought, whether as the chief traffic official of a great railway system, or the freight solicitor, was the man who could get the business, usually by a more or less adroit manipulation of rates. In fact, the traffic official, high or low, who cuts the rate and so disturbs the maintenance of rates, is guilty of an act the financial consequences of which are as if he had hurled a burning firebrand into the storehouse of his competitor, and thereby occasioned a conflagration which consumes his rival's property and finally his own. This has been recognized in theory from the first. It is to-day something more than sentiment. The owners of railway property have been looking into this matter. It has come to be understood in railway service that a maintenance of rates is the first consideration, and the very fact that the law forbids the pool, the agree-

ment and every device of that kind, puts traffic men to an extent upon their honor, and renders odious a departure from that rule.

Second, and mainly. While it has always been a crime, under the Act to Regulate Commerce, to depart from the established tariff, it has never been possible, as a practical matter, to secure convictions for such infraction of the law. Many attempts were made with no result, and it had finally come to pass that no traffic man, when he cut the rate, much considered the inhibition of the statute or the consequences of its violation. In March, 1902, injunctions were granted, by the circuit court sitting in Chicago and Kansas City, against certain carriers, forbidding a departure from the published tariff. While the traffic man might risk an indictment, he did not care to face proceedings for contempt. The roads enjoined obeyed the injunction and insisted that their competitors should do the like. The effect was general; and, since that date, for the first considerable period of time since the law was enacted, tariff rates have been for the most part rigorously adhered to.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that, as the law then stood, these injunctions were improperly issued; but the Elkins Act, which took effect in February, 1903, provided for the bringing of injunction suits of that character, so that to-day it is possible to accomplish everything which was done by those proceedings, although the proceedings themselves, at the time, had no warrant of law. The Elkins Act further prohibits, under a penalty of not less than $1,000 for each offence, all deviation from the tariff rates, and makes the corporation itself liable. The effect of the Elkins bill and the injunction proceedings has been to secure the maintenance of rates. That condition will probably continue. The self-interest of the railways will lend such strength to the present drastic statute as will stamp out, for the future, those cases of persistent rate-cutting which, in the past, have led to the demoralization of rates. It is altogether probable that, if every combination of the last six years were dissolved, if the conditions of railroad ownership were the same to-day as then, rates would be in the main observed. In that event, no substantial effect on rates could result from competition.

I do not mean that such competition would in no case exist, for there might and would be competition of a certain kind. At the present moment (April 2, 1904), the published rate on ex-

lake wheat from Buffalo to New York for export, is two mills per bushel. On January first, it was five cents per bushel, and that is about the normal winter rate. The cause of the present reduction is a contest between the different lines as to the relative rates which shall be applied to this traffic to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Lines leading to Philadelphia and Baltimore insisted that the rate to these ports should be less than the rate to New York, and they made it less. The New York lines thereupon met this rate, and so they have gone on making reductions and meeting rates, with the present result. There can be but one outcome. Very shortly, either the roads will agree upon the point in dispute, or it will be submitted to the decision of some disinterested person. Then the rates will be restored. Competition of this spasmodic sort will exist, but it benefits nobody.

A single illustration may illuminate this matter. In the spring of 1903, railways leading from the South advanced the rate on yellow-pine lumber to most Northern destinations two cents per hundred pounds. The aggregate amount produced by this advance has been estimated at from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 annually, a neat bit of money, to be paid by somebody to somebody. That advance has been the subject of extended investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It grew out of no commercial condition. The traffic officials who made it all stated that the advance was made because the railways needed more revenue. It was a tax, laid by those who transport this lumber upon those for whom it is transported. The amount was in fact two cents per hundred pounds, but it might have been one cent or five cents. Now, in what way did competition, in what way could competition, between these railways determine whether any and what advance ought to have been made.

At least eight independent lines, many more companies than that, concurred in this action; and it may be said that, had the law as interpreted in the Trans-Missouri case been enforced, the advance could not have been made at all. Upon that assumption, how does the matter stand? The railways earnestly insist that the previous rate was too low, that the increase was reasonable, and they produce weighty reasons in support of that contention. It is possible, certainly, that they are right. They must, therefore, if they could not lawfully advance the rate, continue to accept indefinitely less than a just sum for the performance of this

service. Let the thoughtful man, after careful meditation upon this actual example, which is typical of nine-tenths of the increases which have been made, say in what way competition between railways can fairly determine the reasonableness of the charges which they impose upon the public.

There is no desire to belittle the importance of the Northern Securities decision. All people commend the courage of the President in instituting that proceeding, and the vigor and ability of the Department of Justice in prosecuting it. The indirect effect may be important. The holding company has been pronounced unlawful as a means of merging competing railroads. When it is remembered that but thirty thousand dollars in cash was required to place under one control eighteen thousand miles of railway, it will be seen that this method of manipulation has possibilities which, in certain conditions of the public financial mind, are unlimited. When it is further remembered that the Northern Securities Company enormously increased the capitalization of the three properties embraced, thereby creating out of nothing a volume of bonds and stocks upon which interest and dividends must be eventually paid by the public, and that the holding company especially lends itself to proceedings of this kind, it will be realized that the decision may be most salutary.

Neither do I wish to be understood as expressing an opinion that unlimited railway combination should be permitted. That is a subject by itself. I simply desire to point out in explicit terms that this decision leaves the question of regulating railway charges exactly where it has been. Broadly speaking, there is no probability that any rate will ever be reduced or that any advance will ever be prevented by it.

The word "competition" is dear to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and with reason; for, during years of unparalleled industrial and commercial development, it has stood as a rampart against the exactions of monoply. There are many—of whom the writer is one—who believe that it may still be relied upon, in private enterprises, for protection against the undue concentration of capital, so long as the avenues of transportation are open and the supply of raw material accessible to all alike. Wipe out the discriminations in railway tariffs in favor of the Standard Oil Company, and that monopoly cannot long impose an unreasonable price on its product. Even the United States Steel Corporation,

unless it can acquire a monopoly of iron ore, or an advantage in the cost of transporting its product, cannot permanently maintain unreasonable prices. But a distinction must be made, in all these trust discussions, between private enterprises and those public functions which are discharged by private capital. No law compelling competition between its street-car lines could secure to the City of New York a reasonable fare. Chicago will not obtain seventy-five-cent gas as a result of enforced competition between gas companies. Competition may in the past have reduced car fares and gas prices, but it is absurd to say that it can regulate those prices. So of our railroads. In the past there has been the most active competition, which has resulted in great reductions in rates; but that competition no longer exists, and something else must be substituted for it.

There is but one way to regulate railway charges, and that is to regulate them. If a rate is found unreasonable, a reasonable rate must be put in the place of it. This method is legal, as has been affirmed by courts without number. It is feasible. Every civilized country in the world employs it to-day, except our own. Even the Dominion of Canada, within the past year, has adopted that system. It is just to all parties, and no other method is.

However, it is not the present purpose to discuss railway regulation, but simply to demonstrate that it never can be secured by enforced competition. The Auditor of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in reply to a resolution of the Senate asking for information, has estimated that advances in railway rates made during the last four years would, if applied to the movement of traffic for the year ending June 30th, 1903, amount to $155,000,000. This enormous sum represents, in most instances, an arbitrary tax laid, as in the case of the lumber rate, by the railways upon the public. I do not charge that any portion of this is unjust; but I do insist that, in view of the nature of the service which our railways render and the circumstances under which their rates are imposed, some way should be devised by which the reasonableness of these charges can be investigated and passed upon by the Government. This should be done cautiously; it should be done fairly; but it should be done. No other phase of the trust problem compares with this in importance.

CHARLES A. PROUTY.

THE GENIUS OF MR. JOSEPH CONRAD.

BY HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.

"I DO not like work—no man does," says Mr. Joseph Conrad in one of his books, speaking through the mouth of Marlow, a nomad of the seas, whom we must regard as the author's *alter ego*. "But I like what is in work,—the chance to find yourself. Your own reality,—for yourself, not for others,—what no other man can know. They can only see the mere show, and never can tell what it really means." The last clause of this paragraph contains, at the best, but a half-truth; for though work that has permanent value must always, almost of necessity, mean far more to the man who has put into it his whole soul than it conceivably can to others, the latter may, none the less, find in it the supreme attraction which Marlow, or Mr. Conrad, here claims for work in the abstract—the chance of seeing in it a revelation of the essence of the man who wrought it. This is the case to a more than usual degree with the books to which Mr. Conrad has put his name; and, therefore, a complete understanding of them and of their true significance is hardly to be won without the aid of some general information concerning their author. The books themselves reveal to us a personality distinct, individual, strange, even a little enigmatical: a knowledge of the circumstances which formed and moulded it is necessary as supplying a commentary to the text, an explanation of much that otherwise is baffling. I have scant sympathy with the modern practice of lifting the curtain of privacy, of recording the incidents of a man's life for the satisfaction of an idle and unwholesome curiosity; but the work which Mr. Conrad has produced and is producing comes to us as the result, not only of an accretion of individual experience, but of a peculiar temperament which demands study for the proper comprehension of that to which it has given birth.

Mr. Conrad's books, I say it without fear of contradiction, have no counterparts in the entire range of English literature. They are peculiarly, arrestingly original. That is their key-note, their greatest distinction, alike in their thought and in their manner. The matter is, in a sense, the common property of all the world, or of that section of the world which has roamed widely; but, from the outset, the reader is made conscious of an intensely individual point of view, a special outlook upon life, of a constructive imagination working upon lines different to those common to Englishmen, of a profound comprehension of the psychology of a certain class of character, and withal of a sombre force and a forthright sincerity that compel recognition of the essential truth revealed. The manner, as opposed to the matter, is even more striking, even more original. It is wholly unlike that of any writer who has hitherto used the English language as his vehicle of expression, and may indeed be regarded, in some sort, as embodying a discovery of yet another use to which our tongue can be put. Curiously free from the trammels of recognized convention, at times rugged and even harsh, packed with phrases which, while they create the precise impression aimed at as they alone could do, yet have about them a certain exotic flavor, Mr. Conrad's style is one obviously born in its author, not fashioned painfully by his ingenuity, and so is felt to be free from all taint of affectation. Just as the Apostles after Pentecost "began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," so Mr. Conrad writes with the utterance that is *given* to him, the utterance which is his through the circumstances of birth, race, experience, training and even tradition, all of which, in his case, are widely different to those of any other great figure in English literature, ancient or modern. Behind and beyond and above this lies the power, the instinct, the genius, call it what you will, which alone enables a man to give articulate and artistic expression to his deeper thoughts, feelings and impressions, which makes these things take a form that can appeal forcibly to the intelligence of others; for, lacking this indefinable quality, the most original mind would be doomed, so far as literature is concerned, to silence and to obscurity.

It appears to me, therefore, that, before proceeding to an examination of Mr. Conrad's works, the main features of the author's history must be glanced at, since the latter are intimately

connected with the former, are interwoven with them, and are, even, to some extent, the causes of which the books are the necessary, the inevitable, result. Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski, to give him for once the surname which, irritated doubtless by persistent mispronunciation, he has now for many years been content to drop, was born in Poland in 1856. The French language he acquired in infancy, together with his native tongue; but of English, which he uses to-day with such supreme success, he learned not a single word until he had attained his nineteenth year. The spirit of the nomad awoke in him early; and, in this age, the sea —the great highway which leads men up and down the world— speedily claims for its own those who have in them the itch of travel. None the less, his first adventure, undertaken when he was a mere lad, was a journey to Constantinople, his ambition being to fight for the Turks, then at war with Russia, the hereditary enemy of his country. Failing to obtain employment of the kind he sought, he next made a couple of voyages to the West Indies in a French ship, obtaining work as what, in the Australian Colonies, is called a "rouseabout." The life was probably hard enough, but by this time the sea had gripped the imaginative youngster, had asserted over him a sway not easily relaxed. To Europe, therefore, he returned in due course, his heart set upon making seamanship his profession.

Looking about him—this was in the days long before the age of the great shipping combines—he saw that the mistress of the sea was England, that her mercantile marine was the one which could offer to the adventurous spirit the amplest opportunity of wandering. To England, accordingly, he came, settling down in Lowestoft; making the acquaintance of as many seafaring folk as possible, and presently shipping as an able seaman on board a coasting-vessel owned and commanded by one of his new friends. Studying the technicalities of his chosen profession with eager curiosity, Mr. Conrad was soon able to satisfy the requirements of the Board of Trade, and to obtain his mate's certificate, armed with which he made his first voyage to the East. The story of that voyage, and of the calamities which befell the ill-fated "Judea," has since been wonderfully told by Mr. Conrad in the sketch called "Youth," in which also is set forth the first impression wrought upon a virgin mind by the marvel, the glitter and the glory, of the East. Here is one passage. Marlow and

his companions, escaping from the wreck, arrive at night at an Eastern port, and fall into the sleep of utter exhaustion.

"When I opened my eyes again, the silence was as complete as though it had never been broken. I was lying in a flood of light, and the sky had never looked so far, so high, before. I opened my eyes and lay without moving. And then I saw the men of the East—they were looking at me. The whole length of the jetty was full of people. I saw brown, bronze, yellow faces, the black eyes, the glitter, the color of an Eastern crowd. And all these beings stared without a murmur, without a sigh, without a movement. They stared down at the boats, at the sleeping men who at night had come to them from the sea. Nothing moved. The fronds of palms stood still against the sky. Not a branch stirred along the shore, and the brown roofs of hidden houses peeped through the green foliage, through the big leaves that hung shining and still, like leaves forged of heavy metal. This was the East of the ancient navigators, so old, so mysterious, resplendent and sombre, living and unchanged, full of danger and promise. And these were the men. I sat up suddenly. A wave of movement passed through the crowd from end to end, passed along the heads, swayed the bodies, ran along the jetty like a ripple on the water, like a breath of wind on a field—and all was still again. I see it now—the wide sweep of the bay, the glittering sands, the wealth of green, infinite and varied, the sea blue like the sea of a dream, the crowd of attentive faces, the blaze of vivid color—the water reflecting it all, the curve of the shore, the jetty, the high-sterned, outlandish craft floating still, and the three boats with the tired men from the West sleeping, unconscious of the land and the people and the violence of sunshine. . . . The East looked at them without a sound. I have known its fascination since: I have seen the mysterious shores, the still water, the lands of brown nations, where a stealthy Nemesis lies in wait, pursues, overtakes so many of the conquering race, who are proud of their wisdom, of their knowledge, of their strength. But, for me, all the East is contained in that vision of my youth. It is all in that moment when I opened my young eyes on it. I came upon it from a tussle with the sea—and I was young—and I saw it looking at me. And this is all that is left of it! Only a moment; a moment of strength, of romance, of glamour—of youth!"

That is a description typical of Mr. Conrad's quality—the tiny picture, clean-cut as a cameo, that imprints itself upon the imagination, and yet has clinging about it the half-mystical haze of fancy and of sentiment which is one of the secrets of this writer's magic; but to me it possesses an added interest, because it is so obviously transcribed from a vivid and undimmed memory, because it shows that the man who saw it in his boyhood, and looked on it with the seeing eye, was even then noting, observing,

pondering, above all *thinking,* was accumulating, atom by atom, stores of knowledge, of experience, impressions of men and of things, all of which were destined later to be put to so splendid a use, though he was at the time altogether unconscious of the power latent within him.

For nearly a score of years this process was continued, Mr. Conrad roaming abroad through the world of sea and land, in sailing-vessels and steam-tramps, on clippers or crawlers, hugging treacherous coast-lines, wriggling through the narrow waters of the archipelagoes, creeping up and down the channels of distant rivers, struggling with angry waves, or passing, day after day and night after night, across the unruffled ocean beneath domed skies empty of life. For nearly twenty years he visited half the ports of all the earth, rubbed shoulders with most of the races of mankind, and everywhere looked upon all things with the seeing eye which delved beneath the surface. What an education it was! He was distracted by no mere penman's zeal for the collection of "copy," had no thought of any artistic use to which in after years his slowly accumulated wisdom might be put: for the time, his whole being was concentrated upon the work of observing, simply because it was his nature to observe, and because the task brought to him an intense delight. His profession of seaman, which gave to him his fill of wandering, revealed to him uncounted things of which he had not dreamed, satisfied him utterly. He loved the sea and his mastery of the sea—the long, lazy, uneventful intervals, and now and again a fight for the life; and all this while he never put pen to paper save to write up his log-book, or at rare seasons to compose a reluctant letter to his relatives in Poland when decency demanded such filial labor. But though he did not write, he read widely in two languages, English and French, the literary instinct in him driving him to select only the best ancient and modern works in those great literatures. Here again, still quite unconsciously, Mr. Conrad was arming, educating himself for the work which the future held for him; and what he learned became an integral portion of the man, because it was not acquired hurriedly and laboriously as a means to an end, but instinctively, gradually, slowly, lovingly, from sheer delight in the pleasure that it brought to him. And so, in the fulness of time, came the season of harvest following upon this long and mighty sowing.

It was in 1894 that Mr. Conrad was seized, suddenly and inexplicably, by a desire to rest. Almost from boyhood he had been a wanderer upon the face of the earth, had "labored in mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar,": now for a little space he would be idle, and would live ashore. Accordingly, he took lodgings somewhere in the Vauxhall Bridge Road—the "long, unlovely street" from which poor James Thomson, looking forth, beheld the woeful vision of "The City of Dreadful Night"—and made up his mind that for six whole months he would live indolently out of sight of the sea. He speedily discovered that idleness was very hard work. A toiler from his youth upward, inaction such as this irked him sorely; yet his pride would not suffer him to return to the sea which called to him so loudly. He had promised himself six months ashore, and six whole months he would spend on the dry land. But how fill this aching void of empty, useless hours? Then the spirit which had led him from the beginning, though he had been unconscious of its guiding hand, whispered in his ear. "Write!" it commanded, "Write!" He had just finished an engagement which had taken him, month in and month out, from Singapore to the ports of the east coast of Borneo. The impression of that island and of many of the men and women who lived there was fresh in his mind. Picture after picture, portrait after portrait rose up upon the retina of his memory, jostling one another, clamoring to be painted as he, he suddenly felt, alone could paint them. Material in abundance, unsought, but garnered unconsciously during many years, time, opportunity, all were his. An overpowering impulse to use these things was upon him, for genius, like murder, will out; so now, at the age of thirty-eight, the long period of probation and apprenticeship was ended, and Mr. Joseph Conrad had come to his own at last.

The fact that he debated within himself seriously as to the choice of the language in which he should elect to write, will be found to be full of significance to any thoughtful student of his work. French at first attracted him more than English. Flaubert and Guy de Maupassant fascinated him as did no modern English authors, and, so far as he can be said to have any literary parents, they are to be sought for in France, not in England or America. The love of the one and only word was a passion born quick and whole in him, and for a space he thought that the more delicate,

subtle and dainty speech would best serve his purposes. But for many years he had sailed under the old Red Ensign; his friends were mostly English; his sympathies were with the men of English race whom he had found scattered through the crannies of the world. Men of British breed, it seemed to him, would perhaps understand the things of which he had to tell as no other men could do. In the end, therefore, he decided upon the use of English; but admiration of the French stylists, of French delicacy and workmanship, of French subtlety, of French illusiveness and allusiveness, remained strong in him, and to this influence he owes not a little of the force, the vividness, the distinction of his prose. Let any man possessed of the critical faculty read a page of Mr. Conrad's work with this knowledge in his mind, and he will find that a very real light is cast thereby upon the more effective peculiarities of his style. Add to this, that the author is a Sclav by birth and tradition, and that he possesses in an intensified form the sombre but strongly individual outlook of his people, and it will be recognized that he combines in his person a mental equipment of so unusual a character that, backed as it is by literary instinct and ability of a very high order, it could not fail to produce remarkable results.

The first book, begun in the circumstances which have been described, and finished after the author had returned to his ordinary avocations and was commanding a steam-launch on the Congo, was "Almayer's Folly," published in 1895. Like "An Outcast of the Islands," which appeared in the following year, it described certain phases of life on the east coast of Borneo, the central character in each case being a Dutchman. In the analysis of these white men Mr. Conrad achieved a considerable success, the lonely, broken, melancholy Almayer, with the altruism of strong affection forcing itself upward through his mean and trivial ambitions, being a peculiarly arresting figure. He was a creation—no mere puppet of mechanical contrivance—a man, intensely pathetic in his failure and his impotence, very weak, very human, very lovable, and the story of his tragedy moves us deeply. Similarly, Willems, the Outcast, is a character which exists, in which we cannot but believe. He is vital as truth itself, and the study of his degradation is as pitiless as it is strong. The Orientals in both these books, however, are much less successful. To me they are interesting, not because they are really Asiatics,

but because they represent the impression scored by Asiatics upon a sensitive, imaginative, European mind. Mr. Conrad had seen them and known them, but he had seen as white men see—from the outside. He had never lived into the life of brown people. The whole *motif* of "Almayer's Folly"—the attraction which a Bugis chief has for the Dutchman's half-caste daughter—is based upon a misunderstanding. It is in the Eurasian that color-prejudice and contemptuous hatred of the native have their culmination. Almayer's life might well have held a tragedy for him and for his children, but it would have come to them by no such channel as that here imagined by Mr. Conrad.

This, however, is a matter of only secondary importance. True or false, the figures in these books live for us, and above and beyond them are the power of presentment, the marvellous faculty for the absolute creation of atmosphere, the genius for description, and the individual, finished style which these, Mr. Conrad's earliest works, display. Take, for instance, this picture of a Malayan daybreak:

"The smooth darkness filling the shutter-hole grew paler and became blotchy with ill-defined shapes, as if a new universe were being evolved out of sombre chaos. Then outlines came out, defining forms without any details, indicating here a tree, there a bush; a black belt of forest far off; the straight lines of a house, the ridge of a high roof near by. Inside the hut, Babalatchi, who had lately been only a persuasive voice, became a human shape leaning its chin imprudently on the muzzle of a gun and rolling an uneasy eye over the reappearing world. The day came rapidly, dismal and oppressed by the fog of the river and by the heavy vapors of the sky—a day without color and without sunshine: incomplete, disappointing, sad."

That, to one who knows by heart the melancholy dawns of southern Asia, is well-nigh perfect, yet it loses by divorcement from its context, for it is used with consummate art to give just the touch of sombre mystery which the narrative there needs.

In 1898 two new books appeared, "Tales of Unrest," a collection of five short stories, and "The Nigger of the 'Narcissus.'" The former displayed all the qualities of Mr. Conrad's earlier books, the tales called "Karain" and "The Lagoon," respectively, containing some marvellous descriptive passages. Both these stories, however, dealt with the psychology of Asiatics, and to the expert were interesting rather than satisfying. "The

Nigger," on the other hand, gave us, for the first time, Mr. Conrad at his very best. Of "plot" it had barely a vestige, but Mr. Conrad proved himself to be independent of the mere constructive faculty. It told of a voyage from Bombay to an English port round the Cape of Good Hope in a sailing-ship; the characters were all seamen of the British merchant service; there was not a woman's name from cover to cover; the hero was a malingering negro. No machinery could conceivably have been more simple, and nothing short of genius could have served to put it to such splendid use. In an interesting note, published in the "New Review" for December, 1897, Mr. Conrad set forth his theories of art, and from this interesting human document one passage may be quoted here.

"It is only through complete, unswerving devotion to the perfect blending of form and substance; it is only through an unremitting, never-discouraged care for the shape and the ring of sentences that an approach can be made to plasticity, to color; and the light of magic suggestiveness may be brought to play for an evanescent instant over the commonplace surface of words: of the old, old words, worn thin, defaced by ages of careless usage. The sincere endeavor to accomplish that creative task, to go as far on that road as his strength will carry him, to go undeterred by faltering, weariness or reproach, is the only valid justification for the worker in prose. And if his conscience is clear, his answer to those who, in the fulness of a wisdom which looks for immediate profit, demand specifically to be edified, consoled, amused; who demand to be promptly improved, or encouraged, or frightened, or shocked, or charmed, must run thus: My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you *see*. That—and no more, and it is everything. If I succeed, you shall find there according to your deserts; encouragement, consolation, fear, charm—all you demand; and, perhaps, also that glimpse of truth for which you have forgotten to ask."

That, in a few words, is a statement of Mr. Conrad's literary creed, and with what triumphant success has he attained to his ideal! "The Nigger" is a book which must be read from cover to cover: it cannot be dealt with fairly by extract or quotation. But he who reads it, or "Youth," or "Typhoon," or any of Mr. Conrad's works, will be made to hear, to feel—before all, to *see;* he will find himself deafened by the roar of the storm, aching in sympathy with the weary men who cling to the canting deck, and realizing the individuality of each of them so vividly that he

would recognize any one among them were he to meet him in the street. Whether we ask for it or no, we have in Mr. Conrad's books more than a glimpse of the truth, truth vital and eternal,—the thing that is wonderfully depicted, yet veiled by the mystery and magic of imaginative art.

"The Nigger" marks an epoch in Mr. Conrad's literary career, because it proved him to possess, in addition to his other qualities, extraordinary psychological insight of a peculiar kind, and showed that his mind—the mind of the Sclav, more delicate and more subtle than the mind of the Englishman,—was able to analyze human nature in a fashion distinctively its own. Since 1898, three more books have come from Mr. Conrad's pen—"Lord Jim," "Youth," and "Typhoon,"—the first an elaborate psychological study, the others collections of short stories. Space forbids a detailed examination of these volumes, any one of which would suffice to make the reputation of an author. Of the three, "Lord Jim" is the most important, and, indeed, is in some respects the greatest of Mr. Conrad's books. On the other hand, it suffers because we are asked to believe that the story as written was told by the seaman Marlow to his friends after dinner, an illusion which it is impossible to sustain. "Lord Jim" resembles nothing more nearly than some delicate piece of mosaic, of which each of the myriad tiny fragments that compose it is essential to the whole. It is built up, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, almost word by word, and lacking any phrase it would be marred and incomplete. In a word it is *written*, as in this age of speed and hurry few books are written; but, putting aside all question of its length, the very subtlety of this study of a man's soul makes its delivery by word of mouth in the circumstances described a sheer impossibility.

"Youth" and "Typhoon," though conceived upon a smaller scale, contain work no whit less remarkable than "Lord Jim" with its host of living characters. In the former volume, "The Heart of Darkness" grips me as does no other short story in our literature. From its opening, with the description of the sea-reach of the Thames and thoughts of the days when Britain too was a land of Darkness to the Roman invaders, the mystery and the gloom of savage places obsesses the imagination. The description of the great African river crawling seaward through the sombre forest, of the incomprehensible savage life upon its banks,

of the mean and paltry schemers who exploit that vast wilderness, fascinates, possesses and oppresses you with its insistent horror. And so, step by step, you are led up to Mr. Kurtz, the man to whom the wilderness had whispered "things about himself which he did not know, things of which he had no conception till he took counsel with that great solitude," and the culmination of horror is reached in this high priest of the innermost shrine of the Heart of Darkness.

In a wholly different strain are told the stories of the old sea-captain, toiling for the daughter whom he loves, and concealing for her sake the blindness which is creeping over him; of Falk, the man who survived because he was the fittest, but at the price of devouring human flesh; of the girl whom Falk loved, the girl of opulent charms, who exists as a being so completely realized, yet who never speaks a word in our hearing; of the great typhoon, its fury and its might thrown up wonderfully upon the background of a dense, slow, heavy mind—the mind of the captain, who brings his ship to port through sheer inability to appreciate the tremendous character of his antagonist. All these and their fellows, whom I cannot even name, live for us. They are vital, full of meaning, true. In every instance, to use Mr. Conrad's own phrase, he has "snatched, in a moment of courage, from the remorseless rush of time, a passing phase of life," and, approaching the task "in tenderness and faith," he has held up "unquestioningly, without choice and without fear, the rescued fragment before all eyes and in the light of a sincere mood." He has shown "its vibration, its color, its form; and through its movement, its form and its color, has revealed the substance of its truth—has disclosed its inspiring secret: the stress and passion within the core of each convincing moment."

His is a notable achievement, a tremendous success, and we have cause for thankfulness because circumstances have chanced to give to this man of keen observation, delicate perception and subtle intelligence a unique training and experience, and withal so complete a mastery over our magnificent language—the language which he only began to learn in his nineteenth year.

HUGH CLIFFORD.

LYNCHING FROM A NEGRO'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY MARY CHURCH TERRELL, HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN.

BEFORE 1904 was three months old, thirty-one negroes had been lynched. Of this number, fifteen were murdered within one week in Arkansas, and one was shot to death in Springfield, Ohio, by a mob composed of men who did not take the trouble to wear masks. Hanging, shooting and burning black men, women and children in the United States have become so common that such occurrences create but little sensation and evoke but slight comment now. Those who are jealous of their country's fair name feel keenly the necessity of extirpating this lawlessness, which is so widespread and has taken such deep root. But means of prevention can never be devised, until the cause of lynching is more generally understood.

The reasons why the whole subject is deeply and seriously involved in error are obvious. Those who live in the section where nine-tenths of the lynchings occur do not dare to tell the truth, even if they perceive it. When men know that the death-knell of their aspirations and hopes will be sounded as soon as they express views to which the majority in their immediate vicinage are opposed, they either suppress their views or trim them to fit the popular mind. Only martyrs are brave and bold enough to defy the public will, and the manufacture of martyrs in the negro's behalf is not very brisk just now. Those who do not live in the section where most of the lynchings occur borrow their views from their brothers who do, and so the errors are continually repeated and inevitably perpetuated.

In the discussion of this subject, four mistakes are commonly made.

In the first place, it is a great mistake to suppose that rape is

the real cause of lynching in the South. Beginning with the Ku-Klux Klan, the negro has been constantly subjected to some form of organized violence ever since he became free. It is easy to prove that rape is simply the pretext and not the cause of lynching. Statistics show that, out of every hundred negroes who are lynched, from seventy-five to eighty-five are not even accused of this crime, and many who are accused of it are innocent. And, yet, men who admit the accuracy of these figures gravely tell the country that lynching can never be suppressed, until negroes cease to commit a crime with which less than one-fourth of those murdered by mobs are charged.

The prevailing belief that negroes are not tortured by mobs unless they are charged with the "usual" crime, does not tally with the facts. The savagery which attended the lynching of a man and his wife the first week in March of the present year was probably never exceeded in this country or anywhere else in the civilized world. A white planter was murdered at Doddsville, Miss., and a negro was charged with the crime. The negro fled, and his wife, who was known to be innocent, fled with him to escape the fate which she knew awaited her, if she remained. The two negroes were pursued and captured, and the following account of the tragedy by an eye-witness appeared in the "Evening Post," a Democratic daily of Vicksburg, Miss.

"When the two negroes were captured, they were tied to trees, and while the funeral pyres were being prepared they were forced to suffer the most fiendish tortures. The blacks were forced to hold out their hands while one finger at a time was chopped off. The fingers were distributed as souvenirs. The ears of the murderers were cut off. Holbert was beaten severely, his skull was fractured, and one of his eyes, knocked out with a stick, hung by a shred from the socket. Neither the man nor the woman begged for mercy, nor made a groan or plea. When the executioner came forward to lop off fingers, Holbert extended his hand without being asked. The most excruciating form of punishment consisted in the use of a large corkscrew in the hands of some of the mob. This instrument was bored into the flesh of the man and the woman, in the arms, legs and body, and then pulled out, the spirals tearing out big pieces of raw, quivering flesh every time it was withdrawn. Even this devilish torture did not make the poor brutes cry out. When finally they were thrown on the fire and allowed to be burned to death, this came as a relief to the maimed and suffering victims."

The North frequently sympathizes with the Southern mob, because it has been led to believe the negro's diabolical assaults

upon white women are the chief cause of lynching. In spite of the facts, distinguished representatives from the South are still insisting, in Congress and elsewhere, that "whenever negroes, cease committing the crime of rape, the lynchings and burnings will cease with it." But since three-fourths of the negroes who have met a violent death at the hands of Southern mobs have not been accused of this crime, it is evident that, instead of being the "usual" crime, rape is the most unusual of all the crimes for which negroes are shot, hanged and burned.

Although Southern men of prominence still insist that "this crime is more responsible for mob violence than all other crimes combined," it is gratifying to observe that a few of them, at least, are beginning to feel ashamed to pervert the facts. During the past few years, several Southern gentlemen, of unquestioned ability and integrity, have publicly exposed the falsity of this plea. Two years ago, in a masterful article on the race problem, Professor Andrew Sledd, at that time an instructor in a Southern college, admitted that only a small number of the negroes who are lynched are even accused of assaulting white women. Said he:

> "On the contrary, a frank consideration of all the facts, with no other desire than to find the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, however contrary to our wishes and humiliating to our section the truth may be, will show that by far the most of our Southern lynchings are carried through in *sheer, unqualified and increasing brutality.*"

But a heavy penalty was paid by this man who dared to make such a frank and fearless statement of facts. He was forced to resign his position as professor, and lost prestige in his section in various ways. In the summer of 1903, Bishop Candler of Georgia made a strong protest against lynching, and called attention to the fact that, out of 128 negroes who had been done to death in 1901, only 16 were even accused of rape.

In the second place, it is a mistake to suppose that the negro's desire for social equality sustains any relation whatsoever to the crime of rape. According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, as well as the reports of Southern newspapers, the negroes who are known to have been guilty of assault have, as a rule, been ignorant, repulsive in appearance and as near the brute creation as it is possible for a human being to be. It is safe to assert that, among the negroes who have been guilty of ravishing white women, not

one had been taught that he was the equal of white people or had ever heard of social equality. And if by chance he had heard of it, he had no clearer conception of its meaning than he had of the principle of the binomial theorem. In conversing with a large number of ignorant negroes, the writer has never found one who seemed to have any idea of what social equality means, or who expressed a desire to put this theory into practice when it was explained to him.

Negroes who have been educated in Northern institutions of learning with white men and women, and who for that reason might have learned the meaning of social equality and have acquired a taste for the same, neither assault white women nor commit other crimes, as a rule. A careful review of the facts will show that negroes who have the "convention habit" developed to a high degree, or who are able to earn their living by editing newspapers, do not belong to the criminal class, although such negroes are always held up by Southern gentlemen as objects of ridicule, contempt and scorn. Strange as it may appear, illiterate negroes, who are the only ones contributing largely to the criminal class, are coddled and caressed by the South. To the educated, cultivated members of the race, they are held up as bright and shining examples of what a really good negro should be. The dictionary is searched in vain by Southern gentlemen and gentlewomen for words sufficiently ornate and strong to express their admiration for a dear old "mammy" or a faithful old "uncle," who can neither read nor write, and who assure their white friends they would not, if they could.

On the other hand, no language is sufficiently caustic, bitter and severe, to express the disgust, hatred and scorn which Southern gentlemen feel for what is called the "New Issue," which, being interpreted, means, negroes who aspire to knowledge and culture, and who have acquired a taste for the highest and best things in life. At the door of this "New Issue," the sins and shortcomings of the whole race are laid. This "New Issue" is beyond hope of redemption, we are told, because somebody, nobody knows who, has taught it to believe in social equality, something, nobody knows what. The alleged fear of social equality has always been used by the South to explain its unchristian treatment of the negro and to excuse its many crimes. How many crimes have been committed, and how many falsehoods

have been uttered, in the name of social equality by the South! Of all these, the greatest is the determination to lay lynching at its door. In the North, which is the only section that accords the negro the scrap of social equality enjoyed by him in the United States, he is rarely accused of rape. The only form of social equality ever attempted between the two races, and practised to any considerable extent, is that which was originated by the white masters of slave women, and which has been perpetuated by them and their descendants even unto the present day. Of whatever other crime we may accuse the big, black burly brute, who is so familiar a figure in the reports of rape and lynching-bees sent out by the Southern press, surely we cannot truthfully charge him with an attempt to introduce social equality into this republican form of government, or to foist it upon a democratic land. There is no more connection between social equality and lynching to-day than there was between social equality and slavery before the war, or than there is between social equality and the convict-lease system, or any other form of oppression to which the negro has uniformly been subjected in the South.

The third error on the subject of lynching consists of the widely circulated statement that the moral sensibilities of the best negroes in the United States are so stunted and dull, and the standard of morality among even the leaders of the race is so low, that they do not appreciate the enormity and heinousness of rape. Those who claim to know the negro best and to be his best friends declare, that he usually sympathizes with the black victim of mob violence rather than with the white victim of the black fiend's lust, even when he does not go so far as to condone the crime of rape. Only those who are densely ignorant of the standards and sentiments of the best negroes, or who wish wilfully to misrepresent and maliciously to slander a race already resting under burdens greater than it can bear, would accuse its thousands of reputable men and women of sympathizing with rapists, either black or white, or of condoning their crime. The negro preachers and teachers who have had the advantage of education and moral training, together with others occupying positions of honor and trust, are continually expressing their horror of this one particular crime, and exhorting all whom they can reach by voice or pen to do everything in their power to wash the ugly stain of rape from the race's good name. And whenever the

slightest pity for the victim of mob violence is expressed by a negro who represents the intelligence and decency of his race, it is invariably because there is a reasonable doubt of his innocence, rather than because there is condonation of the alleged crime.

Everybody who is well informed on the subject of lynching knows that many a negro who has been accused of assault or murder, or other violation of the law, and has been tortured to death by a mob, has afterward been proved innocent of the crime with which he was charged. So great is the thirst for the negro's blood in the South, that but a single breath of suspicion is sufficient to kindle into an all-consuming flame the embers of hatred ever smouldering in the breasts of the fiends who compose a typical mob. When once such a bloodthirsty company starts on a negro's trail, and the right one cannot be found, the first available specimen is sacrificed to their rage, no matter whether he is guilty or not.

A white man who died near Charleston, South Carolina, in March of the present year, confessed on his death-bed that he had murdered his wife, although three negroes were lynched for this crime at Ravenel, South Carolina, in May, 1902. This murder was one of the most brutal ever committed in the State, and the horrible tortures to which the three innocent negroes were subjected indicated plainly that the mob intended the punishment to fit the crime. In August, 1901, three negroes, a mother, her daughter and her son, were lynched in Carrollton, Miss., because it was rumored that they had heard of a murder before it was committed, and had not reported it. A negro was accused of murdering a woman, and was lynched in Shreveport, Louisiana, in April, 1902, who was afterward proved innocent. The woman who was lynched in Mississippi this year was not even accused of a crime. The charge of murder had not been proved against her husband, and, as the white man who was murdered had engaged in an altercation with him, it is quite likely that, if the negro had been tried in a court of law, it would have been shown to be a case of justifiable homicide. And so other cases might easily be cited to prove that the charge that innocent negroes are sometimes lynched is by no means without foundation. It is not strange, therefore, that even reputable, law-abiding negroes should protest against the tortures and cruelties inflicted by mobs which wreak vengeance upon the guilty and innocent and upon

the just and unjust of their race alike. It is to the credit and not to the shame of the negro that he tries to uphold the sacred majesty of the law, which is so often trailed in the dust and trampled under foot by white mobs.

In the fourth place, it is well to remember, in discussing the subject of lynching, that it is not always possible to ascertain the facts from the accounts in the newspapers. The facts are often suppressed, intentionally or unintentionally, or distorted by the press. The case of Sam Hose, to which reference has so often been made, is a good illustration of the unreliability of the press in reporting the lynching of negroes. Sam Hose, a negro, murdered Alfred Cranford, a white man, in a dispute over wages which the white employer refused to pay the colored workman. It was decided to make an example of a negro who dared to kill a white man. A well-known, influential newspaper immediately offered a reward of $500 for the capture of Sam Hose. This same newspaper predicted a lynching, and stated that, though several modes of punishment had been suggested, it was the consensus of opinion that the negro should be burned at the stake and tortured before being burned. A rumor was started, and circulated far and wide by the press, that Sam Hose had assaulted the wife of Alfred Cranford, after the latter had been killed. One of the best detectives in Chicago was sent to Atlanta to investigate the affair. After securing all the information it was possible to obtain from black and white alike, and carefully weighing the evidence, this white detective declared it would have been a physical impossibility for the negro to assault the murdered man's wife, and expressed it as his opinion that the charge of assault was an invention intended to make the burning a certainty.

The Sunday on which Sam Hose was burned was converted into a holiday. Special trains were made up to take the Christian people of Atlanta to the scene of the burning, a short distance from the city. After the first train moved out with every inch of available space inside and out filled to overflowing, a second had to be made up, so as to accommodate those who had just come from church. After Sam Hose had been tortured and burned to death, the great concourse of Christians who had witnessed the tragedy scraped for hours among his ashes in the hope of finding a sufficient number of his bones to take to their friends as souvenirs. The charge has been made that Sam Hose boasted to

another negro that he intended to assault Alfred Cranford's wife. It would be difficult for anybody who understands conditions in the South to believe that a sane negro would announce his purpose to violate a white woman there, then deliberately enter her husband's house, while all the family were present, to carry out his threat.

Two years ago a riot occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, in which four white policemen were killed and several wounded by a colored man named Richardson, who was himself finally burned to death. Through the press the public was informed that the negro was a desperado. As a matter of fact, Richardson was a merchant, well to do and law-abiding. The head and front of his offending was that he dared to reprimand an ex-policeman for living in open adultery with a colored woman. When it was learned that this negro had been so impudent to a white man, the sheriff led out a posse, consisting of the city police, to arrest Richardson. Seeing the large number of officers surrounding his house, and knowing what would be his fate, if caught, the negro determined to sell his life dear, and he did. With the exception of the Macon "Telegraph," but few white newspapers ever gave the real cause of the riot, and so Richardson has gone down to history as a black desperado, who shot to death four officers of the law and wounded as many more. Several years ago, near New Orleans, a negro was at work in a corn-field. In working through the corn he made considerable noise, which frightened a young white woman, who happened to be passing by. She ran to the nearest house, and reported that a negro had jumped at her. A large crowd of white men immediately shouldered guns and seized the negro, who had no idea what it meant. When told why he was taken, the negro protested that he had not even seen the girl whom he was accused of frightening, but his protest was of no avail and he was hanged to the nearest tree. The press informed the country that this negro was lynched for attempted rape. Instance after instance might be cited to prove that facts bearing upon lynching, as well as upon other phases of the race problem, are often garbled—without intention, perhaps—by the press.

What, then, is the cause of lynching? At the last analysis, it will be discovered that there are just two causes of lynching. In the first place, it is due to race hatred, the hatred of a stronger

people toward a weaker who were once held as slaves. In the second place, it is due to the lawlessness so prevalent in the section where nine-tenths of the lynchings occur. View the question of lynching from any point of view one may, and it is evident that it is just as impossible for the negroes of this country to prevent mob violence by any attitude of mind which they may assume, or any course of conduct which they may pursue, as it is for a straw dam to stop Niagara's flow. Upon the same spirit of intolerance and of hatred the crime of lynching must be fastened as that which called into being the Ku-Klux Klan, and which has prompted more recent exhibitions of hostility toward the negro, such as the disfranchisement acts, the Jim Crow Car Laws, and the new slavery called "peonage," together with other acts of oppression which make the negro's lot so hard.

Lynching is the aftermath of slavery. The white men who shoot negroes to death and flay them alive, and the white women who apply flaming torches to their oil-soaked bodies to-day, are the sons and daughters of women who had but little, if any, compassion on the race when it was enslaved. The men who lynch negroes to-day are, as a rule, the children of women who sat by their firesides happy and proud in the possession and affection of their own children, while they looked with unpitying eye and adamantine heart upon the anguish of slave mothers whose children had been sold away, when not overtaken by a sadder fate. If it be contended, as it often is, that negroes are rarely lynched by the descendants of former slaveholders, it will be difficult to prove the point. According to the reports of lynchings sent out by the Southern press itself, mobs are generally composed of the "best citizens" of a place, who quietly disperse to their homes as soon as they are certain that the negro is good and dead. The newspaper who predicted that Sam Hose would be lynched, which offered a reward for his capture and which suggested burning at the stake, was neither owned nor edited by the poor whites. But if it be conceded that the descendants of slaveholders do not shoot and burn negroes, lynching must still be regarded as the legitimate offspring of slavery. If the children of the poor whites of the South are the chief aggressors in the lynching-bees of that section, it is because their ancestors were brutalized by their slaveholding environment. In discussing the lynching of negroes at the present time, the heredity and the environ-

ment, past and present, of the white mobs are not taken sufficiently into account. It is as impossible to comprehend the cause of the ferocity and barbarity which attend the average lynching-bee without taking into account the brutalizing effect of slavery upon the people of the section where most of the lynchings occur, as it is to investigate the essence and nature of fire without considering the gases which cause the flame to ignite. It is too much to expect, perhaps, that the children of women who for generations looked upon the hardships and the degradation of their sisters of a darker hue with few if any protests, should have mercy and compassion upon the children of that oppressed race now. But what a tremendous influence for law and order, and what a mighty foe to mob violence Southern white women might be, if they would arise in the purity and power of their womanhood to implore their fathers, husbands and sons no longer to stain their hands with the black man's blood!

While the men of the South were off fighting to keep the negro in bondage, their mothers, wives and daughters were entrusted to the black man's care. How faithfully and loyally he kept his sacred trust the records of history attest! Not a white woman was violated throughout the entire war. Can the white women of the South forget how black men bore themselves throughout that trying time? Surely it is not too much to ask that the daughters of mothers who were shielded from harm by the black man's constancy and care should requite their former protectors, by at least asking that, when the children of the latter are accused of crime, they should be treated like human beings and not like wild animals to be butchered and shot.

If there were one particularly heinous crime for which an infuriated people took vengeance upon the negro, or if there were a genuine fear that a guilty negro might escape the penalty of the law in the South, then it might be possible to explain the cause of lynching on some other hypothesis than that of race hatred. It has already been shown that the first supposition has no foundation in fact. It is easy to prove that the second is false. Even those who condone lynching do not pretend to fear the delay or the uncertainty of the law, when a guilty negro is concerned. With the courts of law entirely in the hands of the white man, with judge and jury belonging to the superior race, a guilty negro could no more extricate himself from the meshes

of the law in the South than he could slide from the devil-fish's embrace or slip from the anaconda's coils. Miscarriage of justice in the South is possible only when white men transgress the law.

In addition to lynching, the South is continually furnishing proof of its determination to wreak terrible vengeance upon the negro. The recent shocking revelations of the extent to which the actual enslavement of negroes has been carried under the peonage system of Alabama and Mississippi, and the unspeakable cruelties to which men, women and children are alike subjected, all bear witness to this fact. In January of the present year, a government detective found six negro children ranging in age from six to sixteen years working on a Georgia plantation in bare feet, scantily clad in rags, although the ground was covered with snow. The owner of the plantation is one of the wealthiest men in northeast Georgia, and is said to have made his fortune by holding negroes in slavery. When he was tried it was shown that the white planter had killed the father of the six children a few years before, but was acquitted of the murder, as almost invariably happens, when a white man takes a negro's life. After the death of their father, the children were treated with incredible cruelty. They were often chained in a room without fire and were beaten until the blood streamed from their backs, when they were unable to do their stint of work. The planter was placed under $5,000 bail, but it is doubtful whether he will ever pay the penalty of his crime. Like the children just mentioned hundreds of negroes are to-day groaning under a bondage more crushing and more cruel than that abolished forty years ago.

This same spirit manifests itself in a variety of ways. Efforts are constantly making to curtail the educational opportunities of colored children. Already one State has enacted a law by which colored children in the public schools are prohibited from receiving instruction higher than the sixth grade, and other States will, doubtless, soon follow this lead. It is a well-known fact that a Governor recently elected in one of the Southern States owes his popularity and his votes to his open and avowed opposition to the education of negroes. Instance after instance might be cited to prove that the hostility toward the negro in the South is bitter and pronounced, and that lynching is but a manifestation of this spirit of vengeance and intolerance in its ugliest and most brutal form.

To the widespread lawlessness among the white people of the South lynching is also due. In commenting upon the blood-guiltiness of South Carolina, the Nashville "American" declared some time ago that, if the killings in the other States had been in the same ratio to population as in South Carolina, a larger number of people would have been murdered in the United States during 1902 than fell on the American side in the Spanish and Philippine wars.

Whenever Southern white people discuss lynching, they are prone to slander the whole negro race. Not long ago, a Southern writer of great repute declared without qualification or reservation that "the crime of rape is well-nigh wholly confined to the negro race," and insisted that "negroes furnish most of the ravishers." These assertions are as unjust to the negro as they are unfounded in fact. According to statistics recently published, only one colored male in 100,000 over five years of age was accused of assault upon a white woman in the South in 1902, whereas one male out of every 20,000 over five years of age was charged with rape in Chicago during the same year. If these figures prove anything at all, they show that the men and boys in Chicago are many times more addicted to rape than are the negroes in the South. Already in the present year two white men have been arrested in the national capital for attempted assault upon little children. One was convicted and sentenced to six years in the penitentiary. The crime of which the other was accused was of the most infamous character. A short account of the trial of the convicted man appeared in the Washington dailies, as any other criminal suit would have been reported; but if a colored man had committed the same crime, the newspapers from one end of the United States to the other would have published it broadcast. Editorials upon the total depravity and the hopeless immorality of the negro would have been written, based upon this particular case as a text. With such facts to prove the falsity of the charge that "the crime of rape is well-nigh wholly confined to the negro race," it is amazing that any writer of repute should affix his signature to such a slander.

But even if the negro's morals were as loose and as lax as some claim them to be, and if his belief in the virtue of women were as slight as we are told, the South has nobody to blame but itself. The only object lesson in virtue and morality which the negro re-

ceived for 250 years came through the medium of slavery, and that peculiar institution was not calculated to set his standards of correct living very high. Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. Throughout their entire period of bondage colored women were debauched by their masters. From the day they were liberated to the present time, prepossessing young colored girls have been considered the rightful prey of white gentlemen in the South, and they have been protected neither by public sentiment nor by law. In the South, the negro's home is not considered sacred by the superior race. White men are neither punished for invading it, nor lynched for violating colored women and girls. In discussing this phase of the race problem last year, one of the most godly and eloquent ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church (white) expressed himself as follows: "The negro's teachers have been white. It is from the white man the negro has learned to lie and steal. If you wish to know who taught the negro licentiousness, you have only to look into the faces of thousands of mulatto people and get your answer." When one thinks how the negro was degraded in slavery, which discouraged, when it did not positively forbid, marriage between slaves, and considers the bad example set them by white masters, upon whom the negroes looked as scarcely lower than the angels, the freedman's self-control seems almost like a miracle of modern times. In demanding so much of the negro, the South places itself in the anomalous position of insisting that the conduct of the inferior race shall be better, and its standards higher, than those of the people who claim to be superior.

The recent lynching in Springfield, Ohio, and in other cities of the North, show how rapidly this lawlessness is spreading throughout the United States. If the number of Americans who participate in this wild and diabolical carnival of blood does not diminish, nothing can prevent this country from becoming a by-word and a reproach throughout the civilized world. When Secretary Hay appealed to Roumania in behalf of the Jews, there were many sarcastic comments made by the press of that country and of other foreign lands about the inhuman treatment of the negro in the United States. In November, 1903, a manifesto signed by delegates from all over the world was issued at Brussels, Belgium, by the International Socialist Bureau, protesting against the lynching of negroes in the United States.

It is a source of deep regret and sorrow to many good Christians in this country that the church puts forth so few and such feeble protests against lynching. As the attitude of many ministers on the question of slavery greatly discouraged the abolitionists before the war, so silence in the pulpit concerning the lynching of negroes to-day plunges many of the persecuted race into deep gloom and dark despair. Thousands of dollars are raised by our churches every year to send missionaries to Christianize the heathen in foreign lands, and this is proper and right. But in addition to this foreign missionary work, would it not be well for our churches to inaugurate a crusade against the barbarism at home, which converts hundreds of white women and children into savages every year, while it crushes the spirit, blights the hearth and breaks the heart of hundreds of defenceless blacks? Not only do ministers fail, as a rule, to protest strongly against the hanging and burning of negroes, but some actually condone the crime without incurring the displeasure of their congregations or invoking the censure of the church. Although the church court which tried the preacher in Wilmington, Delaware, accused of inciting his community to riot and lynching by means of an incendiary sermon, found him guilty of "unministerial and unchristian conduct," of advocating mob murder and of thereby breaking down the public respect for the law, yet it simply admonished him to be "more careful in the future" and inflicted no punishment at all. Such indifference to lynching on the part of the church recalls the experience of Abraham Lincoln, who refused to join church in Springfield, Illinois, because only three out of twenty-two ministers in the whole city stood with him in his effort to free the slave. But, however unfortunate may have been the attitude of some of the churches on the question of slavery before the war, from the moment the shackles fell from the black man's limbs to the present day, the American Church has been most kind and generous in its treatment of the backward and struggling race. Nothing but ignorance or malice could prompt one to disparage the efforts put forth by the churches in the negro's behalf. But, in the face of so much lawlessness to-day, surely there is a rôle for the Church Militant to play. When one reflects upon the large number of negroes who are yearly hurled into eternity, unshriven by priest and untried by law, one cannot help realizing that as a nation we have fallen

upon grave times, indeed. Surely, it is time for the ministers in their pulpits and the Christians in their pews to fall upon their knees and pray for deliverance from this rising tide of barbarism which threatens to deluge the whole land.

How can lynching be extirpated in the United States? There are just two ways in which this can be accomplished. In the first place, lynching can never be suppressed in the South, until the masses of ignorant white people in that section are educated and lifted to a higher moral plane. It is difficult for one who has not seen these people to comprehend the density of their ignorance and the depth of their degradation. A well-known white author who lives in the South describes them as follows:

> "Wholly ignorant, absolutely without culture, apparently without even the capacity to appreciate the nicer feelings or higher sense, yet conceited on account of their white skin which they constantly dishonor, they make, when aroused, as wild and brutal a mob as ever disgraced the face of the earth."

In lamenting the mental backwardness of the white people of the South, the Atlanta "Constitution" expressed itself as follows two years ago: "We have as many illiterate white men over the age of twenty-one years in the South to-day as there were fifty-two years ago, when the census of 1850 was taken." Over against these statistics stands the record of the negro, who has reduced his illiteracy 44.5 per cent. in forty years. The hostility which has always existed between the poor whites and the negroes of the South has been greatly intensified in these latter days, by the material and intellectual advancement of the negro. The wrath of a Spanish bull, before whose maddened eyes a red flag is flaunted, is but a feeble attempt at temper compared with the seething, boiling rage of the average white man in the South who beholds a well-educated negro dressed in fine or becoming clothes. In the second place, lynching cannot be suppressed in the South until all classes of white people who dwell there, those of high as well as middle and low degree, respect the rights of other human beings, no matter what may be the color of their skin, become merciful and just enough to cease their persecution of a weaker race and learn a holy reverence for the law.

It is not because the American people are cruel, as a whole, or indifferent on general principles to the suffering of the

wronged or oppressed, that outrages against the negro are permitted to occur and go unpunished, but because many are ignorant of the extent to which they are carried, while others despair of eradicating them. The South has so industriously, persistently and eloquently preached the inferiority of the negro, that the North has apparently been converted to this view—the thousands of negroes of sterling qualities, moral worth and lofty patriotism to the contrary notwithstanding. The South has insisted so continuously and belligerently that it is the negro's best friend, that it understands him better than other people on the face of the earth and that it will brook interference from nobody in its method of dealing with him, that the North has been persuaded or intimidated into bowing to this decree.

Then, too, there seems to be a decline of the great convictions in which this government was conceived and into which it was born. Until there is a renaissance of popular belief in the principles of liberty and equality upon which this government was founded, lynching, the Convict Lease System, the Disfranchisement Acts, the Jim Crow Car Laws, unjust discriminations in the professions and trades and similar atrocities will continue to dishearten and degrade the negro, and stain the fair name of the United States. For there can be no doubt that the greatest obstacle in the way of extirpating lynching is the general attitude of the public mind toward this unspeakable crime. The whole country seems tired of hearing about the black man's woes. The wrongs of the Irish, of the Armenians, of the Roumanian and Russian Jews, of the exiles of Russia and of every other oppressed people upon the face of the globe, can arouse the sympathy and fire the indignation of the American public, while they seem to be all but indifferent to the murderous assaults upon the negroes in the South.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL.

THE BRITISH MISSION TO TIBET.

BY SIR WALTER LAWRENCE.

SOME day when the history of the Mission to Tibet is written, there will be presented to the world a tale of unrivalled picturesqueness, pathos and romance. To those who love to read of the toils and difficulties of explorers, of heroic endeavor and inevitable disappointment, Lhasa has always been a familiar and fabulous name, a tantalizing mirage, a Dead Sea fruit. To those, and they are many, who have sympathies with the Buddhist religion, Lhasa has been a very Mecca, and those who most care for Buddhism have been content that the thick veil which has shrouded the mysterious city should remain undrawn. And to those who have lived near the "Roof of the World," the home of the ill-starred Dalai Lamas has ever been a puzzle and a baffling anachronism, a mystic and melancholy evidence of the limitations of Western influence face to face with a truly Oriental situation. For centuries the mystery might have endured and the Dalai Lama and his advisers might have kept the world at bay. In Darjeeling to the south, and in Buddhist Ladak away to the west, the curious have been content to hear of the wonders of Lhasa from the simple, faithful folk fresh back from the terraced city, and have deemed themselves fortunate to be the purchasers of quaint lamps and praying-wheels fashioned by the cunning artisans of sacred Lhasa. When, from time to time, an adventurous traveller essayed to reach the court of the helpless Pontiff of the Buddhists, men smiled and knew that the journey would be in vain, and that, were he the very prince of explorers, he would be gently but effectively warned off the dreary regions that encompass the Vatican of Buddhism. Lhasa would have remained the North Pole of Oriental voyage and lingered on as an unknown quantity to an all-knowing, inquisitive world, had it not been

for the lamentable and unnecessary activities of the Buriat agent, Dorjieff, and the unneighborly trespass of our good friends the Russians. In this dreary iron age of facts and statistics, we can ill spare the romantic mystery that has hung around Lhasa; and, however much the utilitarians may rejoice over discovery and the revelation of realities, the world at large will be the poorer, and the Buddhist millions and the millions of dreamers East and West, who want their dreams, will live to curse Dorjieff, the deceiver, and Russia, the provoker of strife.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a detailed history of the events which have led to the regrettable, though inevitable, losses which were inflicted by British troops on the Tibetans at the end of March. Details full and free have been given by the press, but it is well to recall some of the most important facts which emerge from this nightmare of enterprise and achievement.

First, we must notice the forbearance shown by the Government of India. For eight long months, that quiet, pacific political officer, Colonel Younghusband, has been perched on the cold mountains vainly endeavoring to convince the fatuous monks of Lhasa that he was there on serious business. For months, the troops of General Macdonald's small force have been suffering hardships which have taxed to the utmost the cheery Gurkhas and the steadfast Sikhs; and, over those who know the passes in the late spring and autumn, an involuntary shiver will pass when they think of what it means to be out on the country between the Jelap-la and the Tung-la in the winter months. Move your hand or foot from under the blankets, as you lie trying to sleep at night, and you will probably find it frozen. When the sun rises and the bitter wind draws up the valley, the icy dust blows into your lungs, your breath freezes and you must beware of frost-bite, breathlessness, and the various symptoms of mountain-sickness. Then a hurricane arises, and the air is charged with stones and ice. Long months of misery were nobly borne by officers and men in this frigid hell of filth and unheard-of discomforts. At the same time, it was only a mission, and there might be no fighting, save the awful and unequal fight against nature; and to the Gurkhas, Sikhs and the British soldiers of the Mountain Battery and the Machine Gun section this was a business which passed their understanding. But to the authorities in India, the difficulties were well known; and, if the expedition could have started,

as was intended, in May, even then the enterprise would have been the most arduous ever attempted by the always ready army of India. Whatever may come of the great exploit, one thing has been achieved. An object-lesson in brave endurance and determined force has been given, and in spite of loss and suffering such lessons act as a tonic on the great continent of India, and as a prophylactic on our restless neighbors beyond the frontier.

Admirable patience has been displayed throughout. There has not been wanting the jeering criticism and the sneer at the "*impasse*" created by the ignorance of Lhasa and the almost insuperable difficulties of the mountains. Calamity followed calamity. Lightning destroyed the stores at Rora-thang—stores which had been painfully dragged up the cruel track. The useful yaks which had been collected in thousands for us by the friendly Nepalese Government utterly failed as a transport animal, and we have gone back to our old friend the mule. The story of the yaks, and of the devotion of the officers who were charged with the duty of bringing them from Nepal across Sikkim to the Chumbi Valley, commands our wonder and admiration. It was a march of months through the most awful country, and the march was dogged by anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia. Over 2,500 yaks perished. As marking the long-suffering, though perhaps futile, consideration of the Indian Government, one may note that the original idea of taking the yaks into Khamba-Jong across a corner of Tibet was abandoned, as the Tibetans threatened to shoot both yaks and their drivers, and to avoid a conflict the circuitous and, as it turned out, the fatal route through Sikkim was adopted. Every day brought some fresh news of suffering bravely and cheerfully endured, and every day India wondered whether the Viceroy would throw up the game in sheer despair, baffled by the rocky barriers and the passive resistance of Tibet, and the elusive tactics of China and her impossible Ambans. But those who knew the facts regarding the British Government in India, and still more those who knew the character and policy of the great statesman who is at present responsible for India's welfare and safety, knew that there would be no drawing back. The track might be overwhelmed in a landslip, or lightning, frost and snow might do their worst; but there could be no drawing back, for all India was watching, and, far away in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and Siam, men were waiting

for news. All this was, no doubt, considered when the Government reluctantly came to the conclusion that the Tibetan farce was passing into serious drama. They had reckoned the cost and the difficulties, and had decided that the interests at stake in Tibet demanded drastic measures. They knew, as every Indian Government knew, that however small, or however large, the undertaking might be, it must be successful, or trouble would follow. For, in the East, the only thing which is understood and appreciated is force, and successful force. The Indians knew that we were not scaling the mountain walls of Tibet for the sake of annexing that dreary and sterile country, and that we were not risking the lives of our troops merely as an act of reprisal for the insults and flouts of a dreamy and ignorant community of monks. It is true that the contumacy, and wanton neglect of treaty obligations, which we have experienced at the hands of the evasive and intangible Government of Lhasa for the last fifteen years, have not conduced to enhance our prestige on the north-east frontiers of India. It was possible that the contemptuous treatment of the Viceroy's letters returned from Lhasa unopened might, if unnoticed, have been followed by further insult, and in the East the spirit of contumacy is catching. British relations with Nepal are of the most satisfactory nature, and it is of first importance that they should continue so. For Nepal, strategically, is the very keystone of the Indian frontier, and is one of our most important recruiting-grounds, for it is from Nepal that we obtain our brave little Gurkhas, who with the Sikhs form the backbone of our Indian army. And it is not improbable that, if we had gone on meekly acquiescing in the ridiculous attitude of Tibet, Nepal might have had doubts as to our real power, and the thought might have arisen that the policy adopted by Tibet might equally well be followed in Nepal. Ideas spread with fatal rapidity in India, and all roads lead to Lhasa. A few years more of forbearance, and Bhutan and Burma might be taking a leaf out of the book of the Dalai Lama. It was high time to enforce the treaty which followed our successful operations when we drove the Tibetan raiders out of our tributary state of Sikkim. For the first treaty was a dead letter and the restrictions on trade remained unabated. A similar fate has attended the later regulations, which were framed by Great Britain and China, for enforcing the terms of the treaty. Various acts of practical hos-

tility have been committed by the nebulous Government of Lhasa; but, in spite of all, there was a certain tenderness for this Old World antediluvian Tibet, and we probably should not have taken Tibet and its ways seriously, had we not discovered that, for all its seeming ignorance of the outside world, Lhasa was entering into relations with Russia.

It cannot be impressed too strongly upon those who care to understand the problems of India, that the one thing which all Viceroys desire is to be allowed to develop India and her resources, to extend railways and irrigation, to reduce taxation, and to improve the various branches of an administration which affects the lives and happiness of one-fifth of the entire human race. All Viceroys have prayed for peace on the frontiers of India, and freedom from famine and cataclysms within her borders; and none of them has prayed for peace more fervently, or wrought more earnestly to ensue peace, than Lord Curzon. From the first day he assumed office, more than five years ago, he has taken up, with his characteristic energy and fortitude, burning questions of reform which have for years awaited and called for the man of action. Education, on which so much of India's future depends; police, which affects the inner lives of the people so disastrously unless it be efficient and honest; railways, such potent factors in progress and prosperity; and irrigation, which fills the granaries when drought is working havoc and famine in waterless tracts, have all formed the subject of the Viceroy's most careful thought, and in all he has effected material and far-reaching improvements. Firmly and of set purpose he has devoted himself to the less conspicuous enterprises of peace, and has avoided the more flowery field of territorial expansion. When he took office in 1899, there were 10,000 British troops stationed across the administrative border of British India. Now there are only 5,000, and in the five years during which Lord Curzon has run his strenuous and constructive course, the long length of the Indian frontier has been held with a loss of only 109 men.

It is, therefore, with no light heart, or easy change, that Lord Curzon has turned aside from his efforts for internal reform to a hazardous enterprise such as the expedition to Tibet. He knew of the hardships which would be entailed on the army; he knew of the ignorance and folly which prevailed in the councils of Lhasa; he had appraised the impotence and unreality of the suzerainty

claimed but not exercised by China; and above all he shrank from the dread possibility of the guns and rifles being used—those guns and rifles which had to be nursed against the frost in the beds and clothing of the officers and men. It was an evil, as all war and all such expeditions must be, but it was the lesser of two evils, and as a faithful sentinel of the Empire he had to accept it. In his own words—uttered the day before the unfortunate Tibetans learnt that our troops were not mere "eidolons" and that our guns were not for mere display—he said:

"I have no desire to push on anywhere. The history of the last five years has been one of consolidation and restraint, but I would suffer any imputations rather than be an unfaithful sentinel, and allow the future peace of the country to be compromised by encroachments from outside which would only have one meaning. . . . We live in days when there is a strong main current in the direction of leaving the castle unguarded and when international rivals are closing in around us with intentions that he who runs may read."

Lord Curzon likened India to a fortress, "with the sea as a moat on two sides, and mountains on the third. Beyond the walls is a glacis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we cannot afford to see it occupied by a foe. We are quite content that it should remain in the hands of allies and friends; but if unfriendly influences creep up and lodge under our walls we are compelled to intervene because danger would thereby grow up, and menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and Siam."

The spectacle of our army marching in winter through a country higher than the Alps, is due to the fact that Russia was on the glacis, and that Tibet, ignoring geographical facts, and abandoning the safe policy of absolute isolation from the world, had sent deputations to the Tsar, and was becoming enmeshed in the wide-cast nets of the Neva.

Russia has her Asiatic policy, vast, consistent, and, as far as it is possible to foresee, perpetual. Whatever may be the actual forces which have dictated the policy, whether they be religious, commercial, or racial, the policy is a menace to the safety of India; and those who are charged with the watch and ward of the Empire do well to be prepared with a counter policy of defence.

India is, at present, a poor, but improving, country, with great resources which merely await development. The last few years have been years of considerable progress, and Lord Curzon will not be contradicted by those who have watched recent events when he claims that India is "better equipped to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on the frontiers, with her agriculture, industries, commerce, education, irrigation, railways, army and police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every part of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, and with the material prosperity of her people enhanced and their loyalty strengthened." But over this bright and hopeful light which is dawning on the great Dependency, there falls the shadow of Russian aggression, and it is grievous that the money so greatly wanted in India must be spent on the counter policy.

It is well that those who inhabit the fortress, and that those who live on the glacis over the Indian frontiers, should know that their misfortunes, whether they take the form of taxation, or of military occupation, are due, not to the "forward policy" of India's rulers, but to the aggressive policy of India's greatest enemy. There is no such thing now as a "forward policy" in India. The old idea of a Lawrence policy, and of a forward policy, as the only two alternatives, is out of date. New factors have come into play, and the Indian policy of to-day may be defined as one of preventive defence. The old controversy between the Lawrence school and the disciples of the forward policy raged around our relations with Afghanistan, but India has now by a strange destiny been brought into contact with other and more complex problems. To use Lord Curzon's words:

> "Europe has woke up, and is beginning to take a revived interest in Asia. Russia, with her vast territories, her great ambitions, and her unarrested advance, has been the pioneer in this movement, and with her, or after her, have come her competitors, rivals, and allies. Thus, as all these foreigners arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation recreated in Asia, with the same figures upon the stage. The great European Powers are also becoming the great Asiatic Powers."

The European situation is watched jealously and closely by the great Continental states, whose interests are so vitally concerned.

Happily, too, for mankind and civilization, the great American nation is watching the situation, and will play an important part in the Asiatic game. Is it too much to hope that the same vigilance, and the same desire for the maintenance of peace and of the *status quo,* may erelong be extended to the Asiatic replica of the European situation? Is it too much to hope that the same honest and generous presentment of India's case, as was given in the "*Débats*" of April 1st, may before long inspire and inform Continental opinion? I quote it as given in the "Times" of April 2nd, for it sums up in a few pregnant sentences all that need be said on the Tibetan question:

"It would be difficult not to understand England's decision. For Russia, the dominant Power in Turkestan, Tibet, is, after all, a distant country, whereas for India it is a near neighbor. As Prince Henry of Orleans was wont to say, '*Il n'y a qu'un pas de l'Inde au Thibet.*' It is true that the step is one over the Himalayas; but how can even this formidable chain be compared with the immense ice plateau where the traveller, oppressed constantly by an altitude of more than 5,000 metres, drags along for more than two months in the mud and snow without seeing a single human being, or a single tree, between the plain of Eastern Turkestan and the first encampments of the Tibetan shepherds, 150 or 200 kilometres to the north of Lhasa? It is this plateau, far more than the Himalayas, which constitutes in the north India's scientific frontier, and one can understand that England does not mean to allow this frontier to be turned."

Enough has been said, perhaps, of Russia's Asiatic policy; and the reader will have grasped the fact that the march of General Macdonald's small force into the clouds is merely a concrete demonstration of the British counter policy, and that, just as Russia has a policy comprehensive and interdependent, so too Great Britain has a counter policy in the East, in which each part is essential and vital to the maintenance of her Empire in India. The counter policy was enunciated by Lord Lansdowne last year, when he warned the world that there must be no intrusion on the glacis of Persia. It was high time that the notice boards should be put up, and if the constructive and consistent policy now inaugurated could have been announced earlier, it is possible that there would have been no mission to Tibet. We think that our policy will wear as well as Russia's Asiatic ideal. It is the outcome of necessity, and has been formulated by two statesmen who possess at once a profound knowledge of British

foreign policy, and a first-hand experience of India's requirements.

Possession in international affairs, as in law, counts for something, and our case, as the defenders and trustees of India, is a just and righteous case. Speaking more locally, and with some slight experience of India and Indian thought, I maintain that Lord Lansdowne's pronouncement has not come a day too soon, and that the visible and practical illustration of his policy will have an enormous effect throughout the length and breadth of India. Nepal signals to Benares, and Benares to Madras, and there is a "feeling of solidarity and common interest" among the peoples of India, which is perhaps insufficiently realized when great deeds are afoot. Lord Curzon does well to encourage the feeling of common interest, and the time is fast coming when the common interest of India's three hundred millions will resolve itself into the problem of devising the cheapest form of insurance against foreign aggression. Unhappily, at present most Indian publicists and thinkers spell "defence" as "defiance," and in the natural and modest efforts to guard India's safety see the old bugbear of the forward policy.

It is extremely difficult to say what will now happen in Tibet. So many ideas have been suggested, and so many anticipations have been formed which have proved wrong, that one hesitates to predict anything regarding the course of events in that queer country of magic and divination. There is a precedent which, curiously enough, has not been noticed, and the precedent may enable us to guess something of what may befall. About 1840, a Dogra General, Zorawar Singh, invaded Ladak, then the most westerly province of the high mountainous country which is spoken of as Tibet. Zorawar Singh and his small force passed through a country of mountains and glaciers, not less difficult than that which has been traversed by our troops, but he was not hampered by transport and modern requirements. In two years he conquered Ladak, which has ever since remained the peaceful appanage of Kashmir. It is worthy of notice that the leading monastery — the Lhasa of Western Tibet — Hemis, not only did not turn out to fight, but made terms with the invader, and, as far as I know, the monks of Ladak were never in the fighting line. Now, it is generally assumed that the real opposition to our arms will come from the monks of Lhasa, and we hear

of rifles which have been manufactured locally, and of a National Council at Lhasa which decided on war, collected men and distributed arms. We hear that the monks are a truculent, insolent and intensely hostile people, whereas the Generals are moderate, though it is reported that one bloodthirsty General went so far as to say that, though he did not "like meat as a rule, he would not at all mind eating the flesh of the British officers of the mission." They are quaint people in the East, and perhaps the Tibetans are the quaintest of all, and we must be prepared for surprises and extraordinary developments. It is useless to judge them by our standards, or to imagine that they will be influenced by motives which appeal to us. It is, however, safe to say that the delay in our movements due to the winter weather has already affected our prestige, and that our patience has often been mistaken at Lhasa for weakness. The season is now in our favor, the ladder-like mountains have been scaled, and all is now plain sailing to Lhasa. It has been suggested that the lamas of Lhasa, and the people of the country, do not always see eye to eye, and if we were dealing with people of an ordinary nature, we might suppose that the wounded and the friends of the slain at Guru, would comment on the fact that, while the monks made the mischief, it was the laymen who bore the punishment. But such a supposition would ignore the traditional love and the family connection which every Tibetan has with the monasteries, and it is possible that if Lhasa were threatened the whole countryside would rally to the Dalai Lama in spite of the abuses and the arrogance of his court. One has heard much about the aspirations of Lhasa and the growing desire to throw off the somewhat impalpable yoke of China, and the idea is held that the unprecedented phenomenon of a Dalai Lama spared to live till manhood is due to this deep policy. But China and her malingering Ambans, and Szechuan and her greedy officials, only obscure the simple issues of the Tibetan mission, and may very properly be cut out of the drama which we are now watching. We shall know more about such matters when we have arrived at Gyangtse.

This place, a large town lying in a valley where cultivation should furnish us with supplies, is for the present the ultimate point of the mission. There is to be no occupation or permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs, and when we have obtained satisfaction and reparation the force is to retire. Satisfaction is a

comprehensive term, and it is to be hoped that it will be forthcoming when our troops take up their abode for the summer in Gyangtse. But even if the recent affair at the hot springs of Guru does bring the Dalai Lama and his advisers to their senses —and it should be remembered that Dorjieff is still in high favor at Lhasa—some sanction and guarantee of good behavior will be required in the future. It is easy to see that a Resident at Lhasa, or even at Gyangtse might for some time give rise to embarrassment and expense; but it is difficult to suggest any form of satisfaction or reparation which would be adequate and enduring, unless we leave some representative behind us. Our experience of the Tibetan attitude to treaties would scarcely justify any but the most perennial and binding terms. It is also most natural that the British Government should hesitate to allow the business to proceed to its logical end. Pity for its misguided people, and a chivalrous regard for the sanctity of the City of the Buddhists, who form a not inconsiderable section of the population of our Empire, might well make the authorities in London pause. But, for all that, Lhasa is the logical end of the Tibetan mission. Much, however, may happen at Gyangtse in the next few months. We shall be able to become acquainted with the people, to give them good work and good wages. Kindly treatment and the many little ways in which our officers in the East win their way to the hearts of the country folk, will have their effect even in Tibet. And there is another influence which may bring some solution of our difficulties. Shigatse is not far from Gyangtse, and near Shigatse resides a very important personage—the Grand Lama of Tashe-Lhunpo, the "glorious teacher." Some hold that he has an influence equal to, if not greater than, that exercised by the Dalai Lama; but, whether that be so or not, his influence, if he throws in his lot with our mission, would very quickly reduce the power and resources of Lhasa to insignificance. So far, it appears that the Grand Lama of the South has shown himself to be friendly, and the old device, "*divide et impera,*" may have to be invoked. It would be a mistake, however, to press this policy unduly. Though it may transpire that the Grand Lama of Tashe-Lhunpo has local claims to recognition, it must be remembered that Lhasa is of more than local interest, and that the Dalai Lama has up to the present been the paramount figure of the Buddhist world. And it may be safely assumed that the same forbearance

which has characterized our attitude towards Tibet for many years will continue to be exercised, and that every effort will be made to obtain satisfaction without destroying the anomalous, but still ancient, constitution of Lhasa. This is the real difficulty of the problem. A Buddhist kingdom is an anachronism in this age of statecraft and scientific warfare, for in a purely Buddhist country there can be no statesman and no soldier. It would not be difficult to bring about a revolution against the priests, or to induce the Grand Lama south of the Brahmaputra to set himself up as a power independent of Lhasa. Still less would it be difficult to march our troops to Lhasa, and bring the crazy city toppling to the ground. The real difficulty is to negotiate with a people of another world, strangers to common sense, comity and even to self-interest, and to convince them of our power without actually using that power. It would be a calamity if we are forced to storm Lhasa, and it would be in many ways a source of regret if we destroyed the central influence of the Buddhist world; but it is obvious that the Dalai Lama and his advisers must be brought to see the seriousness of the situation. So far our efforts in this direction have been in vain. But time works many changes, and the Dalai Lama may grow weary of his Master of Ordnance and Treasurer, Dorjieff, and may realize that there was some truth in the advice of Nepal, that "to bring about unnecessary complications with the British Government is like producing headache by twisting a rope round one's head when it is not aching."

The advance of our troops to Gyangtse will give another twist to the rope. The situation will develop slowly, and it is quite possible that the programme laid down by the British Government will require modification. By that programme there is to be no permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form, and no permanent mission. Permanent intervention would no doubt make Lhasa an impossibility, and reduce Tibet to the status of Ladak. Many will contend that this would be no matter for regret, but the object of our mission is not to reform the Lamaic constitution, but to secure a working convention with our neighbor, to settle the northern border of Sikkim, to obtain reparation for the arrest and, it is feared, the murder of British subjects, and to receive some explanation of the insolent treatment accorded to our mission at Khamba-jong.

We hope that these objects may be secured by the tact and patience of our officers, but we think that, while there is to be no permanent intervention, there must be some permanent security. We do not anticipate that the appointment of a British envoy at Lhasa would lead to danger, though it would undoubtedly be a source of anxiety and expense. As an experiment, we might adopt a system somewhat similar to that obtaining in Afghanistan. We might send one of our Buddhist officials to Lhasa to act as our representative and intelligence officer, and we might fairly ask the Dalai Lama to depute some responsible and substantial Tibetan to reside as envoy in India. We might, no doubt, annex territory by way of reparation, but we have disclaimed the idea of annexation, and all we want is security for the future, and some guarantee against a recurrence of the heavy expense which we have incurred on the present expedition. In the old days we should have taken hostages. This, or the retention of valuable property by way of a pledge, would be in keeping with Tibetan ideas. But we have no doubt that Lord Curzon and his resourceful officers will find some practicable and acceptable method for preventing future troubles, for safeguarding the "glacis," and for protecting our frontier and our subjects.

WALTER LAWRENCE.

A LESSON FROM ENGLISH LABOR.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

THE relations between capital and labor in England are not unlike those between capital and labor in the United States. Speaking generally, and despite the theories of *doctrinaires,* both sides recognize that their interests instead of being identical are founded on antagonistic principles; but despite this antagonism there is common ground on which they can meet, because common interests demand it. The employer in England, as the employer everywhere, is a purchaser and is chiefly concerned in buying as cheaply as possible. To the employer labor is simply raw material to be converted into a finished product and to be bought by him as he buys his other raw material at the lowest market rate. The workman, on the other hand, is a seller, and his chief object is to find the highest market for his product.

These two irreconcilable purposes have led in England to constant conflict between employer and employee. The trade-union has been one of the chief causes which have led to the increase of wages, the decrease of hours, and the better condition generally of the wage-worker. This, indeed, is no longer controverted by the employer or even by the opponent of the trade-union. It is not asserted that to the trade-union solely is to be credited this general improvement in the status of the laboring class, but it is affirmed and sustained by incontrovertible evidence that the trade-union has been one of the great instruments in bringing about this improvement. The trade-union in England has taught a lesson both to employers and employees which might be well heeded by capital and labor in the United States; and if some of the methods now in force in the United Kingdom were adopted in the United States, a *modus vivendi* would be established between capital and labor to the advantage of both.

The English labor-union owes its existence to the desire of wage-workers to provide for themselves a means whereby men working for small daily wages—wages often barely sufficient to enable them to live, which in the very nature of things made it impossible for them to lay up anything when sickness or misfortune overtook them—might obtain relief and assistance from the combined savings and contributions of the body of workers. Its genesis was, in fact, that of the charitable and benevolent society which has existed in all ages and in all countries. But it soon lost its original character and became a militant society whose chief purpose was to better the condition of its members without regard to the rights of employers, or without consideration as to whether it was possible for the employer to accede to the demands made upon him for higher wages or shorter hours. In that stage of its development the trade-union was a militant society, and the militant trade leader was the man who came to the fore. It was a period of continual agitation and continued unrest. Many of the leaders were honest; many were dishonest; but whether animated by worthy or unworthy motives, they believed that the only way by which the condition of the workingman could be improved was to embitter the relations between him and his employer, and to maintain what international lawyers recognize as a state of "limited warfare." In England that era has been relegated to the past. The trade-union leader militant has been succeeded by a leader who is as courageous as his predecessor, but who is more intelligent, and who has devoted no little time and thought to the study of great industrial questions, who has at least some knowledge of the laws of political economy, and who realizes that if the wage-worker is to improve his condition, it is essential that he shall maintain friendly relations with his employers, that strikes shall be as few and infrequent as possible, and that he shall do nothing foolishly to hamper the conduct of business or to increase the cost of production.

The curse of the American trade-union—the walking delegate and the business agent, the glib demagogue or the shrewd knave—is practically unknown in England at the present time in the ranks of the larger, the best organized and the most influential unions. Those unions are usually managed by executive committees elected by the membership at large; the executive committee, sometimes called the council, being vested with the gen-

eral management, whose executive officer is the general secretary, an official who devotes substantially all of his time to the union, who must have been a practical journeyman engaged in his trade, and who receives rather more than the highest wages paid in the trade, and not infrequently free rent, fuel and gas. As a rule, these general secretaries are men of great intelligence, several of them are members of Parliament, who possess the confidence of their fellow unionists and the respect of their former employers, and whose voices are more often raised on the side of peace than of war. The general secretary is a person of such importance in trade-union government that much of the advance which the English trade-union has made is due to these men coming to the front, and to the wise, cautious and progressive spirit they have displayed. Although the affairs of the union are controlled by the central body, each subordinate branch or local union is autonomous and manages its own affairs. Up to a certain point a local union may order a strike and pay strike benefits from its meagre local funds, but it cannot receive strike benefits from the union treasury unless the strike has received the approval of the central or executive body. In fact, the English system of trade-union government finds its parallel in the American system of government. The subordinate unions are to the union as a whole what the separate States are to the American Union. Subject to the limitations of the constitution, they are sovereign within their own borders and can manage their domestic affairs as they please; but in any question affecting the union as an entity their power is merged in the greater authority of the central body; and precisely as no State can make war and Congress alone can raise the money for carrying on war, so no subordinate union may declare industrial war without the consent of the federated body of workers. In many respects the system does not materially differ from that to be found among labor organizations in the United States, but the great difference and the great advance which the English union has made over the American is the adoption of methods by the larger unions to prevent industrial warfare and to prevent strikes and other labor disturbances. The appeal to force—the strike on the one hand and the lockout on the other—is not a lost art in England, and is still employed when other means fail; but both sides have come to the realization of the folly of fighting when it is so much easier and far less costly to keep the peace;

instead of a victory compelled at the point of the sword, instead of violence, coercion and passion, they have substituted the more scientific methods of reason, argument and the weight of evidence. It is a specially significant fact, agreed in by laboring-men, employers of labor, government officials having to deal with labor data, and independent writers and investigators, that year by year there is noted a progressive decrease of disputes in those trades where the highest skill and intelligence are required, wages are correspondingly high, and the workers are most scientifically organized; and it is in those trades where brute force rather than intelligence is needed, and the men are either loosely organized or not organized at all, that disputes constantly occur and strikes are most frequent.

One of the largest and most influential trade-unions in England is the Durham Miners' Association, having a membership of 90,000 men working in the Durham coal-fields. The Durham miners have created a Conciliation Board consisting of 36 members, of whom 18 are colliery owners or their representatives, 9 are miners, 3 are enginemen, 3 are mechanics, and 3 coke-workers. The object of the Board, as stated in the preamble of the agreement, is "by conciliatory means to prevent disputes, and to put an end to any that may arise, and with this view to consider and decide upon all claims that either party may from time to time make for a change in county rates of wages or county practices, and upon any other questions, not falling within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee, that it may be agreed between the parties to refer to the Board."

The Board meets on an average every quarter to consider the matters brought before it, and on ordinary occasions is presided over by the chairman or vice-chairman, one of whom is a representative of the owners or the men; but provision is made for an umpire whose services are only requisitioned when the Board is deadlocked. The agreement stipulates that "all questions shall in the first instance be submitted to and considered by the Board without the presence of the Umpire, it being the desire and intention of the parties to settle, by friendly conference if possible, any difficulties or differences which may arise. If the Board cannot agree, then the meeting shall be adjourned, and the Umpire shall be summoned to the adjourned meeting, when the matter shall be again discussed, and in default of an agreement by the Board

the Umpire shall give his casting vote on such matter. The decision of the Board or its Umpire shall be final and binding on the parties."

The Umpire, who has held the position since 1899, when the Board was created, and serves without remuneration but as a matter of patriotic duty, is Lord Davey, one of the lord-justices of appeal, whose position corresponds in dignity and importance with a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. When the Board finds that it is unable to reach an agreement, Lord Davey is called in, and he sits on the Board precisely as he sits as a lord-justice of appeal reviewing a case brought before him from an inferior court.

Regarding Lord Davey in the light of a judge of appeal, the Conciliation Board is an inferior court of original jurisdiction. The method of procedure in any disagreement arising between masters and men is to submit the dispute in the first instance to the Board. Here it is argued and discussed in the usual way, the affirmative side naturally becoming the "plaintiff." If it should not be possible at the first hearing for an agreement to be reached, either side may ask that it be further considered, either by a committee or by the Board as a whole, at a future hearing. This precludes hasty action and affords an opportunity for excitement to abate. It has happened that a matter in dispute has been taken up at a meeting of the Board, discussed and postponed, and carried on in that way for a full year; in the mean time the *status quo* being maintained, the appeal to the Board acting as an interlocutory restraining order. But when it becomes patent to both sides that no agreement can be reached, the appeal is then taken to Lord Davey. The two sides appear before him through their representatives in the position of appellant and respondent, precisely as they would in any other case tried in a court of justice. But Lord Davey is something more than a judge; he is also a judge-advocate—the adviser and the friend of the parties in interest; and he endeavors not only to have all the facts brought out, but to get at the equities involved, so that his decision may be based not solely on legal grounds, but also that ethical and other considerations may be given due weight. His decision is final, and while of course Lord Davey has no power to enforce it, and the disregard of his injunction would not submit the offending party to imprisonment for contempt of court or make

him liable to any other form of punishment, both sides loyally accept the verdict and carry out its provisions. And so far neither side has manifested the slightest disposition not to accept the verdict. In 1895 Lord Davey's services were twice called upon, the employers demanding a reduction of wages which the men opposed. The contention of the employers was that, based on the then prevailing market price of coal, they were unable to continue the wage-scale in force and were entitled to a reduction of seven and one-half per cent. on what is known as the "standard." The men urged that the state of the market did not warrant a reduction; but after hearing all the evidence and receiving the confidential reports of accountants appointed as the representatives of the contestants, Lord Davey decided that the owners were entitled to a reduction of five per cent., and this reduction the men accepted. Some four months later the owners again proposed a further reduction in wages, which the men refused to accept, and an appeal was once more taken to Lord Davey. After careful consideration of all the facts he decided that conditions justified a decrease of wages, which accordingly became effective. During the past year a long-pending controversy was settled by Lord Davey without interruption of work or without a trial of strength. The men claimed the right to take the August bank-holiday, the first Monday in August, which the owners objected to because of the loss caused by a cessation of work. Lord Davey decided in favor of the men, and of course the masters accepted the decision.

It must be evident from the foregoing that the Durham coal-miners have taken a long step forward in the direction of securing peace between themselves and their employers; and so much satisfaction has this arrangement given that other important trades have adopted substantially similar methods of preventing disastrous labor disputes. Mr. John Wilson, M.P., the secretary of the miners' association, told the writer last summer that a sum not to exceed $25 was the total amount paid in strike benefits during the year, and the disputes were of such a trivial character as hardly to be worthy of notice.

The men employed in the coal-pits of South Wales and Monmouthshire are organized under the name of the South Wales Miners' Federation, who have created a Conciliation Board of forty-eight members, representing equally the owners and the workers, "and, when dealing with questions relating to general

advances or general reductions in the rate of wages, also of a chairman from outside who shall not be financially interested in any coal-mine in the United Kingdom, and who shall have a casting vote only." The chairman of the South Wales Board may not deviate from the precise proposition presented to him for decision; Lord Davey may affirm, reject or compromise.

The agreement between the South Wales colliery-owners and their men recites that "the parties to this Agreement pledge their respective constituents to make every effort possible to avoid difficulties or disputes at the Collieries and in case of any unavoidable difference the Owners or their Agent or Agents shall endeavor to settle all matters at the Collieries, and only in case of failing to effect a settlement shall a written appeal be made to the Board by either or both of the parties concerned in the dispute to consider the same, and no notice to terminate contracts shall be given by either Owners or their Workmen before the particular question in dispute shall have been considered by the Board and it shall have failed to arrive at an agreement. The Board shall have power to refer such questions to a Committee consisting of one or more Owners' Representatives and an equal number of Workmen's Representatives, all of whom shall be Members of the Board, to consider, and, if so directed with power, to settle, and in all cases to report either a settlement or a failure to agree to the Board, within three calendar months from the date of the reference to such Committee, and should the Board then fail to arrive at an Agreement within one month, or any extended period that may be agreed upon by the Board, either party may give notice to terminate Contracts."

Should either party to the agreement desire to vary the existing rate of wages, notice of the proposed change must be given in writing to the secretaries ten days before the date of the meeting, with the grounds for the proposed change.

"At all such meetings," the rules state, "the questions to be dealt with thereat shall in the first instance be considered by the Board, it being the desire and intention of the parties to settle any differences which may arise by friendly conference if possible. If the parties on the Board cannot agree, then the meeting shall be adjourned for a period not exceeding seven days, to which adjourned meeting the chairman shall be summoned and shall attend and preside thereat, when the questions in difference shall

be again discussed by the parties, and in the event of their failing to arrive at an agreement with regard thereto, the chairman either at such meeting or within seven days thereafter shall give his casting vote on such questions, and the parties shall be bound thereby."

Viscount Peel, formerly the Speaker of the House of Commons, is the chairman of the Board, and Mr. William Brace, vice-president of the Federation, informed the writer that the success of the scheme has been fully demonstrated. The Board came into existence on the 31st of March, 1903. Prior to that time there had been frequent disagreements between the colliery-owners and their men, and before the last sliding scale was signed there had been a seventeen weeks' strike; but since 1903 there has been no stoppage of work and no disagreement of any serious nature.

In those trades where provision is not made for the appointment of an independent chairman or umpire, results almost as satisfactory have been reached by the employers forming associations; and those associations, through a committee, meet a corresponding committee of the union men and discuss matters affecting their common interests. This is the practice among the engineers, their union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, being one of the largest trade-unions in the United Kingdom, and in some respects the most important and influential. The affairs of the union are managed by an executive committee with the general secretary as its executive officer. Throughout the Kingdom are branches, each branch electing its own officers and managing its local affairs within the limitations of the constitution. These branches are grouped into districts represented by the district committee, which has power, subject to the approval of the central executive committee, to regulate the rate of wages and hours of labor and such other general conditions affecting the trade in their respective districts; wages in England in a trade are seldom uniform, but are based on the cost of living in the locality and other circumstances.

In the event of a dispute between the members of a subordinate lodge and an employer, the question is discussed between the district committee and the local association of employers, usually through a small sub-committee, and if no agreement can be reached the matter is referred to the executive council of the society and the executive committee of the employers' federation.

These two executive bodies meet, as a rule, every three months and take up all the accumulated business, and generally they have been able to reach a satisfactory agreement since 1900, when this arrangement went into effect. The constitution and rules of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers give the district committee, in case of a dispute, after it has obtained the consent of the executive council, power to take a vote of the members of the district upon the advisability of assisting the strike committee in the district by a local levy, but that levy must not exceed sixpence (say 12 cents) weekly during the continuance of the dispute; and in case of a dispute the members are not permitted to leave their employment without having first obtained the sanction of the district committee. The best organized unions disapprove of the sympathetic strike and discourage it in every way possible. Thus, the rules of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers provide that in case of a dispute involving a strike, those members of the society who can with advantage be excluded from the operations of the strike are not to be permitted to leave their work, and no general strike may be ordered in any district affecting the whole of the members unless carried by a vote of two-thirds of the full voting membership of that district. Furthermore, to make the members realize that a strike is a serious matter not to be lightly engaged in, after the strike contribution of sixpence a week already referred to has been made, it cannot be continued for a period to exceed one month without a vote being taken as to its further continuance for the same period; and no levy shall be ordered unless by a vote of the majority of the members, nor can it continue longer than three months without a vote again being taken.

It may be observed *en passant* that the present satisfactory relations existing between the engineers and their employers is the direct outcome of the memorable engineering strike and lockout of 1897-8, which caused a loss of hundreds of thousands of pounds in wages and contracts which went to foreign competitors, and was a victory for neither side. But the lesson, costly though it was, was perhaps worth all that it cost. It taught the folly and wastefulness of strikes, and it showed the necessity of the adoption of some method whereby they could be avoided in the future, and means could be provided for masters and men to meet on an equality and amicably discuss their grievances instead of nourish-

ing them in secret. It is safe to say that only the most insensate and criminal folly on both sides could produce another serious strike in the engineering trade.

The North of England cotton trade has always been one of the greatest of Britain's industries, and perhaps there is no trade requiring such a high grade of intelligence among the operatives, or which has carried organization to greater perfection or has more successfully eliminated the "glib-tongued popular leader." The scale governing the wages of a Lancashire cotton spinner is so complicated and so technical, and so many things have to be taken into consideration in adjusting the scale, that both operators and operatives have found it necessary to employ agents to represent them who devote their entire time to their duties. The operatives appoint their agents only after a searching civil-service examination, the nature of which may be seen from two questions taken from an examination-paper for candidates applying for the general secretaryship of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association of Bolton and District, as quoted by Beatrice and Sidney Webb in "Industrial Democracy":

"Extract the square root of 80's counts to three places of decimals, and then ascertain the required turns per inch for both twist and weft, the assumed standard being the square root of the counts, multiplied by 3 1-8 for weft, and 3 5-8 for twist."

"An upright shaft runs at the rate of 80 revolutions per minute, and has on it a wheel with 70 teeth driving a wheel with 40 teeth on the line shaft. Over each pair of mules there is on the line shaft a drum 40 inches in diameter driving a counter pulley 16 inches in diameter. On the counter shaft is a drum 30 inches in diameter, driving a rim pulley 15 inches in diameter. Give the revolution of the rim shaft per minute."

These questions seemingly would appear to be fantastical and requiring knowledge having no relation to the duties to be performed by the secretary of a trade-union, but, as a matter of fact, they are extremely practical, because, as the Webbs point out, "the earnings of a cotton spinner, for instance, depend upon the complex interaction of such factors as the 'draw' of the mule, the number of its spindles, and the speed with which the machinery works. To compute the operative's earnings, even with the aid of the elaborate printed tables known as the 'list,' entails no ordinary amount of arithmetical facility." In case of defective

or obsolete machinery or inferior cotton, allowances are made to the operative, and if the employer has added improvements to his machinery by which the operative can increase his output without additional strain, the employer may make certain deductions from the "list."

Although the cotton operatives have shown a disinclination to adopt the scheme of boards of conciliation under the presidency of an outside chairman as has been done by the coal-miners, they have adopted the system in principle and have displayed the same spirit of progression in finding a remedy for industrial disputes.

In the Lancashire cotton trade there is a joint committee composed of operatives and employees whose functions are to settle all questions relating to wages and conditions of labor. The scale is determined by joint agreement between committees of the employers and the Northern Counties Amalgamated Weavers' Association, the central executive body, which has subordinate local unions in every town in the Lancashire cotton district; the scale continuing for an indefinite period, but subject to change at any time by mutual consent, or if no agreement can be reached recourse can of course be had to a strike or a lockout. But it is noteworthy that the scale under which the men are working at the present time went into effect in 1892, and since then there has been only one change, when an advance of 2½ per cent. was made in 1898. It will, therefore, be seen that the Lancashire cotton trade has enjoyed a long period of peace, which has resulted to the advantage of both sides.

The principle governing the weavers' association is that neither side to the agreement has the right to make any material modification in the wage-scale without an opportunity being afforded to the joint committee to bring about a satisfactory adjustment.

It seems unnecessary to cite further specific instances of the existence of boards of conciliation in various trades, although it may be mentioned, parenthetically, that the principle of voluntary conciliation has been adopted by the boot and shoe trade, the Northumberland miners, the North of England iron and steel trade, the men working in the Cleveland iron district, in the Nottingham lace trade and numerous others. Nearly every trade presents some modifications in the details of the scheme to suit the particular requirements of that trade or the temperamental idiosyncrasies of

the workers, either in the matter of the appointment of arbitrators or the method in which disputes are brought before the Board, but fundamentally they are all the same, and the basic and controlling principle is that neither employers nor employees shall take advantage of their assumed strength and dislocate the ordinary routine of life by preventing men from working or by the men refusing to work, unless it becomes apparent after repeated conference and discussion that compromise is impossible, or that a matter of principle is involved which admits of no compromise. A majority of the great wars of history were capable of being avoided had justice, reason and forbearance been substituted for injustice, anger and hate; and it is no exaggeration to say that industrial warfare is usually born in passion and nourished by ignorance and cupidity, neither side being more guilty than the other, and both being equally unyielding and resolved as a matter of pride to win the fight. If a board of conciliation accomplishes nothing else—although in most cases it has accomplished a great deal more—it at least affords an opportunity for passion to cool off, for men to take a more rational view of all the circumstances surrounding the particular matter in dispute, for a careful and considerate deliberation of the material facts involved, and the equities and the ethical considerations which may influence the relations between employer and employee. Thus, the rules adopted by the Board of Conciliation and the Leicester boot and shoe trade (Rule XVII.) provide "that there must be no suspension of work, either at the instigation of the employers or workmen, the main object of the Board being to prevent this. If any suspension of work takes place, the Board may refuse to inquire into the dispute till work is resumed, whilst the fact of its having been interrupted will be taken into account on considering the question. That in order that the complainant or complainants may not lose through waiting, any recommendation of the committee of inquiry or any decision of the Board shall be made to date back to the time of the complaint being sent in." Similarly, the rules of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the manufactured iron and steel trade of the North of England contain this injunction (By-law 20): "Above all, the Board would impress upon its subscribers that there must be no strike or suspension of work. The main object of the Board is to prevent anything of this sort, and if any strike or suspension of work

takes place, the Board will refuse to inquire into the matter in dispute till work is resumed, and the fact of its having been interrupted will be taken into account in considering the question. It is recommended that any changes in the modes of working requiring alterations in the hours of labor, or a revision of the scale of payments, should be made matters of notice, and as far as possible of arrangement beforehand, so as to avoid needless subsequent disputes as to what ought to be paid."

It has been pointed out that in nearly all the trades both parties to the agreement pledge themselves loyally and faithfully to observe the decisions of umpires or arbitrators, but in some trades to insure compliance with the terms of the charter the parties have entered into a bond to observe its stipulations, and attention may be called to at least one notable instance where disregard of a decision resulted in a heavy fine being imposed upon the union violating the compact.

The Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, in 1895, entered into the usual agreement for the appointment of a Board of Conciliation and placed in the hands of trustees the sum of £1,000 as a guarantee for the observance of the compact. Lord James, of Hereford, one of the law lords, was designated as the Umpire. In 1890 a dispute arose between the proprietors of a London shop and their men, who offered to submit the question to the Board of Conciliation, but this the men refused. The employers then claimed damages because of the violation of the terms of the agreement, which contained the usual stipulation that there should be no strike or lockout pending a decision by arbitration. The claim for damages was argued before Lord James, who decided that the union had violated the terms of the agreement and awarded to the Federation the sum of £300 as damages to be paid out of the trust fund. After the award was made the official organ of the union said: "The fine of £300 imposed upon the union for the breach by our London members we hope will be a warning to executives not to break away from rules and agreements entered into, for while the agreements are in existence we have every desire that they shall honorably be carried out by both sides," and that they have been honorably carried out by both sides is evidenced from the fact that this was the only occasion Lord James was required to draw on the trust fund.

These brief recitals of the facts prove themselves and will be accepted by the reader as worth something or nothing, according to his point of view or preconceived ideas regarding the "rights" of capital or labor, but it must be self-evident that the substitution of conciliation for hostilities must have a tendency to reduce the number of strikes and produce valuable economic results. Official statistics substantiate the correctness of this belief.

The last annual report of the Board of Trade shows that in the last five years there has been a steady decrease in the number of disputes, the number of workers affected, and the aggregate number of working days of all disputes. The number of disputes has fallen from 864 in 1897 to 642 in 1901, the latest available statistics; the number of working people affected has decreased in the same period from 230,267 to 179,546, and the aggregate of working days from 10,345,523 to 4,142,287; but as the report points out, these figures, gratifying as they are, express only a part of the work performed by boards of conciliation and their share in bringing about the more friendly relations that now exist between employers and their workmen. "The settlement of strikes and lockouts," the report says, "forms but a very small proportion of the work of permanent conciliation and arbitration boards and joint committees. To appreciate these agencies at their true value, account should also be taken of the numerous alterations effected in working conditions by them without any stoppage of work having taken place. Thus, in a recent report on changes of wages and hours of labor in 1901, it is shown that 75 per cent. of all the changes of the year, as measured by numbers of persons affected, were arranged by sliding scales, wages boards or other methods of arbitration and conciliation, while only 2 per cent. of the changes followed upon strikes or lockouts."

The lesson which American labor — and employers equally — may learn from British labor is obvious, but more important even than the beneficial result, which is so apparent that it needs no elaboration, are two other purposes accomplished, the value of which is incalculable. The trade-union becomes an enormous force for conservatism and stability and acts as a restraining influence upon employers who would seek to take an unfair advantage of their men, and no less so upon those men who are unscrupulous in the use of their power over an employer. Agreements for the settlement of disputes cannot be made between indi-

vidual employers and individual employees; to achieve practical results they must be between federated employers and federated workmen. The trade-union furnishes the machinery on the part of the men.

But perhaps even more important is the respect inculcated for the sanctity of an agreement, and the moral effect which follows from loyal acquiescence to authority, even although it means personal loss. It is no small thing for men to have their wages reduced by the decision of an umpire who is neither an employer nor familiar with their trade, and yet it speaks much for them when they accept the decision uncomplainingly, and have no more thought of disregarding it than they would of violating the mandate of a court; when they accept the decision because they believe in the honesty and sincerity of their umpire; and because having entered into an agreement their honor requires that it shall be observed. Men who have entered into an agreement to submit their disputes to the test of arbitration are not likely to make demands which an arbitrator will not sustain, nor to substitute violence and intimidation for argument.

Nor is labor the only gainer. If an employer can be induced to meet his men face to face, frankly to discuss with them their demands, and show a disposition to deal with them fairly, some of the antagonism which now exists may disappear; at least it may be assumed that a way is opened for a settlement of their differences and many difficulties are removed. It is the statement of large employers of labor in England that the frequent interchange of opinions among themselves and their men, through committees and other agencies, promotes harmony and eliminates friction, because the employer can know of those things to which the men object, and it is always easier to dam a rivulet than it is to stop a torrent; and free and full discussion often convinces the intelligent representatives of labor that what appears proper and reasonable to them is impossible in view of the state of the market or other circumstances of which they are ignorant.

A. Maurice Low.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER AS HE IS.

BY A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

AMERICANS have heard a great deal of abuse — principally from inaccurate fireside critics—about their soldiers and officers in the Philippines, about the cruelty of the latter towards the natives, and many other misdeeds; court-martialings of officers have been frequent and their publicity increased by excessive big-drum beating. Perhaps a few frank remarks on the American soldiers from one who is neither an American citizen nor a military man, but who has had exceptional opportunities of observing the American soldier, both in active service and in time of peace, may not be unwelcome to unprejudiced people.

To put it mildly, one might almost feel inclined to state at the outset that most accusations brought against the American soldier are "absolute nonsense": the other few "almost nonsense." There have been cases, of course, where American soldiers have actually — but generally under severe provocation — lost their heads and behaved in an inhuman way; but these cases, when the facts are impartially sifted down, are but few and far apart. It is all very easy for people who sit at home—thousands of miles from where the bullets fly—to grow hysterical over this and over that, and to condemn those who, at the risk of their lives, endure hardships in the service of their country; but it should ever be borne in mind that the most humane war can but at best be a revoltingly cruel occurrence, during which, despite the kindest intentions in the world, infinite destruction, pain and torture are bound to be caused to innumerable people on all sides.

I am in no way defending those who have actually been guilty, for no one abhors more than myself the very idea of inflicting pain on any living thing, whether man or beast. I think, indeed, that no punishment can be severe enough for those who un-

necessarily subject the enemy to any kind of torture under any consideration whatever, and I most certainly condemn the "water cure" and such infamous methods of procedure—which, unfortunately, have been resorted to in a few cases—even when the enemy himself may have been indulging in similar ways. If the boast is made of importing a perfected civilization, retaliation is, to my mind, not best effected by descending to the low modes of barbarians. Above all, let us give savages a noble and good example. In the case of American officers and soldiers in the Philippines, as far as I could ascertain, the proven instances of unnecessary cruelty towards natives were but a very exaggerated few. It seems, therefore, a pity that the names of many brave and innocent officers have been mercilessly dragged in the mire, either through the spite or jealousy of others or on meagre and untrustworthy testimony of interested parties. There is to my mind no more demoralizing influence for a soldier of any country than unfair and unmerited accusations brought against him by ungrateful fellow citizens. Again I repeat, if cruelties have occurred, punish to the utmost the actual offenders, but by no means be unjust and drag in as well those—the majority—who have done and are doing excellent work and faithfully serving their country.

I have had the honor of meeting a great number of American officers, both during the Chinese war and in various parts of the Philippine Archipelago, and I was in most cases struck by the morally magnificent type of men who lead the American army—fair, open-minded, businesslike, hard-working officers, combining patience in tedious plodding through excessive office-work, with pluck and dash and, above all, tact and accurate judgment when in the field. It is not to be regretted that the American officer lacks the overwhelming love for wearing-apparel which characterizes military men of many European armies, and his simplicity of clothing is, indeed, well matched by his easy, manly, sensible manner. There is no superfluity of gold braiding, no idiotic monocle deforming one section of the face and impeding the sight, no exaggerated sword dangling noisily upon the ground, no swagger worth noticing; but when it comes to doing the actual work of a warrior, although it is accomplished with no show and no pomp, it is done well, very well.

Such men as those who hail from West Point have, of course,

acquired polish of manner, and are, in a way, possibly superior, owing to the perfect military training they have undergone; but one cannot help being impressed in the American army by the remarkable, natural, gentlemanly manner even of those many officers who have risen from the ranks. This is particularly noticeable to any one who is familiar with a similar class of men in European armies, and is due, I think, mostly to the fact that, taken personally, the American soldier is vastly the superior of the two in intelligence, and, although often but self-taught, he is ever so much better educated than the average soldier of other countries. Hence his facility in rising again with ease to a social grade which, in enlisting as a soldier, he had but temporarily discarded. In most European armies, the officers who rise from the ranks are comparatively few, as few men of the better classes have the moral courage of the American to descend in order to make at all costs a fresh start in life; also because conventionalities and red-tape make it somewhat difficult and, anyhow, unpleasant for such men to get on at all in the army, their career being generally hindered and hampered in every possible way, if not officially, at least in private life, by brother officers who began life in luckier circumstances. In England, for instance, although matters are gradually becoming better, the ablest of young officers with no private means of their own would find it very up-hill work to keep pace with the extravagant social habits of their brother officers, and any attempt to diverge from antiquated social rules would not be looked upon with favor, as we unfortunately had occasion to hear not very long ago.

The modest way in which I saw American army officers live in the Philippines could not but be admired. The regimental mess was generally of the simplest description, absolutely devoid of even the remotest suspicion of luxury; in fact, in many of the messes one had to sit on empty packing-cases, as chairs were scarce, if there were any at all; while such articles as silver plate upon the table were luxuries not even dreamt of. The food was of the most humble kind, and perhaps in this line national sentiment often took the place of climatic precautions. Bacon played an important part in the diet, with abundant helpings of Boston beans and liquefied canned tomatoes, with some occasional but often unrecognizable pie to follow, the whole washed down with boiled water. So that no accusation can be brought against

the American officer for luxurious living. Many, it is true, suffered from dysentery or other internal troubles in a more or less marked degree, but yet all seemed happy enough and one seldom heard a grumble.

Perhaps one word of admiration is also due to those plucky and faithful ladies, the wives of American officers, who not only follow their husbands to outlandish countries, but brave by their side the dangers of a tropical climate, far away from all the most cherished minor pleasures of feminine taste. They were, indeed, a ray of sunshine in the otherwise monotonous social existence of some of the more remote camps in the Philippines, and with the incessant thoughtful charm and unconventional brightness so typical of American ladies they were indeed a boon to their lucky husbands, as well as the respected idols of the entire camp. A tropical climate such as that of the Philippines is most disastrous to the looks and the general health of white ladies; but these self-sacrificing American women, strong-willed and ever alive to their duties, endured it all with a courage which one could not but thoroughly appreciate.

Barring occasional jealousies, which are but human, it was always a very great pleasure to me to notice how cordial, almost brotherly, American officers were to one another when off duty, regardless of social standing or rank. After all, whether a man is a general or a lieutenant, it should not be forgotten that a human being is a human being. The custom of the American officer in this respect should certainly serve as an example to officers of other nations, who, I think, would benefit much by it, as well as the interests of their respective countries.

The American officer in the Philippines is in many of the more inaccessible posts often overworked to an unnecessary degree. I have known of one officer who filled no less than fourteen different posts, and, considering the amount of paper-work which is demanded of American officers, it is not surprising that that officer, after some years of strain, broke down. It was, nevertheless, most interesting to note how, under the stress of circumstances, an American officer, besides being a splendid soldier, can be switched on to do outside work of the most varied kinds. Some of the most practical Provincial Civil Governors I had the pleasure of meeting in the Philippines were detailed from among army officers; and, indeed, on going about, one had to come to

the conclusion that army officers could turn their hand, and generally successfully, to almost anything. Several of the Government Bureaus in Manila were in charge of army men, and such matters as temporarily running farms and schools seemed to make a pleasant change in the usual routine of daily military work.

Let us come to the private soldier and examine him as a man. If you can discard the blunt manner (which is mostly assumed to show his independence), and the profusion of swear-words (which seem to come somewhat more naturally) interspersing his conversation, there is something very nice about the American soldier. He is intelligently simple in his ways, ever full of resource, quick and shrewd, unboundedly good-natured, and possibly he is, of the soldiers of various nationalities who have come under my observation, the most humane of all. Yes, indeed; behind a roughness of speech which is almost startling, a heart of gold is to be found in most American soldiers. I have seen men in the field, on more than one occasion, whom, from outward appearances, one would put down as perfect brutes, gentle and considerate—almost as gentle as women—towards wounded comrades or fallen enemies.

The American soldier has a blunt code of honor of his own, devoid of conventionalities, but with some sound gentlemanly principles in it.

Non-American military critics pound a great deal on the fact that the American soldier is undisciplined as compared with European soldiers of several nations—the German, for instance, the most perfectly drilled soldier in the world; but, as I have had occasion to point out elsewhere, the finest "parade soldier" does not always make the best soldier in the field, and to my mind discipline carried out to an inordinate extent is detrimental rather than otherwise in producing an efficient fighter. With the perfected weapons one possesses nowadays, it is more the development, not the suppression, of individual intelligence that counts in gaining victories. Perhaps the Chinese war afforded the best lesson, as the soldiers of all nations were to be seen fighting side by side.

Comparisons are always odious, but I remember making one at the time, in a book called "China and the Allies," between the American and German soldiers when marching through

the Forbidden City in Pekin the day we entered it. I wrote then:

"The American soldiers were most enthusiastically cheered by the Allies, and they deserved it, for, indeed, they had done excellent work in the campaign. On this particular occasion, when one could contrast and compare them with other nationalities, one was specially struck by the individually intelligent appearance of the men and by the matter-of-fact mien of the line officers. They presented quite as good a military appearance as soldiers of any other nation. The German contingent came next. Splendid men, tall, heavy, machinelike, and all so exactly alike in height, build and shape that they seemed made in the same mould. The contrast between them and the natural, easy-going Americans was great, their extraordinary parade march—as unnatural a way of locomotion as was ever invented—causing much merriment among less perfectly drilled soldiers of other nations."

I further observed:

"The American soldier is the type, with some slight improvement, of the soldier of the future. He is a general and a tactician in himself. He possesses a great deal of dash and courage, much unconscious perception and natural intelligence. He did wonders in the Chinese campaign, and were he to possess a stronger physique and a healthier constitution, both of which he does much towards ruining, he would decidedly be the best soldier in the world."

Having since seen much of the American soldier in the Philippines, I am prepared not only to repeat that statement but to add that, with the many sensible improvements which have of late been adopted in the American army, for fighting purposes the American soldier is as perfect as he can be made under existing circumstances. There remains, of course, the matter of his health and endurance, both of which, I think, are gradually improving, but which may yet be made infinitely better. It is a pity—a very great pity—that the American soldier drinks more copiously than wisely; but that, again, is one of the great scourges of over-civilized countries, and for this, more than the soldier himself, are to be blamed that lot of solicitous people at home who cannot differentiate between rules which read well on paper and those which do actual good. If drink in moderation were permitted or tolerated, or at least controlled, as it used formerly to be, by the military authorities, much poisoning of soldiers by liquor clandestinely obtained could be avoided. Once the temptation of doing that which is forbidden were removed, I think a

good deal might be accomplished in reforming the soldier on that line, which is his weakest. Drinking in moderation, and with some judgment as to what one drinks, I do not suppose, hurts anybody to any serious extent; but the misdirected efforts of well-meaning people at home to superintend the morals of soldiers is tantalizing to the latter in an extreme degree, and often leads to results diametrically opposed to those expected.

Barring the drinking, the American soldier is no more immoral than the average civilian one meets—in fact, a great deal less—because his work in itself is not conducive to a life of leisure.

Really, when one takes the trouble to examine the average type of American soldier, it is rather interesting to note what a well-behaved, honorable man he is. He ever combines with all his fighting instincts, which are developed to an intense degree, a remarkably good business head and an eye to improving himself in the world. Many a discharged soldier I met in the Philippines had forfeited his free passage back to the States in order to start farming or trading; and a number, I was glad to see, were quite successful in their efforts. Others, the more reckless, those who wished to make a fortune in a week, but did not, had taken to mining; but these, with few exceptions, were less desirable. Then again, others had started bookstores, shops, saloons, anything at which money was to be made.

Contrary to what many people believe, the American soldier is not generally disliked by the natives in the Philippines. Taking things all round, I think the average native has a great respect for the American soldier, and, certainly, in a more intensified degree, for the American officer. This does not mean that misunderstandings, either from private quarrels or other personal causes, do not occasionally arise, and the innocent frequently suffer for the guilty. But it is always well to differentiate between the sentiment towards individuals and the sentiment towards the men as soldiers. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that the average American regards every native in the Philippines as a sort of traitor, a suspicion which the natives with their strongly developed natural insight feel most keenly. When the Americans and the natives learn to trust one another more frankly and implicitly, I believe what little friction there may be between them now in the Philippines will be altogether removed.

A. Henry Savage Landor.

SOME INDUSTRIAL TENDENCIES IN IRELAND.

BY GEORGE F. PARKER, COMMISSIONER OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No apology is necessary for reviewing anew, from time to time, the conditions to be found in Ireland. However these may change in general, the poverty, the distress, and the resulting disaffection always appeal to a people who, prosperous themselves, and with nothing in all their history to suggest a famine or even a serious shortness of food over any wide area, have developed a sense of sympathy naturally much stronger than that existing in countries, some part of whose widely scattered population is accustomed to periodical suffering or scarcity among a considerable proportion of their inhabitants.

It is often charged that Americans are inclined to meddle in Irish politics; but, if the sentiment of the people of the United States towards Ireland could be analyzed, in all its bearings, the discovery would be made that, instead of being based upon political grievances, both its genesis and its reason are found in the serious economic defects which make that country one of the poorest in the world. When it is recalled that, in 1900, the United States contained nearly five million persons of Irish birth or parentage, and as many more of Irish ancestry; that the majority of those who desert Ireland each year still seek American refuge; that a large proportion of them have only been able to do so by the money, painfully saved, and remitted thence by relatives or friends who have preceded them; that, in addition, thousands of remittances, small individually, but large in the aggregate, are sent each year for the support of those too young or too old to emigrate; and that large sums are sent back in the form of legacies, gifts to schools, churches, and for other public

purposes, too much emphasis may easily be laid upon the comparatively petty contributions intended to promote or assist political agitation.

The fact that there are in the United States more than twice as many persons of Irish blood as in Ireland itself, and that they are frugal, industrious, and hopeful, while those in the country of origin become fewer each year their prosperity lingers, ought to give pause to these extremists always to be found in the dual Irelands all over the world. Eighty millions of people, who in their home affairs know nothing but Home Rule, and absorb, without difficulty, ten millions of Irish, may well be pardoned the impression that, if concessions are to be granted, those who remain behind ought to have some one of the things they want rather than the many forced upon them. All these realities and aspirations may be the result of a political or social delusion, but, if so, they deserve and demand analysis and patience rather than the vituperation and questioning of motives, which, on both sides of the Atlantic, spring up ever ready for use.

For my own part, I am in no wise concerned with the internal politics of Ireland, and, in the course of this article, shall not refer to it, either for citing a fact or expressing an opinion. But the awful poverty, plain to him who goes to Ireland with eyes and ears open, is no delusion. Go where he will, he must see it or hear of it. During a recent visit there, in pursuance of a public duty, I travelled over five or six hundred miles of the Irish railways, and also drove or rowed over another hundred and fifty miles, sometimes in well-known places, again in others off the ordinary lines of tourist travel. I tried to see its varied life, now as represented in Dublin during the week of the exclusive and aristocratic Horse Show, then in the vile slums so painfully in evidence in the capital, Cork, and Belfast, and even in many smaller places. I mingled everywhere with its people, including travellers in trains, the ever-present and most effective constabulary, the parish priests, the farmers in the market towns, laborers in the streets, manufacturers, merchants, and United States Consuls, in at least ten out of the sixteen counties visited. I also saw both managers and people at the Cork Exhibition—one of the most creditable and useful held anywhere, even during an age of exhibitions.

In addition, I came into contact, in Dublin, Cork, Killarney,

Drogheda, Belfast, Londonderry, Omagh—the principal centres from which I walked or drove and in village and country—with the men who, realizing how poor Ireland is and how closely its woes tread upon the heels of its poverty, are bending every effort to promote a change for the better. These men, with no party interests to serve, are seeking to check emigration—now become a real drain upon Irish life—by removing its causes and thus making it unnecessary. While they really carry their religion into it, it is only to show their contempt for theological distinctions—something more needed in Ireland, perhaps, than in any other country in the world. The excuse for this article, from the first word to the last, is the desire to outline, as briefly as possible, the conditions, to tell of the work these men have done and are trying and hoping to do, and also to emphasize its necessity.

There is little occasion for analyzing anew the people of Ireland. Their energy and activity, their qualities and their enforced migration, have made them as familiar in every quarter of the globe as at home. But that decline in numbers, rapid after the famine, since then steady and persistent, is an element which cannot be too often emphasized. As this policy was both encouraged and necessary, the race soon found a foothold in every new country. For some years it has been recognized, in Ireland and elsewhere, as a serious economic weakness, and the mainspring of the efforts, now directed in an organized way, to the encouragement of self-help, is the determination to check the movement in some wholesome way. Those engaged in this movement believe that there is no real industrial reason for its continuance. They perceive that Ireland is slowly taking its place as a nation of the very old and the very young and, as a result, is losing concurrently the power of initiative and of execution. They see its young drawn away each year by many thousands, while its old men and women, massed out of all proper proportion, remain to become charges upon industries, most of which tend, by the absence of numbers and strength, to decline in importance and in assurance of prosperity and happiness.

This diminution has gone on during each decennial period, from the 6,514,473 in 1851, until, in 1901, only 4,456,546 remained. Prior to 1874, the predominating element in this steady human drain was males; since then, with the exception of two or three years, the disparity has been on the side of females. Once

or twice the number of both has dropped below forty thousand, while the average for eight of the years scattered through the whole period was more than 137,000. Illustrating the ages of emigrants, it is interesting to note that, for the fifteen years between 1880 and 1894, only 7.9 per cent. were under fifteen, and 9 per cent. over thirty-five, thus leaving 83.1 per cent. between these ages. In 1891, the births per 1,000 of population were 23 in Ireland, 31 in England, and 34 in Scotland, while the rate for marriages, which was 14 in Scotland, 15½ in England, was only 9 in Ireland. Curiously enough, in spite of poverty and distress, and of the persistent policy which leaves the young and the old behind, the death rate, in the same year, was 18½ for Ireland, 20 for England, and 20½ for Scotland—a fact which bears strong testimony to the natural healthfulness of the country.

This drain has so diminished the supply of effective labor that some industries have been ruined, others have declined, while all, except shipbuilding, have suffered. Influences the most various have operated, some political and some religious, and, as is generally the case, all of them economic. Agriculture, the one industry to which the people of Ireland have pinned their faith during all their history, has been the principal sufferer. Whatever industrial importance the land may have elsewhere, in Ireland it is engrossing. With no great mineral resources, with manufactures declining or ruined, with the lack of capital and the resulting monopoly of commerce by its predominant political partner, with the neglect of fisheries, perhaps inevitable from the constant drain upon its labor supply, the one thing that remained was the land. This is not the place to consider the land laws, even with all their odd features, not the least curious of which are the kaleidoscopic changes made in them since 1870; but there they are, there is the land itself, and there is also the fact that pasture has gradually succeeded tillage, that methods of culture are outgrown, that landlords and tenants have become sworn enemies, and that neither have the capital to take advantage of any new demands upon it.

As a consequence, confidence and stability have disappeared, while the few laborers that remain are so ill-paid that many live only just above the starvation line. Farm wages, low as they are in all European countries, seem, in Ireland, to be measured by the pauper standard. In England, the average is about fourteen

shillings a week, while, in the sister island, it does not rise above ten shillings. The usual result follows, that this cheap labor is ineffective and little more profitable to its employers than to itself. As this is the foundation industry, it sets so low a standard for all others, except the highest class of artisans, that the rate of average wages in manufactures in Ireland ranges from ten to thirty per cent. below that paid in England, presumably for the same work, in character, time, or quantity. In defiance of the claim that cheap labor is the one thing necessary, it is still impossible to draw capital from England, Scotland, America, or elsewhere.

With such untoward conditions and in spite of the fact that one agrarian agitation has succeeded another, it would have been surprising if men of heart and intelligence, holding assured positions in Ireland and interested in its progress, had not recognized that the evils lay deeper than was generally thought. And so they have. During the last one hundred and thirty years, since Arthur Young directed attention to some of its serious economic abuses, one writer after another has emphasized this phase. But till lately none had succeeded in so focussing attention upon it as to produce any decided result. Neither famine nor emigration, neither violence nor peaceful agitation, had wrought an effective change. It was impossible to organize co-operation, because the various elements could not agree long enough to do so. Capital was not available, because it could earn a larger return elsewhere. In one form or another, government has given what it called relief, generally upon the demand of a faction or part of the people.

About 1889, Mr. (now Sir) Horace Plunkett, representing one of the best known families in Ireland, began the work, the necessity for which he had long had in mind.* His first efforts were directed to the encouragement of agricultural co-operation. Although Ireland had long been known as a successful centre of the dairy industry, it was showing a decline.

* A full and extraordinarily interesting account of the work here referred to, from the pen of Sir Horace Plunkett himself, will be found in the volume entitled "Ireland in the New Century," recently published in London by Mr. John Murray and in New York by Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co. As Sir Horace explains in that book, his purpose in writing it was twofold: to give a philosophic insight into the chief Irish problems, and to present the facts which appear to him to illustrate these problems in process of solution.—EDITOR "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW."

These earlier societies, though narrow in their range, were pioneers, so far as system and effectiveness were concerned. They did enable the farmer to purchase, on joint account, what he needed, including seeds, manures, and machinery of the best quality, at the lowest possible price. This took him out of the hands of the neighborhood usurer—the curse of Ireland, as of poor populations wherever found. Later, in order that these local bodies, widely scattered, might more effectively carry out the purposes of their existence, they were federated. These were followed by a system of agricultural banks, intended still further to promote self-help in the matter of supplying capital; and one of the most encouraging results of these various movements was the gradual substitution of cash dealing for the credit system. Based upon the principle of self-help, other societies have been organized to bring producers and consumers nearer together.

The earlier steps have been described in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Suffice it to say here that they have been carried on under both public and private auspices. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction—itself the result of combination—has been the medium for public exploitation. Of this, Sir Horace is the Vice-President and the real head. Through it he has been able to command both public money and attention, in the press and from active, enterprising men in all parts of Ireland. This latter would have been impossible without some cord connecting with public sentiment. He has also been able to carry out experiments, well-known elsewhere, but comparatively new, on any commanding scale, in Ireland. He first made his work known to the whole United Kingdom, in 1901, at the Glasgow Exhibition, which was only a preliminary, so far as attracting attention was concerned, to the one held afterwards in Cork. By reason of these successes, he has attained, in a short time, the highest recognition, so that, in public esteem if not in nominal rank, he soon towered over Lord-Lieutenants and Irish Secretaries.

He had been compelled to begin at the beginning and to do formally what the pioneer of a new community on the American Continent has done automatically for three hundred years. It follows that Ireland, an old country, has had to learn the simplest elements of that large co-operation which goes on among settlers in new countries. It is greatly to the credit of its people that

they have been both able and willing to study this feature, almost absent, in any variety of form, from the life of England itself. This public recognition made it possible to carry out at Cork, before the eyes of a quick, watchful people, experiments dealing with their own conditions. The Department has sent specialists into every county and district, thus commanding support from governing bodies, societies and individuals. When a farmer found his potato crop diseased, he had only to forward a sample in order to receive back by telegraph instructions which would enable him to stop or mitigate the ravages. At the experiment stations, now here, now there, men and boys all over Ireland have been taught how to feed calves; to check or cure the diseases of animals; to build stables, or byres, as they are called; to rear and handle bees; to construct comfortable cottages at small cost and on sanitary lines and to get, at the fairest prices, the furniture to put into them. In short, the farmers of Ireland—many thousands of whom have been able to take advantage of the agrarian legislation enacted since 1870—have learned, in an authoritative way, just what was most needed to make them independent and progressive.

Not content with this public work, Sir Horace planned and organized, concurrently, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. This is a private body, composed of four hundred members, and includes representatives of every creed, party, business, and social force in the country. Its purposes were on all-fours with his public work. In fact, it was impossible for me, as a spectator and inquirer, to discover where the efforts of the Board of Agriculture began, or those of the Irish Agricultural Society ended, so harmonious were they, both in purpose and working. If any difference was discernible, it grew out of the greater freedom of the Society. It is able, perhaps, to throw into its literature more liveliness than would be consistent in a blue-book, with its obvious limitations. One of its leaflets, entitled "Home Rule in the Dairy," asserts a liberty in headline of which the Department of Agriculture would naturally be deprived. It has been free to urge that social life has a close relation to co-operation, to preach direct the doctrine of self-help, always and everywhere so necessary, and, in general, to make its appeal with a directness and force both attractive and potent. But the fact remains that these bodies, working together, with the same idea,

have so supplemented each other's efforts as to show most decided results. The returns in the first column of the following tabular statement—meagre though its showing is when compared with those which register its progress during two succeeding six-year periods—enable me to condense much history into little space and to give a comprehensive idea of useful work:

PROGRESS OF FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

	1889.	1895.	1901.
Dairy and agricultural societies	1	56	187
Auxiliaries	—	8	81
Agricultural societies	—	10	106
Co-operative banks	—	1	102
Poultry societies	—	—	29
Miscellaneous	—	—	46
Federations	—	1	2
Total number of societies	1	76	553
Total membership	50	3,800	51,000

If any reader in the United States, whether native of Ireland, tracing his ancestry to it, or interested in its present and future without much regard to its past, would like to know what is going on there, let him write to the Secretary of the Irish Agricultural Society in Dublin for some of its leaflets and other publications. He will at once be interested in the work on its own account and will be able to study what, for its magnitude, is, perhaps, the most useful industrial movement now under way anywhere in the world. He will learn that there is something in Ireland besides the political agitations and bitter religious quarrels with which, in some quarters, it is common to associate its name.

Other matters, kept continually in mind, include those cottage industries, so much needed to give employment to women. Owing to neglect in the matter of design and the absence of careful instruction in execution, Irish lace-making, with its long traditions, and embroidery, for which there has always been a demand, had fallen somewhat into decline. Teachers have been sent out into village and rural districts, where they have met with the most encouraging reception. The technical schools have taken it up, and new societies for encouraging this order of industries on the artistic side have been successful in making new centres for them. In like manner, an attempt has been made to give instruction in the growing and preparation of flax, to devise cheap and efficient insurance, and to provide libraries. Grazing,

cottage gardening, and fruit-drying have been studied and encouraged. Similar efforts have been devoted to the fishery interests and to the marble quarries in the West. In brief, every industry, whether vigorous or declining, has been so helped as to put new heart into those connected with it.

No attempts at amelioration have been without visible result. Thus far, the laws dealing with land have enabled about one-tenth of all the tenants to buy their holdings. That this and all the other processes have been attended with difficulties and discouragements must be assumed, but, in general, they have promoted the success of the co-operative movements to which reference has been made. All the forces, working together, are certain, in the end, to change the form of agitation, if indeed they do not remove the necessity for conducting it on the old lines.

Perhaps one of the most wholesome of the signs has been the steady improvement in the housing of the population. Judge William O'Connor Morris, who probably knows the whole of Ireland better than any other man in it, says: "The dense and wretched hovels which, sixty years ago, barely sheltered the millions of Irish indigence, if still too frequent, have been, for the most part, effaced; the houses of the better class have greatly increased in number, though the population has enormously declined." This is verified, from the latest full returns available, by the classification of houses, in 1841 and 1891:

	1841.	1891.
Houses of the first class	40,080	70,740
Houses of the second class	264,184	466,632
Houses of the third class	533,297	312,589
Houses of the fourth class	491,278	20,617
Total	1,328,839	870,578
Population	8,175,124	4,704,750

The improvement in rural housing in Ireland has even attracted so much attention in England that the activity of Irish Boards of Guardians and of the newer local governing bodies is commended to imitation. That the movement has been carried on at a heavy cost, both in tax and debt, is certain, but, if the present degree of prosperity and the favorable prospects are maintained, the burden will not be felt. The fact that this improvement proceeds steadily has such an influence upon development that its drawbacks cannot be looked upon as serious.

Improvement in church architecture must have a profound influence upon the general growth of pride, both public and private. Seventy years ago—before the great emigration movement began and when the boon of Catholic Emancipation had only recently been granted—church buildings were in a tumble-down condition, generally devoid of artistic merit, situated in unsightly or inconvenient places, reflecting the misery of the people. The testimony of travellers and residents emphasizes the presence, nearly everywhere, of untidy and badly furnished structures, and of the ragged, unkempt, and miserable communicants. Now, it is a pleasure to see, wherever one may go, north or south, whether Catholic, Anglican, or Presbyterian, the well-chosen site, the attractive building, well-seated and equipped, and the tidy, well-dressed people, going, Sundays, on foot or in their own humble conveyances, to worship. Everywhere—more than in any other country in Europe—one sees and must applaud the reverential attitude of a people who, if they have suffered, have at least maintained close relations with their religion. Much of this is due to liberal contributions made by those who, be it said to their credit, while seeking homes in America and other countries and finding work and prosperity, have deemed it a duty as well as a pleasure, regardless of creed, to contribute freely, out of their abundance, to their religion in the country of origin.

In like manner, it is impossible not to see how well the priests of the dominant Church have husbanded their resources, what business qualities they have demonstrated, and how they have made themselves potent examples to the people about them. More notably than any other single class of workers or leaders in Irish social life, they have been able to contribute to the success of everything that promised to promote industrial improvement. So true is this, that none of the movements now in progress would have been possible without the co-operation of the clergy, not only by sympathy, but in that far more important element, actual participation in its details.

I recognize that many features in the industrial life of Ireland, which it would have been a pleasure to discuss, are missing from this review. The yearning for new opportunities, found everywhere, north and south, among the humble workers; how strong the demand is for industries with which to occupy themselves during the winter months; how plainly they see the difficulties

that surround them; how keenly they recognize the shortcomings of themselves and the people of whom they are a part, and yet how strong the belief is in themselves and their race; and with what affection they look upon Ireland—all these are pathetic and important elements of the life in which the observer finds himself. Then studies of the comparatively small average consumption of intoxicating liquors and of the widespread influence which temperance movements have had, would supply knowledge of a phase of the national character not generally appreciated, and correct many misapprehensions. The art instinct, never completely destroyed, the demand for its revival and cultivation, and the general recognition of its existence by public authorities, by all the earnest among the clergy, as well as by the active, true, working friends of Ireland, would have filled some pages with interest. That annual migration of laborers, mainly from the congested districts of the west to other parts of Ireland and to England and Scotland, the result of a sad necessity; the attitude of the railways; the relations of horse-breeding to industry and its influence upon the people; the increase in the number of cattle; the standards of food; and, above all, the intimate commercial relation, amounting almost to dependence, of Ireland to the Kingdom of which it is a part—all these I recognize as belonging to my subject.

But no possible compression will enable a writer to treat, within the limits of a single paper, these varied industrial conditions. The complications are so many, the effect of prejudices and differences is so apparent, while the newly roused hopes and energies are so promising, that little more can be done than skim the surface. The reader who is also a well-wisher of Ireland may, however, discern signs of the revival of its industries and its prosperity. With this prospect in mind, those interested in the country ought to seek sources of information more complete than a short article in a magazine or newspaper can supply. If any word of mine should lead a few travellers and students to go to the country for themselves, they may be assured of ample reward in the beauty of its scenery and in a human interest nowhere surpassed. But they must not expect to see any of these, in a compensating way, if they merely scamper over it; the country, the people, and the problems incident to both, do not lend themselves to this method.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

SOCIALISM AS A RIVAL OF ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. THOMAS C. HALL, D.D., PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MODERN Protestantism is wofully ignorant of its most formidable rival. The Catholic Church has been painfully awakened in France, Belgium and Italy. Protestantism awaits its awakening. There is now no country of economic importance without a growing party raising the banner of Marxian Socialism.* To understand this sweep, it must be steadily remembered that Socialism is not simply a political economy, nor yet even a philosophy of society, nor a scheme of reform. Socialism is a religious faith, and is being embodied in a religious organization. Hence it happens that no calm academic discussion has any more effect on its fortunes than the sneers of Pagan philosophers had upon the activities of fanatic monks in the second century. It is not a science but a dogma; it is not a belief but a profound trust. True it is that it is based upon a political economy far from contemptible; it also involves a philosophy of life, cruder indeed relatively than its political economy, and it catches up and uses the phrases and conceptions of modern science more thoroughly, if not more intelligently, than does modern Christianity.

It is, moreover, in Socialism that organized Christianity has its most serious and most determined rival. Christian Science, the Salvation Army, Zionism and a hundred other supposed rivals are not really more than temporary phases of religious variation

* The Social Democracy of Germany has now over three million votes, and is the largest party in the Empire. In Austria, the voting power is nearly a million. In the United States, it is now probably about a quarter of a million. In France, it is over a million and a half. And the party is strongly entrenched in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Italy, and even now in Spain.

with which Christianity as an organization has always had to contend. In Socialism, a new hope and a new faith have found definite expression. In view of such possible rivalry, it is highly suggestive that the economic world-conditions to-day reproduce, in many ways, those which so greatly farthered the spread of an organized and dogmatic Christianity. Now, as in the days of Rome, the world is physically united, as it has not been since the fall of the Empire. Since then, not until the last century was travel as safe and as frequent as in the days of Roman domination. Now, as then, the world is intellectually under the dominion of a common stock of ideas and methods. What Greece did for the Roman world, experimental science does for us. Now, as then, three tongues give any teacher the ears of the world's real leaders, and the wide extent of the world's dominion gives a freedom of utterance which the smaller conditions of life made impossible before, and which reminds the student of the really astonishing liberty of speech permitted by Rome. Moreover, now, as in the days of the Empire, the land open to exploitation is rapidly passing into a few hands, and the urban population increases at the expense of the country as it did in the days of Nero, and equally to the alarm of the responsible power-possessing class.

The economic factors that shaped so largely the fortunes of early Christianity have never been fully dwelt upon. But the modern historian is beginning more and more to recognize the fact that the Old Catholic Church rose to power because, under existing economic conditions, it was the only organization with sufficient strength among the proletariat to reorganize the bankrupt world.* Moreover, the whole history of organized Christianity is to a great degree dominated by that inherited responsibility. It is noteworthy that the strain and tension of that day Hatch finds reproduced in our own. Not, indeed, that Christianity was the only organization among the proletariat:

"The Roman world was overspread with religious societies. There was no longer any fixed religion, but there were religions in plenty. . . . . There were none, especially among the lower classes of the people, who did not belong to some union of the kind. . . . The members of the societies were even formed into a sort of general brotherhood.'†

* See Hatch's "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," 1880, pages 32-36 and 141-151. Consult also opening chapters of Ritschl's "*Entstehung der Alt-Katolischen Kirche*," 1857.

† Rudolph Sohm: "Outlines of Church History."

In fact, the Christian Church fell heir to a mass of proletariat organizations in a manner only comparable to the way in which to-day Socialism is falling heir to trades-unions and reform agencies of even middle-class origin.*

Something, however, had happened in the religious world of lower-class Rome. As Sohm says: "their heaven had been emptied of its gods." Just that has happened in the home of Marxian Socialism. In Germany, the narrow dogmatism of a formal and middle-class State Church has left the working-man to his fate. And into the breach Socialism has rushed. The day in which the Socialist lecture-hall is taking the place of the church begins to alarm even the dull leaders of a decaying orthodoxy.† Says Mr. Austin Lewis, one of the most thoughtful and sane Socialist writers:

"In Berlin to-day, five out of six people who are to be seen on the streets going to some meeting or other, are going, not to church, but to hear addresses from the platforms of the Social Democrats upon the rights and duties of the working classes. When their children have acquired the habit of substituting the lecture-hall for the church, the latter will no longer confront a careless proletariat with no religion, but a sturdy proletariat with a very definite, if materialistic, substitute for a religion, with an organization, with speakers who are at least as able as the theological colleges can produce, and without any doubt as to their working-class sympathies."‡

What has gone so far in Berlin is going on all over the continent of Europe, and is beginning rapidly to take place in the United States. Indeed, the student of church history who wonders feebly over his books what was the power exercised by the early wandering prophet and the ecstatic dreamer of dreams, would do well to visit a Socialist meeting, stirred to enthusiasm by a visiting "comrade" whose reputation as a speaker has preceded him. The burden of testimony at such a meeting is a more or less intelligent repetition of the catch-phrases of Marxianism; and, with that as a basis, ringing and confident assurances of a world con-

* Such as the Nationalist clubs founded by Bellamy.

† For abundant evidence at first hand the reader need only consult the Reports of the *Christlich-Sociale Partei* for the last three years.

‡ "The International Socialist Review," February 1, 1903, Vol. III., No. 3.

quest; and faces worn with toil light up with the radiance of assured victory and final world-peace.

Here begin some of the strange and striking analogies that should make every student of primitive Christianity an earnest student of Socialism. For the dogmatisms and the dreams of the two organizations, in spite, of course, of serious and many differences, deserve the most careful psychological comparison and analysis.

What gives Socialism an incalculable advantage over all trades-unionism and independent societies is its tremendous organizing faith in a final world-conquest. Going out of the close and often sordid air of trades-union squabbles into the atmosphere of Socialist idealism, even the calm and hostile critic must feel the force of this faith in the great unseen dream of an ultimate and complete victory. This uplifting vision was what marked the message of early Christianity, as over against even the most effective and most democratic of the other religious unions. These offered, indeed, temporary refuges, promising to every member some warmth and shelter while he lived and a decent burial when he died. The Christian guild was profitable both for this life and the life to come, and stirred men's blood by the promise that soon, no man could tell how soon, the meek, the oppressed, the poor and the slave would inherit the earth, and would reign triumphant, where they were now suffering seemingly final defeat in life's battle.

The Socialist hymn-book rings with the joy of just such certain success:

> "Still brave deeds and kind are needed,
> Noble thoughts and feelings fair;
> Ye, too, must be strong and suffer,
> Ye, too, have to do and dare.
> Onward, Brothers, march still onward;
> March still onward hand in hand;
> Till ye see at last Man's Kingdom,
> Till ye reach the Promised Land."*

What are an eight-hour day and a doubtful ten-per-cent. increase in wage, compared with a hope like that? The Socialist dream fills out, in the somewhat starved imagination of the proletariat working class, just the place the prophetic dream of a

* Havelock Ellis in "Socialist Songs, with Tunes."

reign of God filled out in the enhungered fantasy of the early Church.

Moreover, this hope, like the hope of primitive Christianity,* was in its origin just as catastrophic in its character. Paul expected the triumph to come at any time. This age was to pass away with dramatic judgments, and one of the early struggles was over the modifications of this view occasioned by recurring cycles of disappointed expectation. The primitive view has never been overcome, and to-day, at each requickening of Christian zeal, the old premillenarian type of hope at once reasserts itself. So, also, Karl Marx and all early Socialist prophets hailed already the day of proletariat triumph, and fondly expected in their own time the catastrophic change which economic conditions were automatically to produce. Even now, the old leaders, like Bebel, scoff at the weakness of faith that demands present reform as an earnest of completer triumph, and the constant debate is about the character of the "revolution." Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ferri and all the old-line leaders maintained that it was the grossest heresy to try and substitute "evolution," in the sense of political compromise even of a temporary character, for "revolution," complete and final.† A saner feeling has taken possession of the working Socialism of to-day. Karl Kautsky,‡ in the Socialist International Congress, held in Paris in 1900, carried substantially the following resolution:

"In a modern democratic state the conquest of the public powers by the proletariat cannot be the result of a *coup de main;* it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletariat organization on the economic and political fields, of the physical and moral regeneracy of the laboring class, and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies."

This has caused ever since heated discussion, and was carried by about twenty-nine affirmative against nine negative voices. It corresponds to the change that took place in the eschatology of

* For best discussion, consult Johannes Weiss's "*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reich Gottes,*" 1900.

† Compare also James T. van Rensselaer in "The International Socialist Review," July 1, 1903.

‡ Karl Kautsky himself believes, however, in a final "Revolution," and has written an interesting work thereon.

the early Church between the dates of the first and second letters to the Thessalonians. Nor will the earlier Socialist teaching die easily. As the Christian Church settled down to a more comfortable acquiescence in the existing order, men like Tertullian were filled with just the rage and contempt which now stir Bebel when he discusses Vollmar, Bernstein and Jules Faures, and from much the same instinct. For here again a striking analogy between dogmatic Socialism and early Christianity comes to light. Both are redolent of the scents of a class battle. In the canonical Scriptures, apart from the famous "Sermon on the Mount,"* we have only to consult James ii: 1-7. And far down the history of Christian triumph, this note is still sounded, as in Tertullian. Not that the proletarian then, any more than now, lacked educated leaders. Indeed, the account of Ambrose's work in Milan, or of Tertullian's in North Africa, show abundant evidence of how fruitful a field for propagandist activity was the educated proletariat. The most astonishing growth of orders of monks pledged to poverty was the emphatic recognition, far down the Middle Ages, of this class character—a survival of the conception that only a poor and obedient man could have his part and lot in proletariat deliverance. And at each quickening of the religious life of the Middle Age Church, there was a strong revival of this conception.

No one can thoughtfully read the Gospel of Luke without seeing how primitive and strongly entrenched, in the very centre of early Christianity, this possessionless character of the movement was.

Out of this proletarian character, so strongly marked in the early Church, came another peculiarity which also is noteworthy in Marxian Socialism. A possessionless class is not only a relatively unstable population, but one in which national feeling is weak. The Christian or Socialist group is bound to become cosmopolitan in sympathy. The group is no longer based on geographical considerations; the organizing conception is a common discontent and a common hope. The proletariat of the days of Jesus, like the proletariat of to-day, felt itself cut off from national ambitions, and class feeling became stronger than all

* Of course, incorrectly so called. It is a collection of scattered poems and sayings of Jesus, gathered by Matthew, about the Kingdom conception. See the writer's "Messages of Jesus," pages 110–125.

national feeling. The common burden of economic inferiority acted powerfully in detaching the various possessionless classes from the old group lines, and bringing them together in a new solidarity of common interest. This could not happen without a struggle in the days of Jesus. Paul's principal battle was for just such a new solidarity on the basis of a common faith. He felt, and rightly felt, that the future of Christianity was staked on that issue.

In precisely the same way, the National Socialist Party of Germany, now decently buried, was an attempted protest against the cosmopolitan character of the Social Democracy. It was an utterly vain attempt, and died an ignominious death.

The National Socialist Party failed to take into account an entirely new standard of valuation, produced by the very conditions of the proletariat life and hope.

The conditions of the proletariat struggle are reproducing today, in another particular, the history of early Christianity. The power-possessing class press sees in the internal struggles of Socialism a sure indication of inherent weakness; and there is scarcely any exaggeration possible of the bitterness of these dissensions. Yet it must be remembered that they have never reached the heights and depths of the contests waged by the parties in the early Church. The whole Empire was shaken by the fierce feuds of warring monks, who fought in the streets and poisoned rival superiors, and used all the arts of blandishments, intrigues, bribes and threats to secure the banishment or death of hated rivals. It is intense fanatical faith that makes such quarrels possible, and without that faith Socialism would be no danger to the existing order. Should a political Socialist party in the near future reach power, such contentions would be as serious a menace to the stability of society as were the desperate conflicts between Arian and Orthodox parties in the old Roman world.

If the reality of these analogies (amid, of course, many differences) is recognized, we are in a position to study and understand the important question of the rise and the significance of dogma. The usefulness of a dogma does not depend upon its truthfulness. What is essential is the unity of the fighting organization upon some dogma.* The new organizing enthusiasm must not only have

* Consult for another view, Harnack's "*Dogmengeschichte*," Vol. I., pages 17–19.

expression, but must find an outward unity in that expression. This is the real explanation of the tenacity of dogma. It becomes the symbol of the fighting organization, the banner of an army.

Christianity as a personal religion may not need dogma; as an organization, really fighting for the reconstruction of society, it has never been able to dispense with dogma.

To-day, Socialism, as an enthusiasm fighting a desperate battle for a reconstruction of society, is doing just what the Old Catholic Church did; it is hardening into a dogmatism, and doing that under our eyes.

It has its trinity of essentials. These are: the Marxian surplus value theory; the doctrine of a class struggle; and the economic interpretation of history. In 1900, a careful examination of some forty Socialist papers, having a total circulation of over a million, showed an extraordinary uniformity of statement along all these lines.*

The political economy of Karl Marx is too elaborate for the comprehension of the unintelligent; but it is, at least, as well understood as was the fundamental theology of Paul (cf. II. Peter iii; 15-16), and furnishes a basis for the hope of a future society amply provided with the material means of existence. The economic interpretation of history, as a dogma, plays just the part that the doctrine of predestination has nearly always played when the Church was really struggling. To a weak, small and economically inferior group, faith in the great unseen forces of the universe, as working and fighting with them and for them, is an incalculable source of aid and comfort. Hence, in the dark and stormy days of Christianity, a doctrine of predestination, not to be sharply distinguished from fatalism, has always played its part.

The same rôle falls now to an "economic and material interpretation of history."† It was from Roman Stoicism that early Christianity borrowed the form of its teaching, and the German phenomenalism of Feuerbach seems to be the primal source for Socialism.

* Compare Chapters X. and XI. of the Socialist Campaign Book for 1900.

† Consult Professor Seligman's careful estimate, in his "Economic Interpretation of History."

But the origin is almost immaterial.

The real significance of the dogma is the support it gives to a profound faith in a new-coming order, inevitable in spite of all apparent weaknesses.

And, as in the days of the Old Catholic Church, so to-day, dogma furnishes weapons with which to fight half-hearted opportunists. The struggle began for Christianity with Gnosticism. The marks of the conflict she bears with her yet. Her efficiency as a fighting organization depended upon her escaping the influences of corroding intellectual analysis, just as to-day, the claims of Vollmar and Bernstein for the liberty of "self-examination and criticism" excite the fury of responsible leaders, and are only permitted within the express limits of a dogmatical confession of faith.

The same struggle between a dogmatic faith and political opportunism is going on in Italy and France, as well as in the United States. The real struggle now, as in the fourth century of Christian history, is not for intellectual exactness, but for an uncompromising unity as the basis for a fighting organization. The main interest of Athanasius was not a correct metaphysics, but a platform on which the Church could stand and struggle for the conquest of the world. The same is the real interest of the leaders of Socialism. If only Bernstein will act with them now, he can do all the thinking he wants to after the world-conquest and reorganization have been attained.

In both movements, the sweep and scope of this world-ambition dominate all minor interests; and both may be seen historically choosing, with unerring instinct, the weapons nearest at hand for their militant purpose. As fighting organizations, both restrict themselves deliberately to men who distinctly do their thinking within prescribed lines. This position the Roman Communion still maintains;* and in a feeble way heresy trials within Protestantism still remind us in how small a measure Catholicism has been intelligently rejected by Reform bodies.

Exactly the same instinct that made the embryo Old Catholic Church refuse the flattering overtures of an attractive, specula-

* See the suggestive encyclical of the present Pope.

tive Gnosticism, with its distracting and disintegrating intellectual processes, leads fighting Socialism to repel even the advances of the "Socialism of the Chair," if that is to imply the introduction of all ranges of academic doubt. The immediate purpose in hand is the possession of the producing tools of society.

After that purpose shall have been achieved, formulation of a correct philosophy will not be a great difficulty. So think and even preach those who are the responsible leaders of militant Marxian Socialism. Such dogmatism is strength, of course, but it is also profound weakness.

Dogmatism rendered the triumphs of the Old Catholic Church, and the power of Imperial Romanism, vain bulwarks against the rising tide of a sceptic, Pagan renaissance. The world was, indeed, conquered—not, however, by truth for truth, but by an organization, worthy of much praise, but yet fatally defective for the permanent purpose of establishing even its own ideals, and much less the more splendid dreams of a reign of a Father-God.

The real strength of Socialism is not its dogmas, but its faith in a supersensuous reality, a profound faith in a coming reign of its ideals of righteousness. These ideals are class ideals, often as bare and unattractive to a power-possessing class as was the Christian dream to a hypercritical and sensuous Paganism. But just because Socialism has formulated those proletariat ideals, it has faith in itself and succeeds in arousing unbounded enthusiasm among its adherents. The paternalistic and essentially feudal and aristocratic communion of Rome is rapidly losing touch with the producing classes, so far as she has ever controlled them. Individualistic Protestantism is linking its life and its fortunes more and more with the present power-possessing and privilege-possessing class. The producing class has begun to find in militant Socialism its religious expression—"a little materialistic," though not much more so than some Jewish dreams of a land flowing with milk and honey, or some Christian hopes bound up with a new Jerusalem with streets of gold.

There are also just such dangers attendant upon this transference of interest as accompanied the rise of Christian dogmatism.

The struggles of proletarian Christianity seem often to have hardened and even embittered it. The Apocalypse represents, among the canonical writings, some of these tendencies.* The class-struggle doctrine of the modern Socialist will, all too easily, become a doctrine of class hate, and a dream of justice be transformed into a vision of judgment upon "the crime of capitalism."

Thus, in all attempts to understand the rapidly swelling tide of Socialist enthusiasm, it must be steadily remembered with what we are dealing. No intellectual defeat of the political economy of Karl Marx will have any more effect upon Socialism than the philosophic sneers of ancient Rome at the miracle stories of early Christianity. No appeals to national values will affect a cosmopolitanism even more logical and far-reaching than that of the early Church. The spirit of a fighting patriotism has been transferred to a group organized on a different basis. No persecution will do more than quicken the zeal of earnest followers and harden the dogmatism of the Socialist faith. The silent graves of the so-called Anarchists† in Chicago form already a place of sacred pilgrimage. The existing order is not challenged by a theory of political economy, nor by an academic philosophy of life; it has to deal with a religious faith, a new standard of values, a fighting ideal and a militant enthusiasm rapidly hardening into an aggressive dogmatism. The Roman Empire gave way to the Old Catholic Church because it was rotten economically. For genuine Christianity this was a grave misfortune, however dramatic the victory may seem to have been. Christianity was dogmatized and formalized and organized into a new Paganism. The really vital question before the existing order to-day is: How far is it ready to meet the tremendous strain of changing economic conditions, or how far is it really as rotten as Socialist enthusiasm proclaims it to be? If the Socialists are right, and to them fall the responsibilities of reorganizing a weary and outgrown civilization, then it is to be devoutly wished that they may become accurate students of the rise of the Old

* Compare also II. Thessalonians i:4-10, a writing probably not Pauline, and after 72 A.D.

† As a matter of fact it should be remembered that the men who were hung were really Socialists, Socialists at that time not being distinguished from Anarchists.

Catholic Church, and that they would more carefully guard themselves against the dangers that beset it in the hour of its victory. If the existing order is to maintain itself, then it must find some more zeal-inspiring dream than any yet on the horizon of either feudal Romanism or individualistic Protestantism. Perhaps we, too, might do well to learn again the lessons of success and failure written in the pages of the gradual transformation of primitive Christianity into the Old Catholic Church, as *securus judicavit orbis terrarum.*

THOMAS C. HALL.

THE MUSIC OF EDWARD MacDOWELL.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN.

When Mr. Ernest Newman, an English critic of acuity, remarked in a recent essay that the Romantic movement in music had "done its work,"—though "even in our own day it still makes an occasional ineffectual effort to raise its old head, ludicrous now with its faded garlands of flowers,"—it must doubtless have seemed to many that he spoke with point and justification. Indisputably, the Romanticism which Mr. Newman meant—the Romanticism which expended itself in the fabrication of a pasteboard world of "gloomy forests, enchanted castles, impossible maidens, and the obsolete profession of magic"—has had its day, and now seems, in the retrospect, incredibly puerile, incredibly fatuous and wrong. But this was the Romanticism of perverted sentiment—a false thing, a mistaken thing, a thing of "vain shows and shadows and ideals." There is another Romance: a spirit incomparably fresh and vital, a primeval impulse and aspiration, that is not barren and moribund, but quick and increasing. "Through the heart," says Fiona Macleod, in one of her most persuasive pages, "through the heart, I go to lost gardens, to mossed fountains, to groves where is no white beauty of still statue, but only the beauty of an old forgotten day." There, by those fountains, and in those groves and gardens, flowers that immemorial Romance of the transforming imagination. It is a Romance that is in no wise divorced from reality—that is, in fact, but reality imaginatively apprehended; if it uses the old romanticistic properties, it uses them, not as substantives, but as symbols of intense emotional realities. For the essential romanticist and the essential realist are fundamentally at one—save for differences that are merely temperamental—in their primary purpose to represent "the thing as in itself it really

is"; and it is in no sort an accusation against realism if one attempts to define those differences by saying that, in its most undivided estate, the romantic spirit concerns itself with essences rather than with details, with impressions rather than with documents, with the heightened expression of spiritual substance rather than with literal representation. Which is merely to say that it deals in a truth that is no less truth because it is reflected imaginatively, and through a beauty that may often be in the last degree incalculable and aërial.

It is this authentic spirit of romance that has an exquisite life in certain music of to-day—preëminently, I think, and in a most complete and notable degree, in the work of a contemporary American composer, Edward MacDowell, whose recent abandonment of the Chair of Music at Columbia University, to allow of an uninterrupted devotion to composition, gives sufficient pertinence to a present consideration of his achievements. I account Mr. MacDowell so notably a romantic of the finest attainment because, true to the deeper genius of his art, he devotes himself, in his practice of it, to a rendering, extraordinary for vividness and felicity, of those essences and impressions which have seemed to me to be the ultimate concern of the romantic spirit in its dealings with life. He has chosen occasionally to employ, in the realization of his purposes, what seems at first to be precisely the magical apparatus so necessary to the older romanticism. Dryads and elves inhabit his world, and he dwells at times under faery boughs and in enchanted woods; but for him, as for the poets of the Celtic tradition, these things are but the manifest images of an interior passion and delight. Seen in the transfiguring mirror of his music, the moods and events of the natural world and of the incessant drama of psychic life are vivified into shapes and designs of irresistible beauty and appeal.

Both in theory and in practice, Mr. MacDowell stands uncompromisingly for music that is, of intention, persistently pictorial and impressionistic. Thus his themes are Lancelot and Elaine, Arthur, the Gaelic Cuchullin, the sea, a deserted farm, a waterlily, meadow-brooks and will-o'-the-wisps, starlight, a haunted house, a wild rose: a poet, it will be observed, thrall to "the mystery and the majesty of earth," although scarcely less thrall to purely human emotion. If one is, at times, inclined to praise in him the poet of the natural world at the expense of the

musical humanist, it is because he is, constitutionally and by right of ancestry, Celtic of the Celts, with the Celt's intimate vision of natural things, and his magic power of poetically vivifying them. It is making no transcendent claim for him to affirm that, in such splendid fantasies as his "To the Sea," "In Mid-Ocean," "In Deep Woods"; in such exquisite impressions as "Starlight," "To a Water-lily," "To a Wild Rose," there is an inevitable felicity, a graphic nearness and beauty, an imaginative intensity and lyric fervor which exist nowhere in external tone-painting save in Mr. MacDowell's own work.

Music, of course,—from Hadyn to Wagner and Raff,—abounds in examples of eloquent natural imagery; one need not, in claiming a certain excellence for him, imply that Mr. MacDowell has ever threatened the supremacy of such things as the "Rheingold" Vorspiel or the "Walküre" fire music. It is as much in his choice of subjects as in the peculiar vividness and felicity of his expression, that he is unique among tone-poets of the external world. He has never attempted such tremendous frescoes as Wagner delighted to paint; nor does he choose to deal with the elements—with winds and waters, with fire and clouds and tempests—in the epical manner of the great music-dramatist. Of his descriptive music by far the greater part is written for the piano; so that, at the start, a very definite limitation is imposed upon magnitude of plan. You cannot achieve on the piano, with any adequacy of effect, a mountain-side in flames, or a storm at sea, or the prismatic arch of a rainbow; and as Mr. MacDowell has seen fit to employ that instrument as his principal medium of expression, he has refrained from attempting to advance musical fresco-painting beyond the point at which Wagner left it. Instead, he has contented himself with such themes as he treats in his "Forest Idyls," in his "Four Little Poems" ("The Eagle," "The Brook," "Moonshine," "Winter"), in his first orchestral suite, in the inimitable "Woodland Sketches" and "Sea Pieces," and in the recently published "New England Idyls." As a perfect exemplification of his practice, consider, let me say, his "To a Water-lily," from the "Woodland Sketches,"—than which I know of nothing in objective tone-painting, for the piano or for the orchestra, more sensitively felt, more exquisitely accomplished. The method is the method of Shelley in the "Sensitive Plant," of Wordsworth in "The Daffodils," as it is

the method of Raff rather than of Wagner—although Raff could never have written with precisely that order of delicate eloquence. The thing is steeped in loveliness, in sheer natural magic. So in his "Wild Rose," in his "Starlight," in his "To the Sea,"—always he is the admirable poet, intent upon realizing, through his chosen medium, a deep and intimate vision of the natural world. And he can persuade you, too, with Forgael, of "the streams where the world ends—"

> "Where time is drowned in odor-laden winds
> And druid moons, and murmuring of boughs. . . ."

It would be unjust, though it would not be inexcusable, to give too great a prominence, in considering Mr. MacDowell's work, to his poetry of nature. If, in his own field, he is unapproachable as the poet of the "Woodland Sketches," he challenges great achievements as the author of the "Four Songs" (*Op.* 56), "A Deserted Farm," "Told at Sunset," the "Scotch Poem," the four sonatas, and certain of the "New England Idyls." Here, certainly, are profound emotion, a deep and transporting tenderness,—an "eloquence of the heart,"—in which again one is tempted to trace the essential Celt.

To take him at his best and most representative, let me consider in detail that work of his in which he has attained, as I believe, to the summit of his present powers: the "Keltic" Sonata, his Fourth in E minor (*Op.* 59). Mr. MacDowell's genius has here found its consummate flowering: nowhere else in his work are its distinguishing traits so strikingly disclosed—the breadth and reach of imagination, the magnetic vitality, the richness and fervor, the conquering poetic charm. It is, so far as he has gone, his ripest work—a higher flight than its forerunner, the "Norse," as that, in its turn, surpasses the earlier "Eroica" and "Tragica."

It was a fortunate, if not an inevitable, event, in view of his temperamental affiliations with the Celtic genius, that Mr. MacDowell should have been made aware of the suitability for musical treatment of the ancient heroic chronicles of the Gaels, and that he should have gone for his inspiration, in particular, to the legends comprised in the famous Cycle of the Red Branch. In a motto which he prefixes to the Sonata, he gives this index to its poetic content:

"Who minds now Keltic tales of yore,
Dark Druid rhymes that thrall,
Deirdré's song and wizard lore
Of great Cuchullin's fall."

Mr. MacDowell has attempted no mere musical recounting of those romances of the ancient Gaelic world at which he hints in these lines. He has aimed to make his music, he says, "more a commentary on the subject than an actual depiction of it"; but to say that he has realized vividly and beautifully all that this denotes—all that which is essentially implicit in the source of his inspiration—would be but a niggardly statement of the truth. It would be juster to say, rather, that he has recalled in his music the very life and presence of the Gaelic prime—that he has "unbound the Island harp." Above all, he has achieved that "heroic beauty" which, believes Mr. Yeats, has been fading out of the arts since "that decadence we call progress set voluptuous beauty in its place"—that heroic beauty which is of the very essence of the imaginative life of the primitive Celts, and which the Celtic "revival" in contemporary letters has so singularly failed to recrudesce. For it is the heroic Gaelic world that Mr. MacDowell has made to live again in his music: that miraculous world of superhuman passions and aspirations, of bards and heroes and sublime adventure—the world of Cuchullin the Unconquerable, and Laeg, and Queen Meave; of Naesi, and Deirdré the Beautiful, and Fergus, and Connla the Harper.

That this is music which challenges the imagination is undeniable. It makes small appeal to the tonal sense *per se*—to the sense which craves in music merely, in Wagner's phrase, "the susciting of pleasure in beautiful forms." Mr. MacDowell does not write what we presume to call "absolute" music; if one looks to such a work as the "Keltic" Sonata for the kind of gratification which he is accustomed to derive from, for example, a Brahms symphony, he will not find it. It is impossible to account satisfactorily for the last page of the "Keltic" upon exclusively musical grounds: it is as essentially—though not so avowedly—programmatic as the "Scotch Poem" of *Op.* 31; and, like that hauntingly tragic paraphrase, its ultimate appeal is conditioned upon an understanding of the basis of drama and emotional crisis upon which the musician has built. Ernest Newman

has effectually exposed the absurdity of the popular sophistry which concedes the legitimacy of programme music so long as it sounds "as well as absolute music to any one who does not know the story"; so I need not concern myself with a quite superfluous apology for Mr. MacDowell's indifference to the dicta of the absolutists. But while I must admit his usual indifference, I cannot help wishing that he might contrive some expedient for doing away, so far as he himself is concerned, with the sonata form which he occasionally uses, rather inconsistently, as a vehicle for the expression of that vision and emotion that are in him; for, generally speaking, and in spite of the triumphant success of the "Keltic," Mr. MacDowell is less fortunate in his sonatas than in those freer and more elastically wrought tone-poems in which he voices a mood or an experience with epigrammatic concision and directness. The "Keltic" sonata succeeds in spite of its form—as the earlier "Norse," "Eroica," and "Tragica" sonatas do not at all points—through sheer force of inspiration; though even here, and notwithstanding the freedom of manipulation, one feels that he would have worked to still finer ends in a more flexible and fluent form. He is never so compelling, so uniquely and persuasively eloquent, as in those impressionistically conceived pieces in which he moulds his inspiration upon the events of an interior emotional programme, rather than upon a musical formula necessarily arbitrary and anomalous,—in such things, for instance, as the "Idyls" and "Poems" after Goethe and Heine, the "Woodland Sketches," the "Sea Pieces," the "Fireside Tales," the "New England Idyls," the orchestral suite (*Op.* 42), and the symphonic poems—"Hamlet and Ophelia," "Lancelot and Elaine," "The Saracens" and "Lovely Alda" (after the Song of Roland). Here he is invulnerably himself: here, from first to last, the work is the work of a master of imaginative expression, a penetrative psychologist, above all, an exquisite poet.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART VI.

XXVI.

ANTHER had driven home from Wakeford with a heart softened more and more toward what had been the odious self-compulsion of the day, by his thoughts of the pleasure that had shone upon him from James Langbrith's face when they met upon the platform before the veiled effigy of Royal Langbrith. There had been a fantastic moment when it seemed to him as if the father's misdeeds might be uncovered when the son tore those curtains from his face, but nothing had been revealed; and all the fortuities,—one could not quite call them providences,—had joined to keep his evil life still in the dark. Anther submitted; he had said to himself he could do no more than he had done; he was not sure that he had done unselfishly in the business, so far as he had acted, and yet he could not have done other than he did. That was his consolation; and now he was going to let events drift as they would; he would never again attempt to stay or steer their course. He had even meant to come to the luncheon at the Langbrith house, and though he had gladly spared himself at the call from Wakeford that reached him when he left the platform, yet he was coming now to make his excuses to the young man for having been unable to take a further part in the affairs of the day.

He found Langbrith's mother alone when he went in at the door, on which he tapped with his whip-handle, and then entered without staying to ring. "James not here!" he promptly suggested in sitting down before her, with his hat on his knee; he waved her away when she offered, mechanically, to take it.

"No," she answered, "he said he was going out to look for Mr. Falk. Perhaps he went to Hope's too."

She let her eyes fall and sighed, "Yes," when Anther said "It would be the best thing," knowing that he meant as the only atonement the son could make for the father's wrong. "He has always liked her," she added, "but sometimes I have wondered whether she liked him. She's a strange girl."

Anther said, suddenly turning from his wish to let things drift

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to something in his immediate thought, "And there is the question of how she would feel toward him if she found out, some time, the sort of injury she had suffered from his father through hers."

"Surely she wouldn't hold James responsible for that!" Mrs. Langbrith started as with a physical pang. "How will it ever come out *now*?"

"I don't know. If Hawberk—"

"What?"

He did not answer, but, "Amelia," he asked, with a compassionate intelligence for her helplessness, "why do you cling to this hope of concealment? We have let that poor boy go on and stultify himself, and involve, innocently enough on his part, two good men like Garley and Enderby in the fraud that he has practised on the community—"

"Do they know?"

"I had to tell them." She caught her breath, but did not interrupt him. "That's all nothing, though, in my regard, compared with the harm you are doing yourself and the trouble you are storing up for the future, when he finds it out, as he must some day, and asks you if you had known it all along. What will you say to him? I wish you would tell him now, my dear, as soon as you see him, without an instant's delay—"

"I can't, Dr. Anther; it's too late. I can never tell him now."

"Then, let me!" It was always coming to that with him.

"No, that would be worse. What would he think of *your* concealment—your being there to-day—but I made you."

"Yes," Anther sadly owned, "I was there because you asked it. I would certainly never have dreamt of being there otherwise." He rose.

She rose, too, and wavered towards him. "Don't you think I knew you did it for me? Don't you think I felt it? And James," she added, incoherently, "he felt it, too. He cared more for your being there than for anything else, he said." Anther laughed forlornly. "Oh, don't despise me! I know I'm a coward, but don't *you* despise me, or I shall die!"

"Despise you! There's nothing but love for you in my heart, Amelia. Why can't we be all in all to each other?"

"Well," she answered, abruptly, desperately, "I will do what you ask. Now I don't care what happens. I care more for you than for all the world. Don't you know that?" She stole her arm tenderly through his arm, and pulled herself towards him, but almost at the moment he saw the fondness die out of her face and her arm slipped from his.

He turned and confronted James Langbrith, standing in the doorway and staring at them. It was his impulse, somehow, to put himself between the mother and the son, but a guiltless shame withheld him and silenced him when he tried to speak. He heard Mrs. Langbrith gasping, "James, I want to tell you that Dr. Anther—

that I—that we—we are going to get married," and he realized that, in anticipating him, she was heroically acting on her instinct as woman and mother.

"Marry!" Langbrith echoed, and now he looked at Anther alone, as if for explanation of something unintelligible and incredible. He smiled, faintly, and Anther replied with a sudden resentment.

"Yes, I have been attached to your mother for a long time. She has known it, and has consented to marry me."

The resentment was for his own shame, rather than for the young man's words; but not the less it kindled the cold amaze in Langbrith to a flame of hostility that lighted up the whole past of conjecture and misgiving. As one thing after another grew clear in this illumination, the young man's anger burned within him, not so much for the fact immediately before him, as for the series of facts by which he had been duped. But curiously concurrent with his swift retrospect was the flow of his tenderness for Hope, his sense of her love for him and of his love for her, so that it was partly lost in this, and half incredulous, that he began:

"Have you kept it from me so that you can crown my father's commemoration services with it? Was it a surprise you were holding back for me, or were you afraid of telling me?" His anger gained somewhat upon his love, through the mere utterance of the offensive words, but he did not yet speak with a single mind. What was this case, and how did his father enter? He had that still to work out in an unalloyed consciousness.

"Afraid!" Anther dropped Mrs. Langbrith's hand, which he had caught up, and started forward, but he stopped at her cry of "Justin!"

"James," she implored her son, in turn, "you don't know what you're saying! Yes—we *were* afraid. I wanted to spare you—I wanted to wait—"

Now he answered more definitely: "And this is your notion of sparing me! Did you choose this time, of all others, to tell me that you had forgotten my father?"

"Oh, you don't know him. You don't know what you're saying. Indeed—"

"The trouble is that I don't know what *you're* saying. I can't make it out. Is it some wretched joke? Dr. Anther, you know how I have always felt about my father. If you were in my place what should you say to a man in yours? It must be distasteful to any son for his mother to marry again, but perhaps you have special reasons that would reconcile me."

His words were temperate, but Anther felt the bitterness that they covered, and he answered as caustically. "I think I could give you special reasons," he said; but at Mrs. Langbrith's imploring look he stopped.

Langbrith had missed the look and its significance. With the sense of Hope fading more and more, he was able to say: "I can

imagine them. It isn't the first time that I've suspected you of secretly hating my father, with some such just cause as a nature like his could give a treacherous nature like yours!" He knew, somehow, that he was hurting Anther less than he was hurting his mother, and less than he was hurting himself, even. His rhetoric rang false to him. He was aware that it did not apply. He forced the added words: "But I don't care to know your reasons. I have done with you, sir. I don't want to hear anything more from *you*." He turned from Anther, arrogantly. "Mother, what was it *you* were saying about my father?"

She found Anther's hand again and clung to it. She only said, "I'm going to marry Dr. Anther."

"Is that what you have to say about my father? Well, perhaps it is enough."

"Dr. Anther is the best friend I've ever had in the world, and—" she hesitated. Langbrith stood silent, his mind whirling from point to point without seizing definitely upon any. His mother ended, "He will be a good father to you, James."

At this feeble conclusion, Langbrith's daze broke in cruel sneering. "I am of age, and I need no father but the one that I have lost, and that you have forgotten."

"I haven't forgotten him," his mother answered, with a struggle for courage; "I'm remembering him now as I never did before."

"I don't understand this," said Langbrith, haughtily. "But it doesn't matter. I begin to understand some other things, though. I see now why this man has taken the part he has toward my father's memory, but why he should have had the base hypocrisy to-day—"

"He was there because I asked him," she interposed.

"No matter why he was there; his presence was an insult to the living and the dead, and as this happens to be my house, my father's house, I object to his remaining in it another instant."

"James."

Anther's hand shook in Mrs. Langbrith's clutch, and he burst out: "How dare you talk so to me! If it wasn't that you don't know what you're saying—if your ignorance wasn't so monstrous—but I can tell you—"

"Oh, Dr. Anther," Mrs. Langbrith implored him, and he stopped, panting. "Will you listen to me, James?" She turned to her son.

"Yes, mother, as much as you like. You can't say anything that will change me towards this horrible business, but I will listen."

"Oh, you don't know *what* I could say to you!" she broke out. But then she turned again helplessly to Anther. "Will you—"

"No, you must excuse me there, mother; I could not hear anything from a stranger about family affairs."

"Dr. Anther is *my* family now," she began, bravely.

"That is what saves him from the only answer a gentleman could make to his impudence."

She felt Anther's arm grow rigid under the hold she had laid on it. "Well," she said, with a helpless pathos, "as my son will not let my husband speak for me, I will go with my husband and not speak."

"No, Amelia," Anther said, with the dignity he had lost in his angry burst; "I will go, and you can say what you wish to your son."

"I will say it before you or not at all, and if you leave this house I will leave it with you. I'm not going to justify myself to you, James." She turned to her son. "I need no justification—"

"I am not requiring you to say anything, mother."

"And you won't hear me, then, my son?"

"If you have no need of being heard, as you say, why should I put you to the trouble of explaining anything? I ask no explanation now. It seems that I've been living all my life in a mistake. That's all. I supposed we had the same ideal, and that the memory of my father was as sacred to you as to me; but it wasn't, and that's your sufficient justification."

"Amelia," Anther entreated, "let me leave you with James."

"Not for a moment," she returned. "I can't stay without you, now."

"Perhaps we can simplify the situation by my leaving you with him," Langbrith said. "As it is not convenient for you to let me have my house on my own terms, I will go to the hotel. I can find Falk and go to Boston. When I come back, I hope I can have my house to myself." He recalled himself to add, "You will always be welcome in it, mother."

He turned and went out and left them standing there looking at each other.

"Why didn't I speak? Why didn't I tell him?" Mrs. Langbrith was the first to break their silence.

"I saw you try. It was too late; we're always saying that. Amelia, if this trial is too great for you, I shall never blame you. It has been all sudden and unexpected; no one thing more than another. I didn't dream of your consenting when I came here. Give me up, if you will—"

"And be left with James? Oh no. I care more for you now; perhaps I always did. He was always hard. It seems a strange thing for a mother to say of her son, but it's true; and now he has been cruel. It's worse even than I thought it would be. I'm afraid of him!"

Anther felt within him a curious shifting of the grounds of judgment, and he spoke from the change. "You mustn't condemn him. You must remember how much he had to bear; thinking of his father, as he did, it must seem like sacrilege to him."

"Unless he could know the truth. And if it's too late for the truth now, take me away from the lie. I can't bear it any longer. Can't we live somewhere else?"

He took her literally, and her shapeless longings for escape crystallized as he answered, simply, "I've bought the house where I've lived."

"Oh, *have* you?" she cried, with hysterical joy; "then take me there. Let us go now—this instant."

"To-morrow. We can't go now, you know, Amelia."

"I forgot. Now you see how long I have seemed to be married to you. Do you like that? I wish I were! I can't endure to pass another night under this roof! It's hateful, hateful, hateful!"

"Well, you must have patience. You must part kindly with your son."

"With my son? With Royal Langbrith's son?" Her bitterness expressed to him all the revolt of her soul from its long slavery.

He rose in his self-control over her head-long impulse. "You must try to be friends with your son. Nothing else will do, Amelia. If he comes back here, tell him we are to be married to-morrow. Ask him to be with us. You have hidden so much from the world so long that you can hide this too. We mustn't make our marriage a seven days' wonder. You will feel differently towards James. I pity him from my heart."

"I don't."

"You will, and you must do your best to be reconciled with him. I want your life to be free and happy, from this on. I can't let you incur any shadow of self-reproach. You mustn't have one regret to chain you to the past. Good night, my dear. I must leave you here because there's nowhere else. But when James comes back you will see him, and try—for my sake—to make peace with him. Remember that his error is not his fault!"

"It is my fault."

"It is no one's. I can understand—and tell him that I beg his pardon for not considering at once—what a bolt out of the blue this has been for him. We have known for a long time that we should marry, but he has never imagined it, and it seems a wrong to his father, as he has idealized him. He can't help acting as he has done towards us, but he will learn to act differently. Yes, his common sense—and he has plenty of it in the end—will teach him that we could have meant no wrong to his father if he were the best of men. Don't let yourself be tempted, now, to tell him the truth. It could do no good: only harm. Be patient with him. Bear everything from him. He is deeply hurt in the part that is the best part of him; think of that. Amelia, ask him to be present at our marriage. You asked me to be present at—"

"Yes, yes, I will. I don't care what he says to me!"

"That's right. I'll have Mr. Alway. It needn't be in the church, then, it can be—"

"Here!" she shrieked. "In this house!"

"No, in the minister's; and good night again."

XXVII.

In the quarrel which he had forced with his mother and Dr. Anther, Langbrith was sensible throughout of failing to say the worst. He had not put into words the outrage which was burning in his heart. He had not expressed the amaze, and far less the abhorrence, which he felt. He had meant to hurt Anther to death, so far as insult could kill; and he had meant to wither his mother with shame. But the cruellest blows he dealt them had seemed to fall like blows dealt in nightmare, as if they were dealt with balls of cotton or of down; and he had left them in possession of the place he ought to have driven them out of with ignominy.

He was aware of having been disabled for his part by the confusion which still kept him from a clear sense of what had befallen, and perhaps saved him from its full effect. He had entered upon that scene with his soul full of the good-will, the tender purpose toward Anther, which his happy love for Hope had inspired; and he had not, even yet, after all that had passed, wholly freed himself from it. He kept recurring to it with puzzle and interrogation, as something which in its strange metamorphosis he could not make out. It was still mixed with his thought of Hope. It seemed as if he were going to tell her of it still, as he had meant to do, and to taste the pleasure of her praise for it.

He could make definitely out what he was now really going to do; but he acted upon the notion that he wished to find Falk and get him to take the train with him for Boston. He was sure that he wished to get as far away as he could. That was the first thing. The next thing: to get away among the rest from the humiliation of failing to do justice to himself and his cause. Now he saw a thousand proofs that the offence done him had been long impending; that if he had not been a fool, and blind, he must have known it; but the longer it had been impending, the greater the shame, the greater the defamation, the viler the insult to his father, to have it follow so instantly upon the consecration of his memory. His heart closed about the thought of his father with an indignant tenderness, which, somehow, could not leave his mother out. She had always been part of that thought, and he had an impulse to entreat her against herself, as if being a child she had struck him, and there was no one but her for him to go to for comfort.

His feet set themselves uncertainly, as if his vertigo were physical, while he pushed on, looking crazily for Falk. He could not go to Hope yet.

The Irish girl answered him, at the house which he had left so gayly such a little time before, that Falk had gone out to walk with Miss Susie. He asked "Where?" but the girl could not tell him, and he realized that he must not try to follow them. He could not go home, and he would not see Hope. But he could pass her house; there was that left him to do in the wild need he had of doing something.

She was at her gate, waiting for him, as he knew, after he had bridged the hour of his absence with a recollection of the promise to come back which he had given her. The full moon was looking over the eastern shoulder of the hill, behind the house, into his face; but it was with an inner sense, the vision which love so soon supplies to women, that she read something strange in it.

"Why, James!" she said.

"Come with me, Hope," he bade her, and as she joined him, wonderingly, letting him seize her hand and pull it under his arm, as he pushed away from the house, up the road climbing into the shelter of the pine woods beyond, "I've got something to tell you Hope, something to—tell—you," he forced himself. "My mother is going to marry Dr. Anther."

"How glorious!" she shouted, pulling her hand out of his to leave herself the freer to front him.

"Glorious?" he faltered back.

"Yes! I have always thought what a splendid thing it would be. They are such old friends, and they are just suited to each other: your mother is the best woman, and I think Dr. Anther is the best man, in the world. Yes, it's what *I* call glorious."

"*I* call it infamous!" he said in a voice that struck her with greater amaze than his words by its dreadfulness.

"Why, James Langbrith!" she gasped.

"Infamous! Does no one," he demanded, turning his severity upon her, "remember my father?"

"Why, yes—yes, of course—"

"Is it glorious for my mother to forget him? Could *you* forget *me?*"

"No, never! And I don't believe she's forgotten him. But it's a different thing from you and me. She knows that you will be leaving her some day—why, I intend to take you from her myself, and if I could do such a thing, what mightn't others do!—and then she will be alone; and why in the world shouldn't she marry such an *old friend* as Dr. Anther? It would be different, if it were a stranger, and I shouldn't blame you, then, if you were morbid about it. But Dr. Anther! Why, he's always seemed to me like one of the family. Why, it's ridiculous! What has it got to do with remembering your father? Now, James, if you let yourself get to thinking this way about things, I shall be afraid to marry you. I say it's the best thing that could happen, and I can't understand you."

"No, it seems you can't."

"Oh, very well!"

"I don't mean that," he made haste to save himself. "No one can understand how I have always felt towards my father. You may call it superstition, if you like, but I have always felt him something sacred. I have felt as if he were a mysterious influence in my own life, shaping it for the highest things. And at the

same time it's as if he appealed to me, always, from his grave, for protection. Since I was old enough to realize that I had lost him, I have never been recreant to his trust in me."

"Yes, I should feel just so about my own father," Hope granted.

Langbrith put aside the comparison of his father with hers by something in his tone rather than in his words. "Yes," he assented, though he refused her sympathy on those terms. "But it isn't the same thing. My father is dead; and, while he lived, he was not a man who could make himself understood; I can't explain; in all the letters he left, and his memorandum books, it was implied. I thought my mother felt the same, and that was why she was so silent about him; and I thought that Dr. Anther— But if all the time they were conspiring to betray him—if they were thinking of themselves and each other, when they, of all people in the world, should have been the truest to him—"

"Oh, oh, what *talk!*" Hope broke in. "Why, James Langbrith, I should think you were insane."

"I am, I am!" he choked out. "This thing is turning my brain. I try to realize it, and then when I realize it, I feel that I must go mad. Oh, you don't understand; you can't, you can't! I feel so covered with shame for my mother."

As they talked, they walked swiftly. Now and then the moon struck between the trees, upon them, but in the prevailing shadow they had the seclusion in which they willingly hid themselves, till they reached the top of the ridge that overlooked the house and below that the town. Its varied murmurs came up to them there, with the sound of the mills vibrating through all.

"I suppose," he said, bitterly, for the village, "that they all think I am a fool to care for him, though he made their prosperity, and did more for them than they did for themselves all together."

"Now, you sha'n't be morbid, if I can help it," she broke out upon him. "I don't believe any such thing, and I don't believe you will, when you come to think. Do you want me to talk up to you the way I used to at school, or to pretend I'm afraid of you, and flatter you and make you think you've been abused?"

"How do you mean?"

"Of course, we haven't been together so much since you went to Harvard; but since—since this afternoon, I've been feeling the old way, as if we were children again, and we should always speak right out anything we thought. There wouldn't be any use or sense in it if we couldn't."

"Why, of course."

"And you believe that I care for you more than for any one else in the world?"

"That's how I care for you?"

"And that I wouldn't say anything I didn't believe was for your good?"

"I can't think of you apart from myself."

"Well, then, listen: you know very well that everybody honors you for wanting to commemorate your father. They don't know anything about him, but they think you do; so that's settled, and we won't have any misanthropy for the people down there. Now you're sure I may say what else I think to you?"

"Anybody may say what they think to me."

"Oh, if you want to be boyish!"

"Go on, Hope!" he said, humbly. "I beg your pardon."

"There's no pardon to be begged or granted. I just want you to see this in the right light, and I've got, first of all, to know what you said to your mother."

"I don't remember the words. But I let her know how I felt," he gloomily answered.

"And to Dr. Anther?"

"Nothing! I wouldn't speak to him. But I let him know that he was ordered out of the house."

"You did! Well, I've half a mind never to speak to you again. And did he go?"

"No. *I* went," Langbrith said, with sullenness, somewhat crestfallen. "I told my mother I was going to Boston with Falk, to-night. Did you expect me to stay and see them married?"

"Where is Mr. Falk?" Hope asked, as if to gain time before answering his question.

"I couldn't find him. He was walking somewhere with Susie Johns."

"And why didn't you go to Boston without him?"

He looked into her face in a daze that did not at once yield to her intention.

"Without coming to see you?"

"Oh, you stayed for that, and now it's too late to go."

"It's too late."

"And so you're going back to your mother?"

"I'm going back to the hotel for the night; then—"

"No, James," she said, gently, dropping her mockery in the seriousness which was in the veiled depth of her nature; "you mustn't do that. I want you to do what I say. Will you?"

"I will listen to what you say."

"No, that isn't enough. I want you to go back to your mother, and say, 'I was all wrong; I know I am wrong because I know you couldn't be.' Will you say that?"

"No, never! I wouldn't say it if you made it a condition of my ever seeing you again."

"Do you think I would do that, or do anything that would make me a tyrant over you? I am not so foolish, no matter how wicked I am. I wouldn't give you up if you chose to stay in the wrong; but I know some day you will want to put yourself in the right, and I don't want it to be too late. Now will you do this? Go and

say, 'Mother, I can't withdraw what I said, but I know you believe that you are doing right, and I will stay here and be at your marriage.' Will you?"

"Why do you wish me to do that?" he struggled against the sense that he was giving way to her.

"Because I hate you, and want to do you all the harm I can."

He understood. "Well, I can't tell her what you say; but if she wishes to marry that man, she mustn't seem to do it against my will."

"And you'll promise her to be at the ceremony?"

"No, I won't do that, Hope; I won't do it even for you. How could I, without seeming to condone it, to approve of it, when my whole nature revolts against it. Would you want me to act such a lie as that?"

"You know that it would seem a quarrel with your mother if you didn't."

"Well, there *is* a quarrel. She's no mother of mine, if she marries that man."

"But you said yourself that she mustn't seem to do it against your will."

"No matter for that. They can wait till I go away; till I put the ocean between me and the loathsome thought of it. I've promised enough. I can't do more than I've said I would; no, not even for your asking, Hope!"

"Do you think I ask it for myself?"

"No."

"For Dr. Anther, or your mother, even?"

"No."

"For whom, then?"

"For me, I suppose. But you ask too much for me."

She could not mistake his sullen finality. She sighed deeply, but not desperately. "Well, then, tell her that you won't oppose the marriage. And if you are going to do that, you can't do it too soon"; and she began to find her way trippingly down the slope that led from the hilltop into the garden behind her house. Langbrith followed more heavily and more slowly, and less securely of the way, and she had to wait for him beside the gate, on which the moon was trying feebly to paint the hour. He felt that he had no right to her embrace; but, when she turned there and put her arms round his neck, and kissed him, his sore heart melted within him. He wanted to say that he would do what she asked, but somehow he could not, and they parted without further words, except a whispered "Good night!" from him, and a "Good night, dearest! Be good!" from her.

A light showed in the roof-chamber which he knew, and as he turned the corner of the house, toward the street, a low moaning, the precursor of nightmare within, stole out of the lifted sash on the moonlit air. He thought of the burden and affliction her

father was; but he did not think, he was too young for that, what a burden and affliction her husband might be; and, doubtless, Hope herself, strengthened for one trial by the other, did not feel either beyond her woman's force, or both more than her woman's share.

Langbrith pulled himself more and more slowly homewards. The outer door was open, as he had left it, and he passed in and stood a moment at the door of the parlor. The moonlight without showed him his mother sitting in the room, as if she had not stirred from the chair into which he had seen her sink when he madly broke from her entreaty.

"Mother," he said, stonily, for all the pathos of the sight, "I know you think you're right, and if you're going to be married soon, I will stay and be present."

At first, she did not answer; but, after he had begun to imagine she had not heard him, she said, "I am not going to be married."

Langbrith waited, in his turn, before he said, "I don't understand; but I suppose you know what you mean, at any rate." And he now felt himself speaking as much to Hope as to his mother; "I've done what I could."

"Oh, yes," she answered, with bitter rejection of the immediate purport of his words, "you've done what you could."

XXVIII.

Mrs. Langbrith did not wait for Anther to come to her for the withdrawal of her promise: she could not take the chance of another meeting between him and her son. She sent him word the next morning, as soon as Norah was up. She had not slept, consciously waiting to send it, and he had not slept, unconsciously waiting to receive it.

He read her note without surprise; he read it almost, he felt, with a sort of expectation. "I must take back my word. I cannot keep it. You know why. We ought to have known I could not." Within, the note was neither addressed nor signed. He read it passively, and folded it up and put it into his pocketbook. That day, as he made his visits, he thought recurrently of those weak forms of animal life which gather their strength for a sudden spurt and then, when it is spent, rest helpless till their forces are renewed. He had taken her in a moment when her will had accumulated strength enough for action; but the impulse had exhausted itself, and now she could not act. At first, he said to himself that he must wait for another rise of her slight powers, and then help her to prevail with herself. But, at last, he said that this would be taking advantage of her weakness—making himself her tyrant, her oppressor.

She was not less but more dear to him because of her feeble will. He had always pitied her for her subjection to the brute force of others—of her husband and of her son; and the love that

had begun in pity continued increasingly in pity. She was never so dear to him as now when she had failed him. He could not decide that she had failed him more finally than before, but she had failed him more signally. He promised himself that he would not try to see her again, as long as her son was with her; and, in fact, it was not till the morning after Langbrith had been gone a week that he stopped his horse at her gate, and found his way up the box-bordered path to her door.

She had seen him coming, and met him at the threshold with a dismay and entreaty that went to his heart.

"How do you do, Amelia?" he asked. And she answered:

"Have you come to say that you despise me?"

"Do you know me so little as not to know that I care for you more than ever I did?" he protested. But at the kind of fluttering in her, he said: "I hadn't come to speak of that; I never will be the first to speak of that again. I know that James has left you. I wouldn't come till I knew that, though I wanted to assure myself with my own eyes that you were well."

She looked at him in gratitude that included the larger with the lesser favor, and answered, evasively, "He went last Saturday: he sailed this morning."

"Yes."

"Hope Hawberk and he are engaged. She's been to see me. But he told me before he left. She's a good girl."

Anther said, as if in reply, "James is a good man." Those unfailing tears came into Mrs. Langbrith's eyes.

"*I* know who is a good man," she said.

"When are they to be married?" Anther asked, ignoring her worship.

"They don't know, exactly; not for a year, at least. He says he wants to be sure that he is doing something over there, first. Do you understand what it is that he wants to do?"

"Not very well; but I have heard of other young men studying to write for the theatre, there. The French are supposed to do those things best."

"Yes," Mrs. Langbrith vaguely assented. "He's got that Mr. Falk to go with him."

"That's good. He seems to be a good fellow."

"I think he will be a good influence," Mrs. Langbrith suggested.

"Oh, yes, but James could be trusted to himself."

"Yes. Dr. Anther," she broke off, "do you think Mr. Hawberk is going to get well?"

He looked quickly at her.

"Why?"

"Hope thinks he is. She says he is trying harder than he ever did before; he's paying more attention to what you want him to do. She says that the days when you want him to take the med-

icine instead of the laudanum he does not take the laudanum at all."

"I haven't seen him for more than a week. His gain depends upon how long he has been keeping faith with me."

"I guess it's more than five or six days, now. Dr. Anther, if Mr. Hawberk should get over it, would he begin to tell the truth, or would he go on talking the same as he does now?"

"Talking about what?"

"Oh, everything. You said that his opium-eating prevented his telling the truth."

"The truth?"

"Well," she said, desperately, "about Mr. Langbrith. If he got well, would he say what Mr. Langbrith really was?"

Anther rose, and walked across the room and back; and he did not sit down again. "He would be apt to say what he really was."

She drew a long breath. "I don't know as I should like that," she said, piteously, and her voice trembled. "It would get to James, and—and— I don't know as I want he should ever know, now."

They looked at each other, he searchingly, she beseechingly. He wondered, "What is she asking me?" and a pit, on the edge of which she seemed to tremble, opened to his conjecture. His gaze hardened, and hers sank under it. "I've nothing to do with that," he said to her falling face. "My business is to cure Hawberk, if I can, at any risk, and with any consequence."

She returned wildly, as if in terror of something she had barely escaped. "Yes, yes! You must! And, oh, I hope you can do it! I can't help what he says about Mr. Langbrith; I don't care who knows the truth. Only cure him! Why do you look at me so, Dr. Anther, as if you blamed me? Well, I *am* to blame. I did—"

"Hush, Amelia! I don't blame you. I understand you. Don't think I blame you, or hold you responsible for anything." Whatever it was that had passed from one consciousness to the other was confessed and pardoned, and he took her hand in saying, while her tears rose without falling, "I have been thinking the whole matter over very anxiously since I saw you last, and I have asked myself, now that we can never be anything more to each other than we are, what would be the use of James's ever knowing the sort of man his father was. I have had my impulses to revenge myself on him, to punish him for what I have considered his insolence to you as well as me; but I have fully realized that his wrong came from the illusion in which he lived, and that we could not destroy this illusion now to any good purpose, and I have no longer any wish to hurt him. Let it go. But as a physician," he added, "there can be no doubt of my duty. Hawberk might live on indefinitely, as an opium-eater, and, again, he might die suddenly. It's my business to keep him alive and get him well!"

"Oh, yes, I know that. It was because," she entreated, "I thought it would be so dreadful if I thought it that I thought it."

He looked at her with a sad intelligence where she stood wavering. "I understand," he said, and he took her hand, hesitating. Then he dropped it, saying "Good-by," and left the house.

He drove away hardly aware of anything outside himself, till he was aware of coming to the rectory. Then he realized that he was going to see Hawberk. He was beset by a sudden longing to speak with Enderby, and was staying himself against it in a sense of its meanness and unfairness, when Mrs. Enderby's voice called to him from the yard, where she was gathering some flowers from the blossomed shrubbery. He perceived he had stopped at the gate.

"Won't you come in and see Dr. Enderby?" she called.

"No, no, I thank you," he returned. "I hope he's well."

"Oh, quite well," she answered, looking at the sprays in her hand. "I was just getting some flowers to send to Hope," she said, as she came to the gate. "Aren't these roses magnificent?" She touched their cheeks with the hand from which she dangled her garden-shears. "They're fit for any fiancée, even such a little dear as Hope. You've heard, of course?"

"Yes."

"It's too delightful! There's something very romantic, don't you think? in his remaining constant to her after all the nice girls he must have seen in Boston and Cambridge and Brookline, as a student. But she's wonderful! Yes, she is. And so happy! Have you seen her since?"

"No, but I suppose I shall see her now. May I take her your flowers?"

"Oh, will you? Thank you, so much." She came out and put the flowers on the seat, where he made room for them beside him. "It's rather hard," she ran on, "her being left behind here and he gone on to Paris. But her father's being so much better is a great compensation. You must feel doubly anxious to cure him now. Of course, they never could think of marrying and going away from him while he's in this state. And you really have hopes of him?"

Anther could not smile, even in his amusement with the comely, kindly woman beaming up at him with her hand above her eyes. "I'm doing my best," he said, gravely.

"And you will succeed."

"These cases are difficult; but I have my hopes."

"And you shall have my prayers—*our* prayers!" she said, fervently. "You won't come in and see Dr. Enderby?"

"Not this morning. I have too much to say to him."

"Yes," she assented, dropping her eyes; and he knew that she knew what was in his thoughts.

XXIX.

Anther did not find Hawberk. Hope said, from the steps of the house which the doctor could drive so near, that he had gone down into the village; she believed that he meant to call at the doctor's

office before he came back. She was always a cheerful presence, but now joy seemed to radiate from her like a rapturous effulgence. Anther felt it, and he felt that if she knew of his own reason for sadness, she had the same right to ignore it in her moves as she had to ignore her father's misery. She looked as if lifted tiptoe by her happiness, and her voice danced with her dancing eyes.

"Why haven't you been to congratulate me, Dr. Anther?" she challenged him, archly. "I do believe you don't care!"

"Oh, I guess not," he retorted, feeling his load raised in part by the mere ecstasy of her spirits. "I hadn't been officially notified."

"Well, you are now. I was waiting to come and tell you, when I was sure I could tell you how much better father was. He hasn't disobeyed for nearly a week—ever since James left. It all seems to come together. It's made me so wretched."

"Well, you don't look it," he answered. But he did not smile at her mocking, and she recollected herself. She looked at him in wistful sympathy, but the years between them were so many, and Dr. Anther was such a really dignified person, that she could not venture to speak her sympathy, uninvited. He did not invite her. He felt himself blush at the pity of the joyous young creature who was imagining his case from her own, in an equality of passion. It embarrassed him in his consciousness of the difference. She grew a little embarrassed, herself, and he knew that he was wounding her. "Did you say your father had gone to see me?" he asked, gathering up his reins, while Hope stepped back from the wheels.

"Dr. Anther!" The hoarse croak of her grandmother intercepted her answer, and the doctor saw the stooping figure and fierce face of the old woman in the open doorway; "I want you should tell this crazy girl there can't come any good from that Langbrith tribe. I know 'em root and branch, and I don't know any good of 'em. If ever Lorenzo Hawberk gets to be a man again, instead of a laudanum toper, I can tell him a thing or two about the Langbriths that'll lock their wheels for 'em."

Hope turned and ran back to her grandmother, whom she gently pushed indoors. "Now, grandmother, I guess Dr. Anther knows as much about the Langbriths as you do," she said, and she turned her laughing face over her shoulder to show him that she was not taking her grandmother seriously. "Good-by, Dr. Anther," she shouted, and, suddenly remembering the flowers, he called out to her:

"Oh, hold on a moment, Hope; here's something Mrs. Enderby sent you by me."

"Well, I never did!" she rippled down to him with a laugh that denied any sadness in the world. "What *would* you have said if you'd forgotten altogether? Oh, how generous!"

She fluttered up the steps again with her face buried in the flowers, and then she called back, "Oh, *I* forgot, this time. Thank you, Dr. Anther," she sweetly chanted, and the doctor drove away.

He felt it an escape not to find Hawberk waiting for him. He found both the bottles, one for laudanum and one for medicine, which Hawberk had left, and a scribbled note from him: "Will call for these later. Guess we're getting the upper hand of that green fellow a little. I couldn't get him to come with me, anyway."

Dr. Anther was taking his meals at the hotel when he could think of them or time them aright, and his hired man was in a sort of loose, general charge of his place, pending the installation of some specific housekeeper, of whom the doctor had as yet no distinct prevision. When the hired man was not about, the door was free to any one who would open it, and patients came in and waited for the doctor, or wrote their calls on his slate and went away.

He now examined his slate, and found no call so pressing but that he felt justified in sitting down and giving Hawberk a chance to return before he started on his rounds. He was perplexed by a situation which would once have been joy and triumph to him, mixed with the hope whose fierceness he now recognized with abhorrence. What had worn the high look of righteous retribution and been the promise of happiness, was now more like a menace of the peace which alone remained his desire, as far as he had any desire. He had been beaten in the struggle. The dead hand had been too strong for him. If he could still prevail, through Hawberk's restoration to truth in his restoration to health, he would prevail in vain, for he would prevail too late. Nothing but his duty remained, a duty that was barren of personal reward, and that if done successfully, as regarded Hawberk, must be done at the risk of fruitless suffering for others. It was with a sense of reluctance close upon disgust that he pulled himself together, at the sound of shuffling steps, which he did not doubt were Hawberk's, loosely dragging themselves up his walk.

John Langbrith came in, and lounged weakly into the easy-chair with a cursory nod to the doctor. "I want to see," he said, without further greeting, "if you can do something for this dyspepsia of mine." They had not parted friends, or even courteous acquaintances, at their last meeting; but, as John Langbrith ignored that, Anther ignored it, too, in the superior interest of their relation as patient and physician.

"Is it worse?" he asked.

"If it wasn't worse, I shouldn't have come. I can stand a good deal without squealing, but I can't stand everything!" Langbrith began nervously swinging the leg he had crossed upon the other, and looked about for something to chew. In default of anything else, he tore a piece from the splint bottom of his chair and chewed upon that, as he laconically, almost sardonically, rehearsed his symptoms. Anther listened without prompting questions, and at the end John Langbrith said, "I presume you'll come out with the old thing: overwork."

Anther rubbed his hand all over his face, after his fashion.

"That's usually the trouble with nervous dyspeptics, when it isn't overeating or overdrinking. Couldn't you get a little time off and go somewhere for a change, as well as rest?"

"I guess I've got to. What can you give me to take, while I'm putting things in shape to leave?"

"I'll do something to tide you along; but you understand that it's merely temporary." Anther turned in his chair to write a prescription, pausing and thinking over it, while John Langbrith continued talking to his back.

"If you could get off on a good long sea voyage, it would be the best thing—two or three weeks."

"I could get off on that as well as anything else. The devil of it is to get off on anything at all. There ain't a soul to leave the business with, the way I want to. If that fool of a boy was worth the powder to blow him, I should be all right. What's he going to do over there, anyway? You make it out?"

"He's going to learn to write plays, as I understand."

"Write plays!" John Langbrith grunted; "who wants his plays?"

"That remains to be seen."

"Well, I'm not goin' to stan' it. They'll find that out, both of 'em. If his mother hadn't babied him up so, and kept him in cotton all his life, I could have worked him into the business before this, and now I could leave it in his hands."

"You say you don't sleep very well?"

"Sleep! How can a man sleep with a stomach like mine. But I shouldn't care for the not sleeping. Never did want much sleep. The devil of it is, I don't *wake* well. Sometimes I'm in such misery I don't hardly know where I am. Why can't you give me some of Hawberk's dose?"

"I can if you want to come to Hawberk's condition."

"I suppose you could cure me if you have him?"

"I don't boast of having cured him, yet."

"I thought you did, the last time." Langbrith chuckled with a dry pleasure, while he seemed indifferent as to the doctor's sharing in the recollection. "If you could get him on to his legs again, I might leave him in charge of the mills. Maybe, he wouldn't want to blow on Royal then!"

Anther still sat stooped over his desk, and gave no heed to Langbrith's continued pleasantry. He wheeled abruptly in his chair, and held a prescription towards his patient. "There, that's the best I can do for you now; but get away as soon as you can."

Langbrith folded up the prescription, and put it into his pocketbook, but he did not rise at once. "I guess I shall have to, unless this does the business for me. I don't know why I'm so anxious about the damned mills, anyway. Royal always treated me like a nigger—he did everybody he could get under his thumb, and this boy seems to think I'm part of the property. It wasn't for either of them I couldn't meet you on your proposition the other day."

"Oh, that's all right!" the doctor said.

"I shouldn't care if Hawberk came out with the true story some day. But I don't want to go outside of my job, if I don't have to. That's all there is to it. I've got enough to do, running the business, without looking for trouble with Royal's ghost!"

Anther had nothing to offer on this point, and in the country fashion, in such cases, he said nothing at all. And he did not respond in any wise to the long-drawn, groaned-out "We-e-ell!" with which John Langbrith got himself away, as a form of leave-taking. He had been gone some time, when Hawberk came in, with a step so much firmer and quicker than Anther had known it for a long time that he could not have known it as his.

"Well, Doct' Anther," he said, briskly, "have you got my bottles ready for me?"

"I've not got your prescriptions ready; I happen to be out of the drugs," Anther said, with a returning sense of meaning in the duty which had lately seemed so purposeless, and a rise of liking for Hawberk in the place of his reluctance and disgust. He felt the charm of the man, which he had never quite ceased to feel, though it had been dulled by long disappointment with him.

"Well, I don't know," Hawberk said, "but I guess we're doing the business for that green fellow at last. I always did know what he was when he seemed to be coming at me by the thousand, like your reflection, you know, when you stand between a couple of glasses. That got to be a great trick of his one while; but he's stopped it now. Why, Doct' Anther," he exclaimed, with a sort of impersonal pleasure in a fact which Anther must enjoy, "I've got so, inside of the last forty-eight hours, that I haven't been afraid to go to sleep. He still keeps hanging round, but he seems to know I'm on to him, and he don't try any of his old jinks with me; just comes and goes to let me know he's around, but don't make any particular trouble. Why, doctor, just to try myself, one day this week—day before yesterday, I guess it was—I got down to sixty drops of laudanum, and it was my laudanum day, too. Don't I show it—in my looks, I mean?"

"Your complexion is clearing up. But go slow, Hawberk, even when you are going in the direction of my instructions. I don't want you to tamper with my patient's case."

Hawberk tasted the humor. "Well, I won't, doctor; I won't," he said, and he laughed in the free way that was natural to him, and that went to Anther's heart.

The doctor turned a little grave, though. "How are the psychological symptoms? Do you see things, generally, as you have been seeing them?"

"I don't know as I do—everything. There's one thing I wanted to speak to you about."

"That house you're going to put up on the hill back of you?"

Hawberk smiled. "I guess that can wait awhile." Then he

said, seriously: "You know Hope and Jim Langbrith have fixed it up between them?"

"Yes, Hope told me this morning. I had heard of it before."

"Well, that's all right. He's a good fellow, and I haven't a word against him. I don't know what he's going to do out there in Paris, but I presume *he* does. Anyway, Hope believes in it, and if it never comes to anything, he's got money enough without it." Hawberk's face clouded. "I suppose if everything had gone right, I should have had some money, too. That's the way it looks, off and on. I've had times, of late, very curious times, Doct' Anther, when it don't seem as if the square thing had been done by me. Do you remember the circumstance of my leaving the mills? I ain't clear, myself."

The dawn in Hawberk's mind had broken sooner than Anther expected, though it had come too late for any purpose of his. Now, if he had a wish, it must have been to darken it. When he thought how he would have once exulted in it, he had a kind of sickness of it; but his duty was still before him. He must do his best to cure his patient. As a physician, he could have no other concern; but he could keep himself out of the moral consequences. With these he had nothing, and must have nothing, to do.

"You'll be clear enough if you get well," he said. "All the facts of that matter are something you must work out for yourself. I wish to caution you only on one point. You must be very careful to verify any surmise you may have. I should urge you not to speak of it to any one but me. You can see how, under the present circumstances, it could make great unhappiness for James Langbrith, and through him, for Hope."

"Yes, I see that, doctor. I'm not speaking of it. As I say, it's something that comes and goes." He added, with a laugh, "And it goes full as much as it comes. Well," he rose and took his bottles from Anther's table, "Emering put these up for me? You ain't afraid we'll get our heads together and make 'em *both* laudanum?"

"I guess I can trust you," the doctor answered, almost absently.

"Well, I guess you're right. Anyway, that green fellow has got the job of watching after me, and he's on the lookout. You've weakened on the laudanum a little this time, as I understand."

"A little."

Anther's absence gained upon him so much that he scarcely noticed Hawberk's going; and he sat long in a hapless muse, in which now and then he smiled in self-derision. If the situation had been contrived by the sardonic spirit of Royal Langbrith himself, it could not have had a more diabolical perfection.

(To be Continued.)

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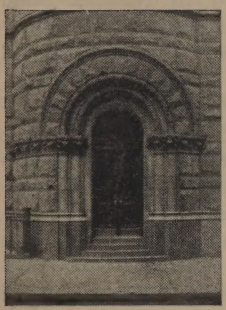
THE STORY OF AMERICA'S GIBRALTAR.

BY HERBERT S. HOUSTON.

(Photographically Illustrated by Arthur Hewitt)



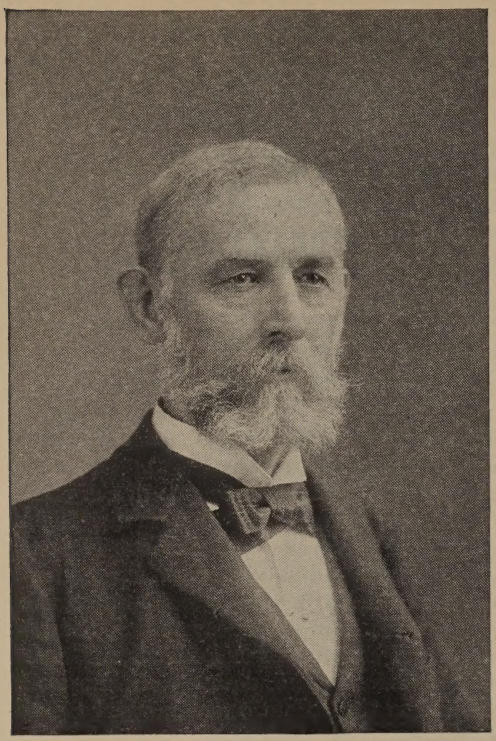
ANTONIO and the other merchants of Venice would surely wonder if they could see Gibraltar turned into a business force as tangible as one of their ships. They knew the great rock as Cálpe, one of the pillars of Hercules, but it had no definite commercial value on the Rialto. So far is medieval Italy from modern America. But out from the former went a young Genoese to Spain and, later, on into the unknown West to find a new continent, and there, in time, grew up a republic full of an abounding life. In it was freedom of opportunity, a real democracy of worth. It became a country of big things, of enterprises that amazed the world. One of these, desiring an impressive symbol of strength, reached across the Atlantic and grasped Gibraltar, one of the pillars of Hercules.

Before millions of people that great symbol has been presented in the leading magazines and newspapers until Gibraltar has come to be almost a synonym for the Prudential. And the Prudential has grown steadily in strength and greatness up to its symbol. The Venetian merchants, or those from the Genoa of Columbus, would not wonder, if they could read this record of growth, why Gibraltar and Prudential have come to be interchangeable terms. In fact, that record is one of such achievement that even twentieth-century Americans, wonder-proof as they are, get a genuine thrill of surprise in hearing it. Let it be told in as dry a chronicle as that of the venerable Bede, and still it will command attention.

Ten years after the close of the Civil War—a period so recent that its history has scarcely been written—the Prudential was established in Newark. As if foreknowing the great rock to which it would grow, it began its foundation in a basement office. It was like the beginning of the New York *Herald* by Bennett the elder, in a basement on Ann Street. But it would be an idle play with words to make a basement office the real foundation of the Prudential. It was something much deeper down than that—nothing else than the bed-rock American principle of democracy. The Prudential applied the democratic principle to life insurance. As Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, the founder of the company, has said, "Life insurance is of the most value when most widely distributed. The Prudential and the companies like it are cultivating broadly and soundly among the masses the idea of life-insurance protection. To them is being carried the gospel of self-help, protection and a higher life."

And what has been the result of the democratic American principle worked out in life insurance? In 1875 the first policy was written in the Prudential. At the end of 1903 there were 5,447,307 policies in force on the books of the company, representing nearly a billion dollars. The assets in 1876 were $2,232, while twenty-seven years later, in 1903, they were more than 30,000 times greater, or $72,712,435.44, the liabilities at the same time being $62,578,410.81.

This is a record of growth that is without precedent in insurance and that is hard to match in the whole range of industry. The rise of the Prudential to greatness reads like a romance in big figures, but, in fact, it is a record of business expansion that has



UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN F. DRYDEN,
PRESIDENT OF THE PRUDENTIAL

been as natural as the growth of an oak. The corn crop of the country seems too big for comprehension until one sees the vast fields of the Middle West, and then it appears as simple as the growth of a single stalk. So with the Prudential. To say that, in ten years, the company's income grew from something more than $9,000,000 a year to more than $39,000,000 last year is amazing as a general statement, but when made in relation to the broad principles on which that growth has been based it becomes as much a matter of course as the corn crop. There is no mystery about it; but there is in it, from the day when the principles were planted in Newark until these great harvest days, the genuine American spirit of achievement, strong, hopeful and expansive.

The Prudential Insurance Company of America is a national institution. It was founded to provide insurance for the American people on the broadest possible basis consistent with strength and safety. It does not write insurance abroad. In the fullest sense it has worked out the democratic idea of safe insurance for the great masses of the American people. It has adjusted its policies to American conditions; it has based its dividends on the earning power of American investments; it has placed its premium rates on the American tables of vital statistics; in a word, it was intended to be and it has become an insurance company for the American people. And they have met the Prudential's broad American principles with a broad American support, and, as a result, the company's marvellous growth has come as naturally as the full ear on the stalk. But, as the full ear is always on a stalk that has been cultivated, so, too, the growth from the Prudential's principles has come through their spread by an organization that is a marvel of efficiency.

And right here is the most stirring chapter of the Prudential's rise to greatness. Just as Grant and Lee organized their armies, or as Kouropatkin and Yamagata plan their campaigns in Asia, so does the Prudential work out its national insurance propaganda. The company's organization is essentially military. It is a wonderful combination of big grasp and outlook, with the most painstaking thoroughness and system in details. And, as is always the case in every organization that throbs throughout with intelligent energy, there is a man at the centre of it. This man has a constructive imagination lighting up a New England brain. To business prudence there is added the large vision which sweeps the horizon for opportunity. Naturally, to such a vision the application of the democratic idea to insurance was an opportunity of the first magnitude. When seen, it was grasped and developed. The Prudential was founded. In the most careful way its idea was tested, just as the Secretary of Agriculture tests seeds at the Government's experiment farms. Here was where prudence kept the large vision in proper focus. Gradually the idea took root and grew. Year after year the Prudential added to its number of policy-holders. And all the time the company was working out a more liberal basis for its democratic idea. But each time a more liberal policy was offered it was fully tested. "Progress with strength" is the way President Dryden describes the company's principle of growth—the results, clearly, of vision and prudence. At the end of ten years of this method of growth the company reached the point where it was believed insurance could be safely offered for any amount with premiums payable

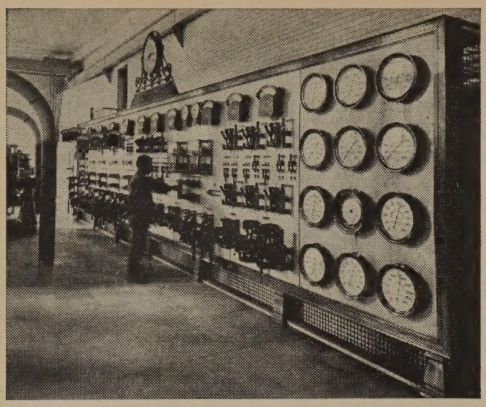
on any plan, either in weekly instalments or at longer periods. Within the five years 1886 to 1890 inclusive, the company's assets increased nearly fivefold, from $1,040,816 to $5,084,895, and the amount of insurance in force from $40,266,445 to $139,163,654.

The Prudential had found itself. The idea of democratic insurance had been fully tested and adjusted to the needs and conditions of the American people. Then, with a boldness which only large vision could have quickened, the plan was formed to make the Prudential's idea known in every section of the country. Gibraltar was chosen as the symbol of the company's strength, and advertising—the telling of the Prudential idea to the people—was begun. At that time insurance advertising was a sea as unknown as the Atlantic when Columbus set sail from Palos. But, with a map of the United States for chart and a live idea for compass, the Prudential took passage in nearly every important magazine in the country, and thus safely made port in millions of homes. As the insurance idea was carried broadcast in this wide publicity, it was followed up by the well-drilled army of Prudential agents.

Again it was vision and prudence, and again the result was "Progress with strength." The Prudential grew into a place of foremost importance, known in every part of the world. The printed announcement—always attractive and suggestive—had never gone ahead of men bearing the insurance message until sent by the Prudential, and this conjunction marked the epoch in business in which advertising and personal endeavor should be used as complementary forces.

The Prudential publicity is accompanied by wise promotion from a field force of over 12,000, some of whom have been with the company for over a quarter-century, working in almost every State of the Union. They have the zeal of Crusaders, and it is kept at ardent pitch through an organization that could not fail to produce a wonderful *esprit de corps*. Wise direction and constant encouragement come from the home office, and then the company's agents are grouped in districts, under superintendents and assistant superintendents, managers, general agents and special agents, and in each district a strong spirit of emulation is developed by human contact and co-operation. Weekly meetings are held, and the problems of wisely presenting insurance are discussed. Comparative records of the men are kept in many districts, and prizes are offered for those writing the largest volume of business, for those making the greatest individual increase, and for many other contests. This wholesome rivalry produces an alertness and industry which are to the company an invaluable asset in human efficiency. A few weeks after this magazine appears probably 2,000 agents of the Prudential—those who have made the best records for the year—will be brought to Newark from all parts of the country. They will, of course, visit the home offices and come in contact with the directing centre of their wonderful organization.

And, after all, there is no place where one feels the greatness of the Prudential quite so much as in the vast granite piles which have been raised for the company's home buildings. They rise above the Jersey meadows as Gibraltar does above the sea, a convincing witness, surely, to the growth and to the strength of the Prudential. But they are not a cold, gray rock, but a living organism throbbing from vital contact with millions of policy-holders. There are now four of these great buildings, all occupied by the company. In one of them is the Prudential's publishing plant, which, in equipment, surprising as this may seem, is equal to that of almost any publishing house in the country. Millions of booklets, two publications for the company—one, "The "Prudential," with a circulation of more



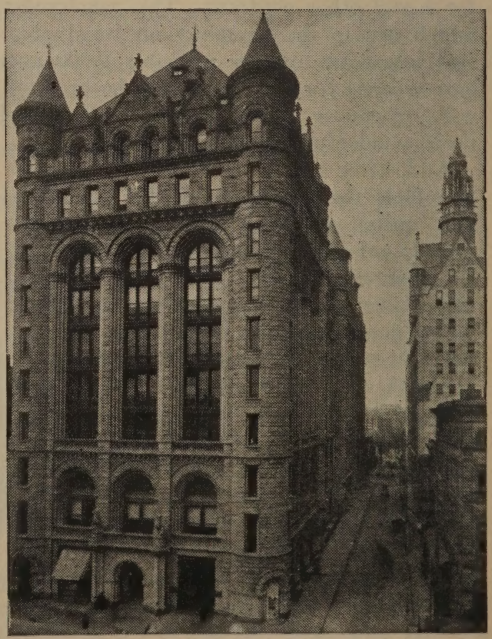
ELECTRIC SWITCHBOARD IN ENGINE-ROOM

than two millions—and the policies are all printed here, besides no end of commercial printing for the home office and for the district agencies. The big composing-room, the press-room with its eighteen presses, the bindery with its folding, cutting, sewing and numbering machines, are models of cleanliness and light. But, for that matter, all the buildings are as spick-and-span as a man-o'-war. There are subways, well lighted, under the streets, connecting the different buildings. In every way there has been, in the arrangements, a conservation of energy and time to produce economy and efficiency in carrying on the company's vast business. As indicating how vast that is, the mail coming to and going from the Prudential is nearly as large as for all the rest of Newark, a city with more than 250,000 population and of great industrial importance. The mailing department is really a big city post-office. And in all the departments one gets the feeling of size that comes in the enormous Government buildings at Washington. And it is as a national institution that the Prudential always fixes itself on the mind—its fundamental idea of democracy in insurance, its nation-wide organization for spreading the idea, its essentially American spirit throughout, all make the company worthy of its name, the Prudential Insurance Company of America.

To-day the Prudential is paying over 300 claims a day, or about forty each working hour. On many policies settlement is made within a few hours by the superintendent of the district; on the large policies a report is sent immediately to the home office and settlement authorized by telegraph. And on over 45 per cent. of the claims more money is paid than the policy calls for. From the beginning the Prudential has followed lines of great liberality, whether in dealing with the family where the policy is kept in the bureau drawer or with the estate of the millionaire.

It would be interesting to describe the broad activities that hum in the great buildings at Newark, but they would more than require an entire article themselves. So, too, with the equipment and furnishings of the buildings, which, in the way of complete adjustment to their particular work, are probably unequalled in the world. For example, in the actuarial department is a card-machine, invented by the actuary of the company, which can do all but think. But many of these things, in miniature, will be seen by the thousands who go to the World's Fair at St. Louis. They will find in the Prudential's exhibit in the Palace of Education a fine model of all the buildings, and also the fullest data concerning life insurance that have ever been brought together.

But the last word about the Prudential is not told at any Exposition. It is found in the 5,500,000 policies which form a stupendous exhibit on the value of life insurance in developing thrift, safe investment and home protection in a nation. Of course, such an exhibit could never have been possible if the Prudential had not worked out safe policies that would meet the broad needs of the American people.



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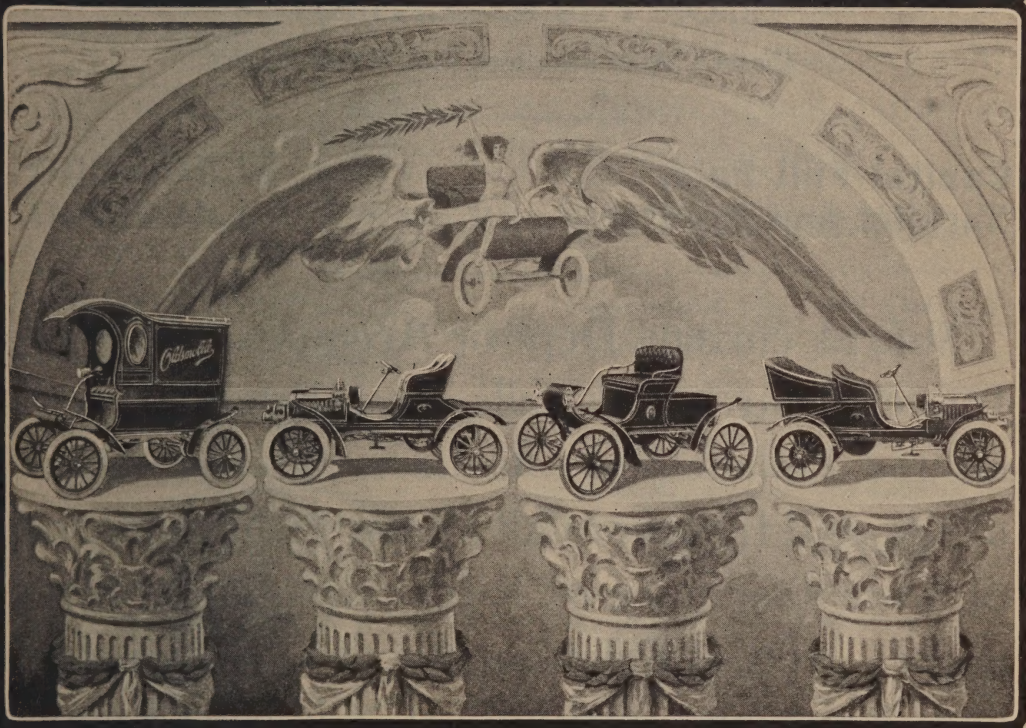

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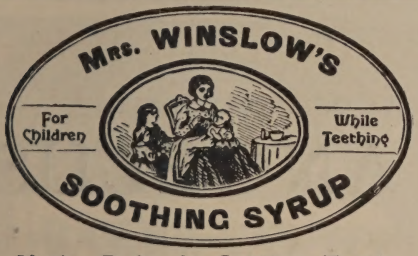

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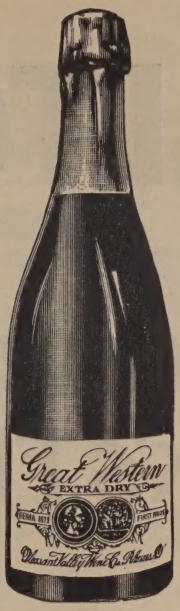

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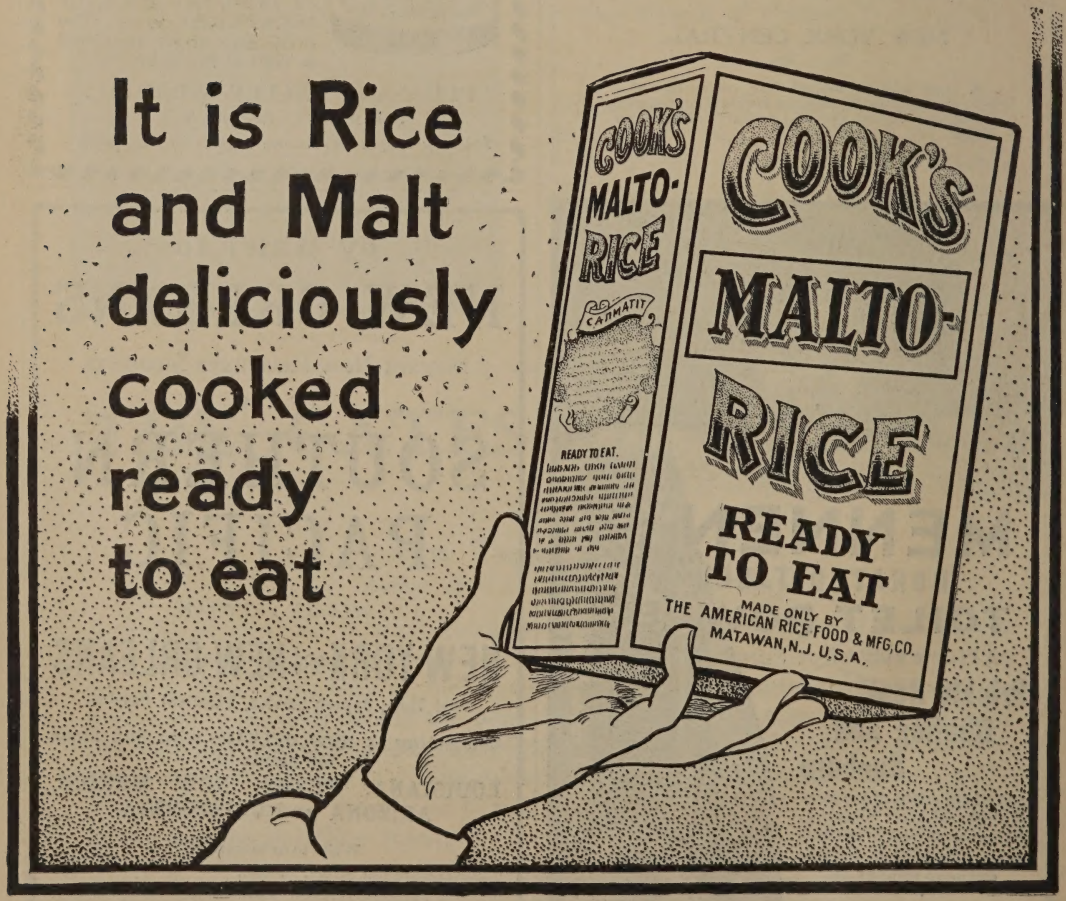

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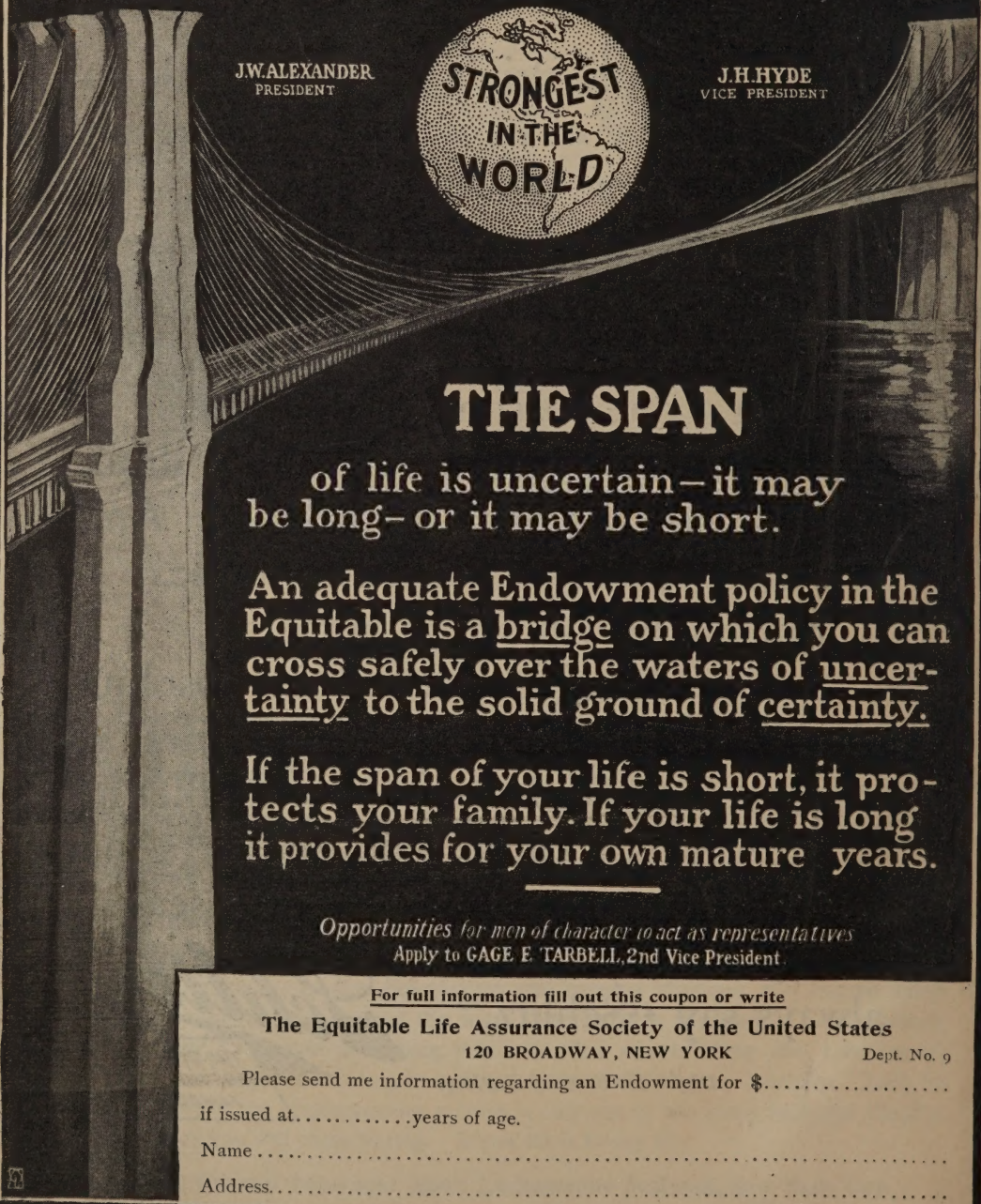

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